The Red Underground

Herald Tribune 34d

A Communist's Christmas List: Books All Wrapped Up in Red

Dec. 1-2-3-5-51

By Ogden R. Reid

COMMUNIST party members were told last week what to put on their Christmas list.

In various cell meetings the topic for discussion was: "Appropriate Party Holiday Gifts."

The comrades were told that "suitable gifts" would include:

1. Contributions to the Smith act defense fund. ("Self-Defense Committee of the 17 Victims of the Smith Act," Room 642, 799 Broadway, N. Y.)

2. Contributions to the sustaining fund of "The Daily Worker."

3. Gift subscriptions to "The Daily Worker" and "The Worker," $14 a year.

4. Gift subscriptions to "Masses and Mainstream" ($4 a year); to "New World Review" ($3.50 a year) and to "Science and Society" ($2).

5. Gifts of progressive books including "Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts," by John C. Miller (Little, Brown, 253 pp., $3.50); "A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States," edited by Herbert Aptheker, preface by W. E. B. DuBois (Citadel Press, 960 pp., $7.50); "Swing Shift," by Margaret Graham (Citadel Press, 512 pp., $3); "Iron City," by Lloyd Brown; "Jack London, American Rebel," by Philip S. Foner.

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Certain comrades in the cell meetings indicated their displeasure at the length of the "suggested" Christmas list and over the monetary outlay it entailed.

These Communists were abruptly silenced by their bosses and told: "Most of you have received Christmas bonuses from your companies. You can afford to invest these bonuses in holiday gifts."

"Ring of Love"

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in Thursday's "Daily Worker" called on all comrades to send "Season's Greetings" Christmas cards to the seven convicted Communist leaders as a "pledge of support . . . and a ring of love."

These Christmas cards, with a picture of a mother and daughter seated around a table looking at an empty chair, cost the Advance Printing Co., Inc., 324 E. 24th St., New York, less than 1 cent to print. The cards are sold to some comrades for fifteen cents and to others for twenty-five cents; the party pockets from 1500 to 2500 per cent profit.

Red Personalities:

Halois Moorhead, executive secretary of the American Women for Peace (257 Seventh Ave., New York, third floor—Oregon 5-8450) and former campaign manager for Vito Marcantonio . . . currently planning a country-wide speaking tour during January and part of February for the A. W. P.

Mrs. Moorhead attended the Second International Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation, Dec. 1-6, 1948, in Budapest as a delegate of the Congress of American Women . . . she headed the delegation of the American Women for Peace to the American People's Congress for Peace in Chicago June 29-July 1 . . . the congress was sponsored by the subversive American Peace Crusade.

According to "The Peacemaker," the official paper of the American Women for Peace, the A. W. P., "which was officially set up during the Peace Delegation to Washington, Aug. 8, 1950, is a service center for all women's peace committees and other organizations of women concerned with working for peace" . . . currently the A. W. P. is circulating handbills entitled "Mothers! Dog Tags Are Death Tags!" and "What Does New York City Need? War Drills or Peace Action" . . . the latter handbill says:

"ACT TODAY. Call upon the President and our City Officials to lead the way to the banning of the atom bomb and other 'horror weapons'; and to work for a Five-Power Pact. Agreement among the five big powers—the U. S. A., U. S. S. R., England, France and China—is the foundation stone of the United Nations, and the only guarantee of peace in the world.

"ACT TODAY. Instead of Billions of Dollars for war preparations, call upon the President and our City Officials to spend this money for the real defense of our families—for homes, schools, hospitals and recreation."

Mrs. Moorhead was born on Feb. 9, 1913, in Charlottesville, Va. . . . her parents were Dennis Walker, who was born in Burnleys, Va., and Florence Hogan Walker. She married William F. Moorhead, a Puerto Rican, on July 28, 1939, and divorced him on May 12, 1948. Until last June, she was business agent for Local 144 of the Hotel Front Service Employees Union, A. F. L. She lives in Apartment 4D, 9 East 118th St., N. Y.



Ted Kell

Halois Moorhead

A Letter From Korea

'Don't Let Communism' Fool You,' Warns GI

To the Folks Back Home:

After making the retreat from North Korea, some of us GIs were given a chance to rest, to get our bearings.

It has been during this period of rest that I have noticed the ever-accumulating talk of Negroes in communism.

As a Negro soldier fighting communism, it both peeves and surprises me to know that there are people among our race who may even now (while many of us die here in Korea) be taking active part in some Communist organization. People who are just as guilty of killing us as the Red soldier who fires the gun, bringing sorrow to the homes we left behind.

The poorer class of people all over the world are easy prey for communism. Here in Korea and in China, where poverty is predominant, it can be witnessed.

It is generally the poorer class Negro (along with the poor whites) who are preyed upon by those Communists now active in America. The people who hide behind our four freedoms to do their dirty work.

WAS SURPRISED

I was in the United States just a year ago, and was very surprised to witness the actual distribution of the Communist-sponsored paper, The Daily Worker . . . distributed in numbers among the people in New York's Negro district, Harlem.

These people the world over are fooled by what communism offers, knowing absolutely nothing of what it actually is. No idea as to the methods employed by these people in the achievement of their goal, world slavery.

It does seem that people back home should have learned some kind of lesson from the way Russia has completely cut off the European state which it has controlled since the end of World War II. Our people should have some suspicion of Russia's intentions and of the unknown conditions that exist behind its curtain of iron.

These American Negroes in communism—what is it about our way of life that they disagree with? Sure—discrimination is the first word that forms itself on my mind, I'm a Negro, I've been discriminated against. The instant an act of discrimination takes place, one becomes violently angry at the whole country and what it stands for.

HAD NO RIGHTS

Look at it this way, though. The first Negroes came into America as slaves. They had no rights at all, their every act was the command of some white. Through the years, through many years, the conditions have changed to such an extent that most of us (Negro and white) have completely forgotten these facts of many years ago.

Look at the progress of the American Negro up to this day. It's amazing, something to be proud of, something I am proud of.

We have representatives of our race participating in any and everything that can be named. In politics and other professions of the most technical skill. All this has happened right there in America, the same America, the land of opportunity, where it's so disgusting to know that there are those among us who entertain the ideas of communism.

No, progress didn't come easy. It was fought for and strived for, but the fact remains that we, as a race of people, have progressed from slavery to take places among the best of any race, and we did it in America, not Russia.

WHY BE DISSATISFIED?

Why should even one of our people be so dissatisfied as to go as far as supporting communism?

I wish that it could be so arranged to show these people just one country that has been ruled by the Reds. Korea is a good example. Here I have witnessed the methods used by the Reds.

In their retreat from South Korea, the North Koreans left a bloody trail. It was not the blood of soldiers as is usually in a war, but that of women and children and old men, the families of soldiers, of those who opposed their deas.

Innocent people, striving in a new-born nation, trying for betterment—much as we did in the then young America.

I wonder if the Communist people in America are in agreement with such methods? Mass murder, as I saw it in a half dozen Korean cities, horrible and senseless. Is that the way every Communist thinks? If so, then I and many more Negro soldiers here in Korea have become more determined to help, and so, away with these people.

It makes one stop to think—if they in America would murder the wives and children, the mothers and fathers of the soldiers here fighting communism, just because we are fighting them, against their ideas. How can such people (potential killers) be allowed to live among honest Americans! And they are doing it now, enjoying all privileges as anyone else.

There should be some urgent appeal to all of these people, not to be misled by something of which we know nothing. Don't be fooled by a promise. The devil comes disguised in many ways. Remember that. And if the Negro people there at home continue to support Communist activities—gee!—why they are just fighting against us.

SGT. CHARLES W. HARRIS,
APO 501, San Francisco, Calif.

Ben Davis Jr. Enters Prison

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—(INS)—One of the 11 Communist leaders convicted of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government Monday began a five-year sentence at the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute.

He is Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., who was brought to the prison last night. Six other convicted Communists have been sent to other prisons around the nation.

Davis, Jr., is a former New York city councilman.

Commies Use Harlem's Baker Day, Spread Propaganda for Red Causes

Their Success Disturbs Negroes

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff Writer.

Ever since she arrived here several months ago, the Communists have been trying desperately to latch on to Josephine Baker, internationally famous, American-born Negro singer from Paris. Last Sunday their efforts were, in part, rewarded.



Frederick Woltman

The Commies succeeded in muscling in on Josephine Baker Day, the biggest celebration Harlem has staged since the triumphs of Joe Louis. "Their performance," according to Earl Brown, New York City Councilman from Harlem, "was disgraceful."

The door was left open to them by the two officials who ran the day-long gala event for the New York Branch of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Namely, John Henry Hammond, co-chairman, and Lindsay H. White, New York NAACP president and a uniformed lieutenant in the city's Fire Department.

Mayor on Hand.

Among the celebrities to appear were Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, trusteeship director for the U.N., and M. Roger Seydaux, French Consul.

But the Commies were allowed to help finance the affair. And, consequently, put in some solid propaganda licks among the Negroes for half-a-dozen top Red fronts.

In the motorcade that toured Harlem were official cars of powerful District 65, Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union, forced out of CIO for its Communist allegiances. No other union was present. Another auto advertised a Paul Robeson concert under the auspices of the Communist party's Harlem Trade Union Council.

Commies swarmed to the "Night of Stars" celebration at Golden Gate Ballroom. They hardly could have been barred.



JOSEPHINE BAKER.

Red Testimonials.

But it was the Josephine Baker Day testimonial journal that told the story. Apart from the commercial advertisements, most of the testimonial ads read as if they were lifted from the Communist party's Daily Worker. With perhaps one exception, no outstanding anti-Communist Negro group paid for an ad, not even the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the foremost Negro union in the country.

There were full-page ads from the American Peace Crusade, U.S. wing of the Comintern's phoney "peace" offensive; a committee to defend its predecessor, the Peace Information center, now under federal indictment; a front for the Civil Rights Congress, the CP's legal defense arm. District 65 had two full-page ads. There were smaller ads from the International Workers Order, Harlem Civil Rights Congress, Committee for the Negro in the Arts and the Commie-sponsored Robeson concert. All of them Commie fronts.

The national NAACP is overwhelmingly anti-Communist; and alertly against any dealings with the Commies.

Sponsor Miffed.

What happened was by no design of the New York Branch, sponsor of Josephine Baker Day, said Mr. Hammond, the co-chairman. "It was horrible," he added.

"The ads in the journal loused us up. We're so distressed about it we don't know what to do. I assure you it will never happen again."

Meanwhile, Miss Baker herself today slapped down another Commie effort to capitalize on her name. The Committee for the Negro in the Arts, which bought a half-page ad in the journal, announced through the Daily Worker that it will pay her a special tribute tomorrow; and the award, in her absence, will be accepted by a personal representative.

Miss Baker announced she will not accept the award.

Capitalize on Celebration Staged for Famous Singer

United States Senator Edwin Johnson (D., Col.) finds himself traveling with some mighty interesting fellows since May 17, when he introduced a resolution calling for an end of the Korean war by June 25. He's now top headline news in the Daily Worker. And the Commies are clambering all over the Senator's bandwagon. Through their devious "peace" fronts, they're organizing pressure campaigns on individual Senators and the White House in behalf of the resolution. The American Peace Crusade, which thinks like the Soviet Foreign Office, has given Sen. Johnson its solemn blessing.

The Army two years ago released a report on Communist spy activities in the Orient. It was prepared under Gen. Douglas MacArthur and named Agnes Smedley, American writer, as a Communist and member of the spy ring. A few days later the Army withdrew the report, said its release was a faux pas and added there was no proof against Miss Smedley. Later, she died in England.

On May 6 (by mail to the Daily Worker) Agnes Smedley's ashes were in Peiping, capital of Red China, in "a new cemetery for revolutionaries." Leading Chinese Communists, including representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (now killing American troops in North Korea), paid homage. On display at the memorial service were Miss Smedley's typewriter, camera, radio set; letters "describing persecutions she was suffering from the American authorities." And her prized gramophone records sung in Chinese by Paul Robeson.

"All these possessions," said the Peiping dispatch, "she has left to Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh."

Hunton Arrested As Communist

One of Several Highly Educated Negroes

NEW YORK — (ANP) — W. Alphaeus Hunton, sentenced to a six month jail term for contempt of court, refusing to answer questions about the bond owners who furnished bail for the recently arrested Communists—is another of the highly educated Negroes identified with the Communist group in the United States.

Following a policy of bringing into the membership intelligent trained workers, the party boasts some of the best Negro minds in the country. The list of Negroes either under arrest or under suspicion verifies the statement.

Yet, the strong arm of the law has not corraled all of the Negroes identified with the Communist group, and as fresh arrests are made, the deeply rooted and cleverly organized body produces new top figures.

James Jackson, one of the missing "second stringers" as they are called, not only is a college man, he holds a degree in pharmacy. Right now, instead of being a fugitive from justice, he could be a well-heeled drug store proprietor in the city of his birth, Richmond, Va.

Other Negroes have given up lucrative jobs, surrendered good futures secure in income and family, to follow the Party line. The growing list constantly reveals many substantial Negro members.

Last week in Washington, a former FBI "plant" named a prominent physician as a member of the group and a Howard university professor. Dr. Tom Williston, member of a distinguished family was the first and Eugent Holmes, professor of Philosophy and regardede as successor to the brilliant Alain Leroy Locke was the other.

Dr. Holmes long ago denied any affiliation with the Party, having his first opportunity to make this denial when he accepted a government post during the war. Many others have also been named by this woman, a former beauty shop operator, who says she has the facts to back up her allegations.

"In the mad sweep to grab all Communist leaders operating in the United States, finger pointing and name calling are rapidly setting up a situation similar to the best Nazi practices," a prominent New Yorker who had been regarded as a liberal declared last week. "No one knows where it will stop and may the Lord have mercy on anyone who ever signed his or her name to a 'petition' protesting any shade practices."

It may be notted that Hunton is the scion of parents who were great Negroes leaders. His father, William Alphaeus Hunton, was a famed YMCA worker and leader.



Trouble, trouble, trouble—These four high-ranking leftists landed back in jail today for contempt of a U. S. Grand Jury. Left to right, they are W. Alphaeus Hunton, Dashiell Hammett, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Abner Green. (Associated Press wirephoto.)

Field gets another contempt jail term

NEW YORK, July 31—(AP)—An additional six-month contempt sentence has been handed millionaire leftist Frederick Vanderbilt Field for his refusal to give data in the government's probe of the flight of four top-rung Communist leaders.

The new sentence, to be served after Field completes a previous 90-day contempt sentence, threatens to keep the great-great grandson of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt behind bars for nine months.

Field drew his new six-month sentence from Federal Judge John F. X. McGohey yesterday for refusing to tell a Federal Grand Jury the names of contributors to the Civil Rights Congress bail fund. He is a trustee of the fund.

* * *

A TOTAL OF $80,000 bail was forfeited by the C. R. C. when the four convicted Communists jumped bond early this month. The government said a clue to their hiding places might be found in the identities of bail fund contributors.

But Field denied the data to Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan July 6 and received the 90-day contempt of court sentence.

Field is appealing both sentences.

He faces the prospect of being sentenced repeatedly for contempt if called back into court after his release and he refuses to give the information.

* * *

FIELD'S ATTORNEYS fought a losing battle to obtain a concurren sentence for Field.

Field stiffened when Judge McGohey ordered the additional sentence. His wife burst into tears.

Earlier in the day, Abner Greer another trustee of the bail fund was sentenced to a second, con current six-month contempt sen tence, also for defying the Grand Jury.

Another development was an order by Federal Judge Edward A. Conger that William Z. Foster post new $5,000 bail by Monday to replace his three-year-old bond originally put up by the C. R. C. fund, now outlawed.

Foster, as titular chief Communist in the U. S., was indicted in 1949 but was not tried because of a heart ailment. His 11 co-defendants, including the four fugitives, were convicted of conspiracy to advocate and teach the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government.

Mob Attacks Newsman In Racial Row

A 64-year-old reporter was attacked in Chicago last week in front of the home of his editor who had entertained three Negro delegates to a Communist peace conference held there recently by the American Peoples Congress and Exposition for Peace.

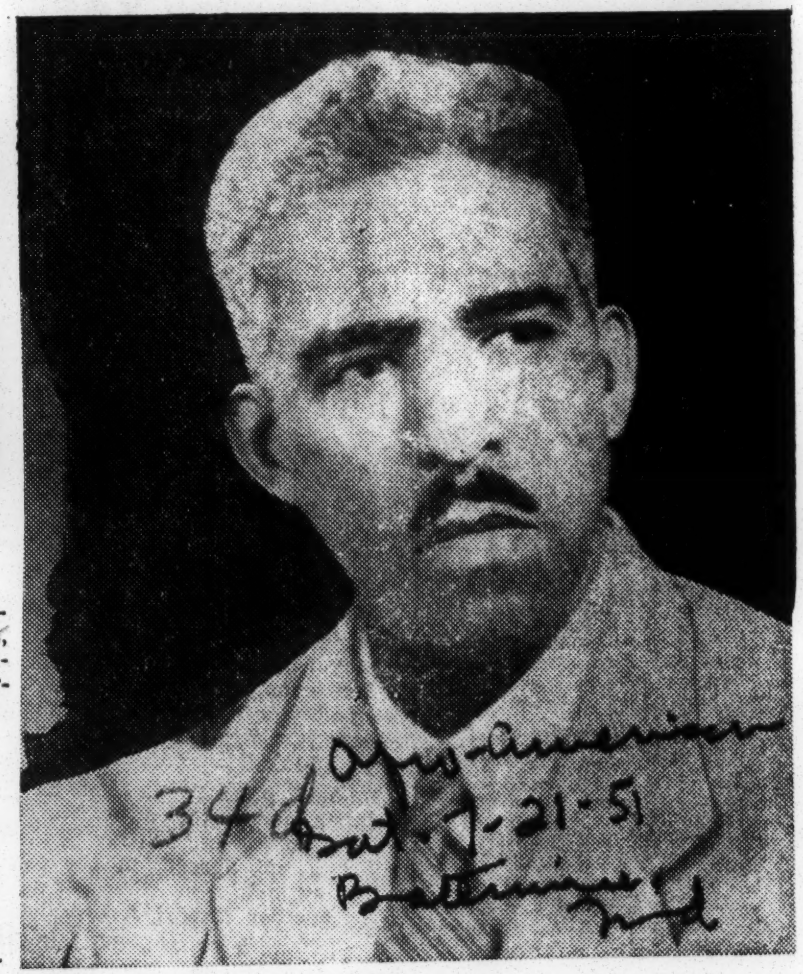
The incident occurred when reporter Leo Pruseika attempted to interview members of a crowd of about 300 people who were milling around the home of Leon Yonik, editor of the Lithuanian newspaper, Vilnis. At about the same time Pruseika was slugged, windows were broken in the Vilnis offices.

Two men who denied striking the old man, were arrested for allegedly hitting Pruseika on the head with a brick in front of the Yonik home.

This followed on the heels of an incident a day earlier at the same scene when a crowd of about 200 persons gathered to protest a Negro guest in the home of Yonik.

When the crowd grew to about 200 persons, 25 police put into effect an emergency plan which cut off an entire street for one block, but stones were thrown and half a dozen windows were broken before the mob was disbursed after midnight.

Refusal to Talk Nets 6 Months



Dr. W. A. Hunton, former Howard University professor, who on Monday was given six months in Federal jail for contempt of court. He refused to answer questions concerning the Civil Rights Congress of which he is a trustee. The Government wanted the names of contributors to the Congress's huge bail fund. The inquiry began when four convicted Communists, whose bail was provided by the Congress, failed to appear for sentencing last week.

Hunton, Field Have Rich Roots in U.S.

Both From Families Which Have Led America for 3 Generations

BALTIMORE

Dr. William Alphaeus Hunton, former Howard University professor who is under sentence of six months in Federal prison for contempt of court, comes from a deeply religious family which for three generations has pioneered in this country.

Dr. Hunton, along with other members of the Civil Rights Congress of which he is a trustee, was convicted last week for failure to reveal the names of contributors to the Congress' huge bail fund. The Congress has been labeled subversive by the U. S. Attorney General.

Dr. Hunton's grandfather was Stanton Hunton, who purchased his freedom in Virginia about 1840 and settled in Chatham, Canada. He was one of the few men who enjoyed the confidence of the famed abolitionist, John Brown, when Brown planned for the attack at Harper's Ferry.

Grandfather Hunton was a devout Christian, had "a fixed faith in religious tradition and custom, and would, if need be, vigorourly defend that faith against any admixture of newer theories or 'isms'," says Addie W. Hunton in the biography of the senior William Alphaeus Hunton, father of Dr. Hunton.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Hunton's father, following in family tradition, lived (1863-1916) to become a famed [illegible]er, who was known in this country and abroad for his development of the Young Men's Christian Association among colored people.

Father a Pioneer

It is his son, William Alphaeus

Bail Reinstated for 3 Jailed Trustees of Civil Rights Unit

NEW YORK—Judge Learned Hand of the U. S. Court of Appeals, Thursday, reinstated the bail of the three trustees of the Civil Rights Congress who were jailed on criminal attempt charges by Federal Judge Ryan, thus giving the men their freedom pending appeal of their cases.

The men were ordered released immediately in $10,000 bail each by Judge Hand. Two of them, Dr. William A. Hunton and Dashiell Hammett, noted writer of mystery stories, had been imprisoned with bail since Monday night, to begin serving six-month sentences. The third, Frederick V. Field, had been jailed earlier on a three-month term.

Judge Ryan, in refusing to set bail, said that to let the trustees out pending an appeal would be to admit the existence of a constitutional issue, and there was no such issue. Judge Hand, however, said that he felt a substantial question did exist involving the constitutional privilege of refusing to testify on the ground of self-incrimination.

FORMER MARITIME LEADER DEPORTED



Ferdinand Smith, right, in custody of an immigration officer [illegible] plane at Idlewild for London yesterday.

RED LABOR LEADER TAKES LEAVE OF U.S.

Ferdinand Smith Pays Own Way to London—Sympathizers Offer Going-Away Gifts

Ferdinand Smith, Communist and former maritime labor leader, left the United States permanently yesterday under a deportation order classifying him as undesirable and subversive.

Commissioner Edward J. Shaughnessy, district director of the Immigration Service, said Smith had gone voluntarily under the "order of deportation." Smith took a Pan American World Airways plane to London and, since he left of his own accord, paid the $375 fare himself. As an undesirable alien he will not be permitted to re-enter this country.

Smith is a native of Jamaica, British West Indies. He was one of thirty-nine persons out on bail posted by the Civil Rights Congress until Attorney General J. Howard McGrath ordered revocation of bail given by the congress.

Smith's bond was posted a year ago after he was picked up as a subversive under the McCarran Act. The act provides that any alien who is a member of a Communist or totalitarian organization is deportable as subversive.

Mr. Shaughnessy said Smith was one of thirteen who surrendered after revocation of bail. That was ten days ago and since that time Smith has been on Ellis Island. A hundred friends and sympathizers gathered at the terminal to bid farewell to Smith. Among them was Paul Robeson, singer. Many slipped rolls of bills and envelopes, presumably containing money, into his hand. Smith, a six-footer, beamed his thanks.

Smith, who said he had come to the United States as a seaman thirty-three years ago, was at one time vice president and national secretary of the National Maritime Union. He was "purged" in 1948. On leaving he spoke bitterly against Joseph Curran, head of the union.

American Communists Suffer Greatest Defeat In Attempt To Recruit Negroes

The greatest failure of the American Communists has been the complete fizzle of its attempt to recruit Negroes, a prominent Negro observer declares in the December issue of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE.

Roy Wilkins, Administrator, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," says, "The Negro section of our population has slammed the door on the Communists. And the recent steady progress in enlarging opportunities for the race is bolting it. If this progress continues, the door will stay bolted, despite the moving last fall of the National Communist headquarters from downtown New York into the heart of Harlem."

No stone was left unturned, no trick uncalled in this Communist drive, Wilkins points out, yet with all this strain and effort it is estimated that not more than 500 Negroes are Communist Party members out of a total Negro population of 15,000,000.

"Their colossal failure can be chalked up to one simple fact which the Communists either ignored or just did not comprehend. The American Negro is an American. The vast majority of our colored citizens have never even been fellow travelers; a few have been hitchhikers for short stretches when it served a particular purpose. True, they are dissatisfied with their treatment, often angry and bitter, but at bottom they are loyal to America and its ideals," Wilkins explains.

Communist

Supreme Court Upholds Sentences of Red Leaders



The 11 Communist leaders whose conspiracy conviction was upheld yesterday by the United States Supreme court. Left to right: Front, Robert G. Thompson, Henry Winston, Eugene Dennis, Gus Hall, and John B. Williamson. Rear, Jacob Stachel, Irving Potash, Carl Winter, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., John Gates, and Gilbert Green.

[Acme Photo]

COURT UPHOLDS CONVICTION OF 11 RED LEADERS

Thousands Face Prosecution

BY WILLARD EDWARDS
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, June 4 — Eleven Communist party leaders must go to prison, the Supreme court decreed today, for criminal conspiracy to advocate the destruction of the United States government by force and violence.

The 6 to 2 decision does not technically outlaw the Communist party but its effect is to subject every active Communist to prosecution. The justice department last year stated that its criminal division was considering the possibility of prosecuting some 12,000 individual communi[illegible] the Supreme court upheld the conviction of the party heads.

Chief Justice Vinson read the majority opinion, declaring that the organization of the Communist party by the 11 defendants and their subsequent activities constituted "a clear and present danger of an attempt to overthrow the government by force and violence." He ruled that the Smith act of 1940, under which the leaders were convicted, was constitutional.

Black, Douglas Dissent

Justices Reed, Burton, Frankfurter, Minton, and Jackson joined the chief justice, with the last two issuing separate concurring opinions. Justices Black and Douglas vigorously dissented, declaring that the ruling weakened the right to free speech and a free press and questioning the "danger" of communist operations.

Justice Clark, who was attorney general when the prosecution of the communist leaders was initiated, refrained from participation in the case.

The eleven convicted men are Eugene Dennis, the party's general secretary, and his fellow members of the American politburo or national board, John B. Williamson, Jacob Stachel, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Henry Winston, John Gates, Irving Potash, Gilbert Green, Carl Winter, Gus Hall, and Robert C. Thompson.

The guilty verdict against them was returned before Federal Judge Harold R. Medina on Oct. 14, 1949, after one of the longest criminal trials on record, just short of nine months. Ten of the defendants received sentences of 5 years in prison and $10,000 fines. Thompson received a 3 year sentence and $10,000 fine.

Effective Within 25 Days

The high court's mandate is expected to take effect within 25 days. The defendants have been free on bonds ranging from $20,000 to $30.000. Dennis recently completed a jail term for contempt of congress.

The purpose of the Smith act, Vinson said, was to protect the government from change by violence, revolution and terrorism. Congress undoubtedly has the power to pass such legislation and the question before the court was whether the law conflicted with the 1st and 5th amendments to the Constitution.

The 1st amendment protects freedom of speech and of the press. The 5th amendment protects the citizenry from illegal deprivation of life, liberty or property.

Argue Purpose of Act

The communist leaders argued, Vinson said, that the Smith act prohibited "academic discussion of the merits of Marxism-Leninism." But the law was directed at "advocacy," not "discussion," he said, and "congress did not intend to eradicate the free discussion of political theories."

"In this case," said Vinson, "we are squarely presented with the application of the 'clear and present danger' test and must decide what that phrase imports . . . overthrow of the government by force and violence is certainly a substantial enough interest for the government to limit speech. Indeed, this is the ultimate value of any society, for if a society cannot protect its very structure from armed internal attack, it must follow that no subordinate value can be protected.

"Obviously the words [clear and present danger] cannot mean that before the government may act, it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid and the signal is awaited.

"If government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstances permit, action by the government is required.

"Sufficient Evil to Prevent"

"Certainly an attempt to overthrow the government by force, even tho doomed from the outset because of inadequate numbers or power of the revolutionists, is a sufficient evil for congress to to prevent.

"The formation by petitioners of such a highly organized conspiracy, with rigidly disciplined members subject to call when the leaders felt the time had come for action, coupled with the inflammable nature of world conditions, similar uprisings in other countries . . . creates the danger.

"Petitioners intended to overthrow the government of the United States as speedily as the circumstances would permit."

Justice Black, dissenting, declared:

"These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas a later time . . . to organize the Communist party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.

Censorship, Black Says

"No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the first amendment forbids.

"Undoubtedly, a governmental policy of unfettered communication of ideas does entail dangers. To the founders of this nation, however, the benefits derived from free expression were worth the risk. . . . I cannot agree that the first amendment permits us to sustain laws suppressing freedom of speech and press. Such a doctrine waters down the first amendment.

"Public opinion being what it now is, few will protest the conviction of these communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the 1st amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Douglas Tells His Dissent

Justice Douglas, dissenting, said he would not have hesitated to join the majority if the defendants had been shown teaching "the techniques of sabotage, the assassination of the President, the filching of documents from public files, the planting of bombs, and the like."

"But the fact is that no such evidence was introduced at the trial," he said. "The present case is not one of treason. . . . The illegality is made to turn on intent, not on the nature of the act. We then start probing men's minds for motive and purpose; they become entangled in the law not for what they did but for what they thought. . . .

"The record contains no evidence showing that . . . the teaching of the soviet theory of revolution has created any clear and present danger to the nation. . . . Communism in the world scene is no bogey-man; but communista as a political faction or party in this country plainly is. . . . The people know soviet communism; the doctrine of soviet revolution is exposed in all of its ugliness and the American people want none of it. . . . It is impossible for me to say that the Communists in this country are so potent or so strategically deployed that they must be suppressed for their speech."

Outlines Party History

Justice Jackson, in a separate concurring opinion, outlined Communist party history here and abroad. Justice Frankfurter also issued a separate concurring opinion.

The decision split the court, 5 to [illegible] workers who were fired for refusing to sign affidavits disclosing [illegible] by 17 former Los Angeles city employes were Communist party members. Many similar oath [illegible] have been put into said a municipal employer was not [illegible] planned in many prohibited from inquiring into [illegible] the fitness and suitability of his [illegible] employes filed suit to [illegible]

In another decision on the final day of the court term before the summer recess, the court ruled that cities can compel their workers to take loyalty oaths but cannot fire them solely on grounds of past membership in the Commu- of the majority opinion.

The decision came on an appeal

Supreme Court Upholds Convictions Of 11 Red Leaders

THE SUPREME Court last week upheld the conviction of 11 of America's top Communists for conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the Government.

The decision, on which the court split 6-2, validated the controversial Smith Act of 1940.

New federal prosecutions of the nation's Reds were expected to be undertaken as an immediate result. Last year, a congressional committee was told by a top official that the Dept. of Justice criminal division was considering the possibility of prosecuting some 12,000 individual Communists.

Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath issued a statement following the court's action in which he hailed the decision as "a bad day for conspirators."

"Now that it is known that the Smith Act is valid," McGrath said, "the department is able to proceed to give additional protection against those who seek to overthrow the government by violence."

Communist Party attorneys indicated they will ask the court for a rehearing.

The Smith Act, under which the 11 were convicted, makes it unlawful for any person "to knowingly . . . teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing any government in the United States by force and violence."

The case on which the court ruled began in 1947 when evidence was presented to a special grand jury in New York. An indictment was returned on July 20, 1948, and the trial of the 11 Communist leaders began before Federal Judge Harold Medina on Jan. 17, 1949.

The trial lasted seven months and has been described as "one of the longest, stormiest criminal trials in American judicial history." When it was over, ten of the defendants were each given five years and fined $10,000. The 11th was given three years, plus a similar fine.

IN THE majority decision, delivered by Chief Justice Vinson, the Supreme Court held that the Communist leaders "intended to overthrow the Government of the United States as speedily as circumstances would permit."

Vinson said that their conspiracy created a "clear and present danger" and that they had been "properly and constitutionally convicted" in the lower court—for violation of the Smith Act.

Those voting to uphold the conviction besides Vinson were Justices Reed, Frankfurter, Jackson, Burton and Minton. Justices Jackson and Frankfurter wrote separate concurring opinions.

Against conviction were Justices Black and Douglas. Each wrote a separate dissent. Justice Clark, who was Attorney General when the Communists were indicted, disqualified himself from participating in the case.

Vinson's majority opinion said:

"We reject any principle of governmental helplessness in the face of preparation for revolution, which principle, carried to its logical conclusion, must lead to anarchy. No one could conceive that it is not within the power of Congress to prohibit acts intended to overthrow the government by force and violence.

"The question with which we are concerned here is not whether Congress has such power, but whether the means which it has employed conflict with the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution."

It was largely this central question of whether the Smith Act is constitutional in making mere advocacy and teaching of ideas a crime that Douglas and Black considered in their dissents.

Black said that the majority decision "waters down the First Amendment so that it amounts to little more than an admonition to Congress."

"The Amendment as construed," he added, "is not likely to protect any but those 'safe' or orthodox views which rarely need its protection. Public opinion being what it now is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners.

"There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, they or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Douglas hit at the majority decision on the grounds that the Communists were not accused of any actual overt acts against the government.

"Never until today," he added, "has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of conspiracy could constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct . . . I repeat that we deal here with speech alone, not with speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct."

Douglas said that the Smith Act, as construed, requires that those who teach the creed believe in it. He continued:

"THE CRIME then depends not on what is taught but on who the teacher is. That is, to make freedom of speech turn not on what is said, but on the intent with which it is said.

"Once we start down that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen. We then start probing men's mind for motive and purpose; they become entangled in the law not for what they did, but for what they thought."

The 11 convicted are Robert G. Thompson, Eugene Dennis, John B. Williamson, Jacob Stachel, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Henry Winston, John Gates, Irving Potash, Gilbert Green, Carl Winter and Gus Hall.

City Loyalty Oaths Upheld

In a 5-to-4 decision, the Supreme Court on June 4 upheld the right of cities to compel municipal employes to take loyalty oaths.

But the majority opinion, written by Justice Clark, declared that any dismissals growing out of the requirement should not be based solely on an individual's past affiliation with the Communist party.

The decision came on an appeal by 17 former Los Angeles city workers fired for refusing to sign oaths disclosing whether they were Communist Party members.

Justices Douglas, Black, Frankfurter and Burton filed dissenting opinions. The latter hit the oath requirement in that it "leaves no room for a change of heart."

Says Court Guards Innocent

"Past conduct may well relate to present fitness," he said. "Past loyalty may have a reasonable relationship to present and future trust."

The courts will protect those persons who may have been "innocent" members of communist organizations, Clark said, or those who quit when they became aware of the nature of the organization. He said those who refused to take the oath should be given a new opportunity to take it in view of this guarantee.

Douglas, in the main dissenting opinion, said the oath requirement amounted to an unconstitutional bill of attinder, a law which inflicts punishment without a court trial. Black, also dissenting, said the decision, like the ruling in the case of the 11 communist leaders, "weakens one more of the constitution's great guarantees of individual liberty."

ANOTHER DIMOUT IN A DARKENING WORLD





Guilty—Ben Davis, left, former New York City Councilman, and Henry Winston, were two of the eleven convicted Communists whose appeals to the U. S. Supreme Court were turned down in a 5 to 2 decision last week. The Red leaders had been convicted on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence."

Conviction Of Top Reds Is Upheld

6-2 Vote Rules That 11 Planned U. S. Overthrow

From Wire Dispatches

Washington, June 4.—The Supreme Court today upheld the conspiracy convictions of the United States Communist Party's 11 top leaders, holding that they "intended to overthrow the Government of the United States as speedily as the circumstances would permit."

With Justices Douglas and Black dissenting and calling the decision a blow against freedom of speech, the court by the same 6-to-2 vote held the 1940 Smith Act constitutional—thus opening the way for prosecution of thousands of rank-and-file Communists.

'Bad Day' for Reds

Attorney General McGrath indicated that plans for such a Red roundup already may be in the works. Declaring this "a bad day for the conspirators," McGrath said the Justice Department now can "proceed to give additional protection against those who seek to overthrow the Government by violence."

McGrath was not specific about his plans, however, and there were indications the Department might confine any roundup to 75 or so state and district leaders prominent in the Communist Party. One official pointed out that conspiracy would be easier to prove against a party leader than against a mere member.

For the 11 top leaders, today's decision almost certainly meant prison ns beginning in about 30 days.

Vinson Writes Opinion

The high court, in a decision written by Chief Justice Vinson, ruled they were "properly and constitutionally convicted" in New York of conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, in violation of the Smith Act.

Justices Reed, Burton, and Minton joined in Vinson's opinion, which held that the Communist conspiracy "created a 'clear and present danger' of an attempt to overthrow the Government by force and violence."

Justices Jackson and Frankfurter filed separate concurring opinions, in which they nevertheless expressed misgivings at the possible effect of the decision on freedom of expression. Justice Clark took no part in the case. The Communist officials were indicted while he was head of the Justice Department.

10 Have Stayed Free

The Red leaders involved are Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the U. S. Communist Party, and these other members of the so-called "American Politburo": Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Gilbert Green, Robert G. Thompson, John Gates, John B. Williamson, Carl Winter, Gus Hall, Jacob Stachel, Henry Winston, and Irving Potash.

All but Thompson were sentenced to five years in prison in October, 1949, at the end of their turbulent New York trial. Thompson got three years, in view of his Pacific war service in the U. S. Army. Each of the 11 was fined $10,000.

Ten of the defendants have remained free in a total of $260,000 bail. The 11th, Dennis, was sent to jail for a year on a contempt of Congress charge not directly related to the conspiracy proceeding. He completed his sentence and was released March 12.

Black's Dissent Is Sharper

While today's decision lops off the leadership of the Communist Party in Amreica, in effect, it does not outlaw the party. The Government is proceeding in another action to force registration of the party as a foreign-dominated agency under the Subversives Control law passed last year.

Justice Black filed the sharper of the two dissents from the high court's decision, saying:

"Public opinion being what it now is, few will protest the conviction of the Communist petitioners.

"There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions, and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment (free speech) liberties to the high, preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Says Reds Crippled

He criticized the court's refusal to consider the actual conduct of the Communists' trial, asserting that the jury panel was chosen in a discriminatory way and one juror was "violently hostile" to the Reds before and during the trial.

Douglas said the court was entering "territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen."

Rejecting the majority's view that the Communists' activities created "a clear and present danger," he said:

"Communism in the world scene is no bogeyman; but Communists as a political faction or party in this country plainly is. Communism has been so thoroughly exposed in this country that it has been crippled as a political force. Free speech has destroyed it as an effective political party."

Sees No Danger

Douglas argued there was no evidence in the trial record that the Red leaders' advocacy of revolution actually endangered the nation, and contended there was no justification for the majority to find they represent a grave peril to the nation.

He said the Communists in this country are weak "merchants of unwanted ideas," and the F.B.I. is prepared to pick them up overnight in case of war with Russia.

Reflecting the sharp conflict within the court, Jackson introduced his concurring opinion with the comment:

"I think more is involved here than whether a handful of Communists go to jail or not. If I didn't, I could accept the cliches that have been heard here today without contributing some of my own."

Calls Laws Inept

Jackson said conspiracy laws are "an awkward and inept way" of dealing with subversive organizations. "But," he said, "I find no constitutional authority for taking this weapon from the Government. There is no constitutional right to 'gang up' on the Government."

He also said the evil of conspiracy was enough to sustain the convictions without applying the "clear-and-present-danger" test, but added that no decision of the Supreme Court could stop a revolution. "Whenever the existing Government fails to command the respect and loyalty of the people and sufficient distress and discontent is allowed to grow up among the masses."

He had "little faith" that today's action could stop the rise of communism which, he said, feeds on "corruption, ineptitude, oppressive taxation, militarization, injustice, and loss of leadership capable of intellectual initiative in domestic or foreign affairs."

"Communism will not go to jail with these Communists," he asserted.

Files Long Opinion

Frankfurter filed a 45-page concurring opinion—a little more than twice the length of the Chief Justice's opinion.

While agreeing that the Communists' convictions should be upheld, Frankfurter said, "it would be a major defeat if the enemies of democracy forced us to abandon our faith in the power of informed discussion and so brought us down to their levels."

In other major decisions, the court:

1. Refused to review contempt-of-court sentences imposed on six attorneys who defended the Communist leaders. The six—Harry Sacher, Richard Gladstein, George W. Crockett, Jr., Abraham J. Isserman, Louis F. McAbe, and Eugene Dennis—now face jail terms ranging from one to six months. Dennis, a defendant in the case, also served as a defense attorney.

Can Compel Oaths

2. Held, 5 to 4, that cities can compel their workers to take loyalty oaths but cannot fire them solely on grounds of past membership in the Communist Party.

3. Decided, 6 to 3, that cities can ban door-to-door solicitation by book agents, magazine salesmen, and other peddlers.

4. Handed down four opinions upholding the National Labor Relations Board in handling secondary-boycott disputes under the Taft-Hartley Law. In one—which gave the clearest definition of an illegal boycott to date—the justices ruled unanimously that a union cannot strike against a general contractor to stop him from dealing with a nonunion subcontractor.

RULING ON COMMUNISTS HANDCUFFS THE PARTY

Supreme Court, in Effect, Has Held That All Its Operations Are Illegal

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 9—The decision of the Supreme Court Monday upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist party leaders is one of the most momentous in the recent history of that tribunal. So vast are its implications that lawyers, scholars and moralists will be arguing over it for a decade.

What the court has decided, according to informed interpretations here, is that the Communist party of America has for its purpose the violent overthrow of the Government, and any person who tries or conspires to carry out that purpose is guilty of violating the law. That is the same thing as saying, it is held, that the Communist party itself is illegal and that those active on its behalf are lawbreakers.

Ostensibly at least, the group is a political party. For thirty years it has operated as such; has entered candidates in local and Federal elections, and has even on occasion elected them to office. It has also, quite obviously, been up to something else, too—subversion.

But the inescapable fact remains that, for the first time, a political party in the United States has, to all intents and purposes, been put beyond the pale of the law. That, under any circumstances, is a sobering thought for the citizens of the world's freest democracy.

Government Weapon

There also is another aspect of far-reaching importance. The Government having, at long last, definitely established the criminal nature of Communist party objectives, and thereby of the Communist party itself, now has a new and devastating weapon with which to fight Communist subversion. The court has given the Department of Justice a long-awaited green light to go after suspected groups and individuals whom it could not touch as long as the party's dogma enjoyed the protection of legal status.

Departmental officials naturally are reluctant to disclose their plans. But it is no secret that in the internal-security section there is a huge backlog of potential prosecution under the Smith Act which they have been sitting on pending the outcome of this case. These will begin to move into the courts in increasing volume in the next few months.

Like the iceberg, there is more to the Communist party than meets the eye. F. B. I. Director J. Edgar Hoover says that the ratio of visible to invisible Communists is about 10 to 1. Mr. Hoover estimates the actual number of professional party members today at 43,000 (which is about 10,000 less than his estimate for last year). In the train of these are some 450,000 to 500,000 fellow-travelers and other categories of sympathizers.

Membership Figures

The F. B. I. exhibits a map showing state-by-state membership of the party. The concentration, naturally, follows the density of industrial populations, so a great many more are found in the Northeast and on the West Coast than in the interior of the country. New York's Communist population of 22,575 is the highest in the country, followed by California with 4,550, Illinois with 3,105 and Pennsylvania with 2,322. Mississippi trails the list, with only one party member.

The phrase "card-carrying Communist," Mr. Hoover points out, is now obsolete. Since the indictment of the party leaders in 1948 strict security measures have been taken to purge the party of unreliables and to plug the avenues for infiltration. Cards, membership lists and most other written records have been abolished.

Structurally, the Communist party resembles in most respects the Democratic and Republican organizations. Principal authority (ostensibly at least) resides in the national convention, which is supposed to meet every two years and to set party policy. Actually, there has not been a convention of the party in more than three years and, according to the prosecution testimony in the trial, party policy is dictated from Moscow.

Undercover Advances

The party entrusts most of its propaganda work and political agitation to "front" organizations. By quietly gaining control of such organizations it uses them to advance its various causes and to promote its political candidates.

Mr. Hoover says that 38 per cent of the known Communists are employed in such major industries as steel, mining, transportation, communications, etc. He adds, however, that, with only a few exceptions, the American labor movement today is virtually free of Communist influence.

In the view of responsible officials here, it is now obvious that any officer or active leader of the Communist party is theoretically subject to prosecution under the Smith act. His activities in behalf of the party, in teaching its principles, advancing its programs, recruiting members and followers would seem to fall into precisely the same pattern as the activities for which the eleven members of the "Politburo" were convicted.

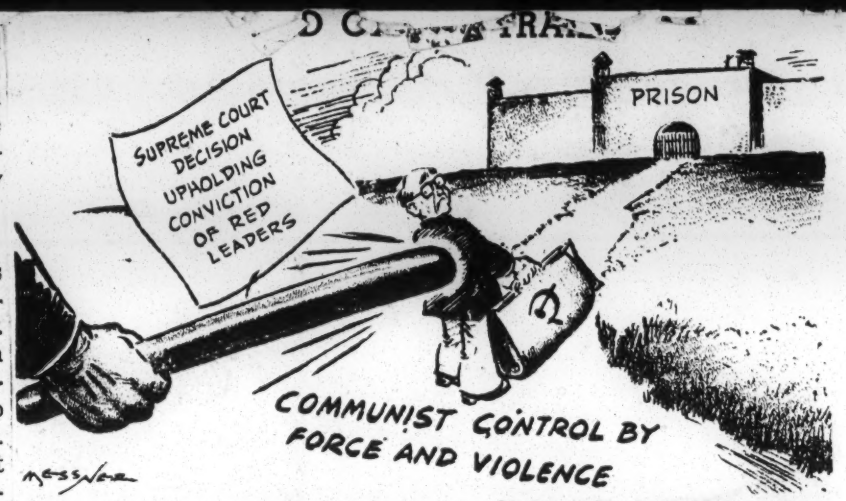
Does this run the Communist party of America out of existence? In a practical sense, the answer would appear to be, "Yes, it does." It is inconceivable that the Department of Justice with this devastating new weapon in its hands and under the insistent pressure that comes from powerful segments of Congress and the public, will fail to use it freely. It can, if it wishes (and the indications are

so wishes) and heckle and
the party and its leaders
potence as an effectively
ed body.

ck on Recruitment

Moreover, the psychological effects both of the trial and the conviction are calculated to make a great many of the less faithful scurry for cover. Recruitment of new members, it would seem, is bound to suffer. And present members must be aware (unless their lawyers have failed them) that the notoriety surrounding this case weakens any subsequent plea they might offer that they "didn't know" what the party really stood for.

However, as Justice Robert H. Jackson pointed out in his concurring opinion, "communism will not go to jail with these Com-



Messner in The Rochester Times-Union

J." The fanatical impulses
munism are not likely to be
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o:

Students of the movement here are convinced that the party will simply fractionate and go deeper underground. Indeed, it is said, the process has already begun. The only visible evidences to be left above ground—The Daily Worker, some educational groups and administrative organs—will, it is believed, become models of calculated circumspection.

Second Look

Such solace as the comrades can find in this melancholy turn of events they must find in these two facts.

First, the deep split in the Supreme Court which this decision caused strongly portends a second, and possibly a less hostile, look at the whole question.

Second, this undoing of the Communist party has been achieved only by a violent upheaval in our judicial concepts. The disfranchisement of a political party is not an easy price for Americans to pay for any sort of security.

Supreme Court Upholds Conviction of 11 Top U.S. Communist Leaders

Roundup of Subversives Looms as Tribunal Rules 1940 Law Constitutional

WASHINGTON, June 4 (AP).—The Supreme Court today upheld the conspiracy convictions of the U. S. Communist Party's 11 top leaders, holding that they "intended to overthrow the Government of the United States as speedily as the circumstances would permit."

With Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black dissenting from the history-making decision, and calling it a blow against freedom of speech, the court by the same 6 to 2 vote held the 1940 Smith Act constitutional—thus opening the way for prosecution of thousands of rank-and-file Communists.

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath indicated that plans for a Communist roundup may already be in the works.

Declaring this "a bad day for the conspirators," McGrath said the Justice Department now can "proceed to give additional protection against those who seek to overthrow the Government by violence."

NOT SPECIFIC ON PLANS

McGrath was not specific about his plans, however, and there were indications that the department might confine any roundup to 75 or so State and district leaders prominent in the Communist Party. One official pointed out that conspiracy would be easier to prove against a party leader than against a mere member.

(The Smith Law makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force or violence, to circulate literature advocating such action or to belong to any organization having such purpose.)

For the 11 top leaders, today's decision almost certainly meant prison terms beginning in about 30 days.

CONCUR IN OPINION

The high court, in a decision written by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, ruled that they were "properly and constitutionally convicted" in New York of conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, in violation of the Smith Act.

Justices Stanley Reed, Harold H. Burton and Sherman Minton joined in Vinson's opinion, which held that the Communist conspiracy "created a 'clear and present danger' of an attempt to overthrow the Government by force and violence."

Justices Robert H. Jackson and Felix Frankfurter filed separate concurring opinions, in which they nevertheless expressed misgivings at the possible effect of the decision on freedom of expression. Justice Tom C. Clark took no part in the case. The Communist officials were indicted while he was head of the Justice Department.

RED LEADERS INVOLVED

The Red leaders involved are Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the U. S. Communist Party, and these other members of the so-called "American Politburo": Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Gilbert Green, Robert G. Thompson, John Gates, John B. Williamson, Carl Winter, Gus Hall, Jacob Stachel, Henry Winston and Irving Potash.

All but Thompson were sentenced in October, 1949, at the end of their turbulent New York trial, to five years in prison. Thompson got a lighter sentence, three years, in view of his Pacific war service in the U. S. Army. Each of the 11 was fined $10,000.

FREE IN $260,000 BAIL

Ten of the defendants have remained free in a total of $260,000 bail. The 11th, Dennis, was sent to jail for a year on a contempt of Congress charge not directly related to the conspiracy proceeding. He completed his sentence and was released March 12.

In New York Dennis said the Communist Party would ask the court for "an immediate rehearing."

In Chicago, Green said that "no Supreme Court decision can break the Communist Party. We're here to stay."

PARTY NOT OUTLAWED

While today's decision lops off the leadership of the Communist Party in America, in effect, it does not outlaw the party. The Government is proceeding in another action to force registration of the party as a foreign-dominated agency, under the Subversives Control Law passed last year.

For all the high drama and international implications involved, the announcement of the Supreme Court decision was a matter-of-fact and sedate affair — with black-robed justices seated on their high bench reading calmly the sometimes jaw-breaking legal words of their opinions.

By contrast, the New York trial—dragging on for 39 weeks — was marked by repeated courtroom outbursts and by demonstrations in the street outside the courthouse, with chanting, sign-carrying pickets calling the trial a frameup and heckling the presiding judge.

BLACK'S DISSENT SHARP

Black filed the sharper of the two dissents from the high court's decision in the leaders' case, saying:

"Public opinion being what it now is, few will protest the conviction of the Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment (free speech) liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Douglas said the court was entering "territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen."

Rejecting the majority's view that the Communists' activities created "a clear and present danger," he said: "Communism in the world scene is no bogey-man; but Communists as a political faction or party in this country plainly is. Communism has been so thoroughly exposed in this country that it has been crippled as a political force. Free speech has destroyed it as an effective political party."

Jackson, in concurring with the majority, said conspiracy laws are "an awkward and inept way" of dealing with subversive organizations. "But," he said, "I find no constitutional authority for taking this weapon from the Government. There is no constitutional right to 'gang up' on the government."

11 Reds Lose in Supreme Court; Smith Act Sustained by 6 to 2; Party Chiefs Face Prison July 1

Black and Douglas File Sharp Dissents

Loyalty Oaths of Cities Upheld; Court Agrees to Rule on Feinberg Law

By Don Irwin

WASHINGTON, June 4.—The Supreme Court affirmed 6-to-2 today the conviction of eleven of the nation's top Communists for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government in violation of the Smith act of 1940.

The high court's decision apparently in effect ended the series of appeals that has stayed execution of sentences on the eleven since their conviction by a United States District Court Jury in New York on Oct. 14, 1949, after a stormy nine-months trial before United States District Judge Harold R. Medina. Beginning about July 1, ten of the Reds face five-year jail terms and the eleventh a three-year sentence. All face $10,000 fines.

Opens Way to Other Trials

The decision also appeared to have heightened the likelihood of further prosecutions of Communists under the Smith act. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath said after the court's decision was announced that, now it is known the law is valid, the Justice Department "is able to proceed to give additional protection against those who seek to overthrow the government by violence."

Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson read the basic decision on which the convictions were sustained. It held invalid arguments advanced by counsel for the defendants that the Smith act violates the First Amendment of the constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech. It upheld the finding of Learned Hand, former chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals Second Circuit in New York, that "clear and present danger" justifies abridgment of the freedom in the case of the Communist leaders.

"Clear and Present Danger"

The concluding words of the opinion were:

"Petitioners intended to overthrow the government as speedily as circumstances would permit. Their conspiracy to organize the Communist party and to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence created a 'clear and present danger' of an attempt to overthrow the government by force and violence. They were properly and constitutionally convicted under the Smith act. The judgments of conviction are affirmed."

Concurring in Chief Justice Vinson's opinion were Associate Justices Stanley F. Reed, Harold H. Burton and Sherman Minton. Separate concurring opinions that agreed with the finding, but questioned some of the arguments, were submitted by Associate Justices Felix Frankfurter and Robert H. Jackson. Associate Justice Tom C. Clark, who was attorney general during the nine-month trial, took no part in the case.

Tan Spy Flown Back to U.S.

Stewart Watches Him Board Plane

BY OLLIE STEWART

GENEVA, Switzerland — The cloak and dagger career of Charles E. Davis, 23, of Pasedena, Calif., came to a sorry end in Europe at nine o'clock Saturday night, when the admitted spy for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, was escorted to a TWA plane here by Swiss police, put aboard for the United States, and wanted not to return to Switzerland for the next ten years.

Present at his expulsion were U.S. vice-Consul Charles Thomas and a small group of reporters who had tried for days—unsuccessfully—to see Davis following his conviction.

Evidently a sick man from his 11 months of imprisonment, Davis was hurried aboard the plane by the police.

Statement Signed

According to the police, Davis signed a statement just before his departure, saying he was "glad to be going back to the USA." This was contrary, however, to his statement immediately after his conviction for espionage. At that time he said he didn't want to return to the States, but hoped to travel in Germany, Austria or Italy.

He had no money, however, and had to be helped out by the American Consulate General. But for this help—in the form of a loan—Davis's passport was invalidated for travel except to the United States.

Davis was convicted of "political espionage" by a five-man Federal Court in Lausanne, on Tuesday. His trial took 36 hours. Thin-faced from an illness reported to be tuberculosis, which he said he contracted while in jail, Davis admitted that he had spied on American diplomatic personnel in Switzerland for Senator McCarthy.

Admitted Telegram

He admitted sending a telegram to former U.S. minister to Switzerland, John Carter Vincent, saying, "Send information on Alex Jordan"—which made it appear that Jordan was involved in Communistic activities, and that Vincent was close in touch with the same circles and could therefore give any information desired.

Actually, Jordan is a medical student here who says he knows nothing whatever about Swiss Communists, and Davis has apologized to Vincent for the telegram.

"I was employed to find out who is not under the influence of Communism," Davis said in court. And later added: "I came to Europe to make contact with leftists, since I wanted to write about their activities."

The Swiss court took the position that he should have done his spying outside the borders of Switzerland—so they sentenced him to eight months in prison, expelled him from Switzerland for ten years, and gave him three days to get out of the country.

Watched by Police

However, since Davis had already been in jail for 11 months, he was declared a free man—except that he must remain in custody of the police until he left Switzerland.

Also, since he had no money, and since the American Consul General in Geneva, Robert E. Ward Jr., limited his passport for travel only to the United States, there was no place for Davis to go but the USA.

Consul Ward and vice-consul Charles Thomas announced immedidately after the trial that money would be loaned Davis to go home, the same as is done for any American who gets stranded away from home.

Although Davis was technically a free man after his trial, he was still guarded in the Geneva Cantonal Hospital by Swiss police until his departure.

I got a flat "No" when I asked the police for an interview. All the other reporters here got the same answer. He was unavailable even to Consul Ward. Before his trial, consular officials had to get a special authorization to see him in the hospital.

Born in Texas

Davis was born in Dallas, Texas, but his family later moved to Pasadena. He attended high school and city college there, and said he studied journalism. Also said he worked for the California Eagle when he came to Europe. He was in the Navy seven months after the war.

Apparently motivated by a desire to mingle with people at the top, he said he made contact with a man named John E. Farrand in Paris, who paid all his expenses for travel to and from Switzerland, and sent him money from time to time.

But also apparently he didn't make any real friends. Dr. Maurice Jeanneret, prominent member of the Swiss Workers Party, who introduced Davis to several people when he first arrived here about a year ago, shouted at Davis during the trial:

"You sold your soul to save your skin!"

The woman who was once reported to have been his mistress, Mrs. Elizabeth Pfister, divorced wife of Frederic Eggenschyler, one of Davis's chief accusers, yelled at Davis:

"You pig, you!"

Papers Disappeared

She said papers she had shown to Davis had subsequently disappeared. Her former husband, Eggenschyler, accused Davis of diverting to himself mail which was intended for Eggenschyler and his wife.

Davis had once said he was working for the American Embassy in Paris, but later changed and said he had no connection with the Embassy.

When I talked to Consul Ward and vice-Consul Thomas, they agreed that the safest place for Davis was in the USA—if there is any safe place for him.

"He has from time to time brought us names of people to be investigated for leftist activities but we didn't take any action. I am glad now that we did not turn them over to the FBI, with no more proof than Davis had to offer. He has had to apologize to just about everybody he has accused. If we had listened to him—we would be apologizing to people ourselves."

All Knew of Trial

Everybody in Lausanne and Geneva knows about the Davis affair. I arrived first in Lausanne, where the trial was held, and before I could register at my hotel the porter was asking about Davis.

After the trial, when Davis was taken back to Geneva, I followed. And even though I couldn't get to talk to him, everybody I met in the lovely city on the lake assumed that Davis was the one person I was interested in. They were right, but not for the reason they thought.

One man said: "I know you want to do something to help your compatriot."

I didn't bother to explain that I merely wanted the facts in the case.

Davis's own attorney based his plea for leniency on the ground that Davis was "a naive child who made a mistake."

Davis No Fool

Davis himself said he made a mistake—after the trial. But the newsmen who are stationed here seemed of the opinion that Davis was no fool, and knew exactly what he was doing.

"Seems like a smart cookie to me," one veteran reporter told me.

The whole Davis affair has an air of unreality about it. There were several questions to which I could get no answer.

Why was Davis held in jail eleven months before being brought to trial? Why was he guarded so closely after his conviction, in view of the fact that he was declared a free man. And finally, what did Davis get out of his spy activities, if he was absolutely broke when the end came?

A Swiss in the old League of Nations building gave me his opinion on the last question: "I would say that the chap got quite a lot out of it. He mixed with the best people, his expenses were paid and quite a few women here seemed to like his company!"

Davis is said to be the first colored American ever to be convicted of political espionage on record in Swiss courts.

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Communist

Dr. Channing H. Tobias

Denies Ever Being a Red



Associated Press wirephoto

Dr. Channing H. Tobias testifying yesterday before Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee which later approved his nomination as alternate delegate to the United Nations

34d 1951

Com munists

COMMUNISTS ON WAY TO FEDERAL PRISON



Four top leaders behind bars in an armored bus as they left the House of Detention here yesterday for Lewisburg, Pa., where they will start serving five-year conspiracy sentences. Left to right: Benjamin J. Davis Jr., former City Councilman; John B. Williamson, Eugene Dennis and Irving Potash.

Associated Press

FIELD SENT TO JAIL IN CONTEMPT CASE, BUT WINS BAIL BID

Again Refuses to Name Those Who Put Up $80,000 Bond for Fugitive Communists

MAY BE RELEASED TODAY

Another Trustee and Woman Bookkeeper of Fund Also Flout Orders of Court

By RUSSELL PORTER

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, millionaire "angel" of the Communist party and "front" organizations, was remanded to jail yesterday after he had rejected a final opportunity to purge himself of contempt of court.

He was taken from the Federal courthouse about noon to the Federal House of Detention to begin a ninety-day sentence that had been imposed upon him for having declined to identify the owners of the $80,000 in bonds forfeited by four top Communists who had jumped bail on Monday.

Yesterday afternoon, counsel for Field applied to Judge Thomas W. Swan of the Circuit Court of Appeals at New Haven, Conn., for his release in bail pending appeal. After a two-hour closed hearing, Judge Swan directed that Field be freed in $10,000 bail. This was announced by United States Attorney Irving H. Saypol, who said Judge Swan had signed a temporary order in which he reserved the right to change the amount of bail upon further consideration. Field is expected to be released on bail this morning. Victor Rabinowitz appeared as defense counsel at the hearing.

Seven Others Off to Prison

Field arrived at the House of Detention several hours after the seven Communist leaders who had surrendered Monday had been transferred to Lewisburg (Pa) Federal Prison. Handcuffed and wearing prison uniforms of blue denim, they were transferred in an armored bus that contained twelve other prisoners, including David Greenglass, convicted atomic spy. Greenglass is serving a fifteen-year term. His co-defendants, Mr. and Mrs. Julius Rosenberg, are under sentence of death.

The seven Communist leaders were Eugene Dennis, John B. Williamson, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Carl Winter, Irving Potash, John Gates and Jacob Stachel. Each is serving a five-year sentence.

"Where are your four friends?" yelled someone in a small crowd of spectators outside the House of Detention, referring to the four bail jumpers, Gus Hall, Robert Thompson, Henry Winston and Gilbert Green. All had received five-year sentences except Thompson, who got three years.

The eleven were convicted in 1949 of criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. On June 4 their convictions were upheld by the Supreme Court.

After conviction, and pending appeal, they were freed on $260,000 bail supplied by Field's fund. They were ordered to surrender on Monday to begin serving their sentences. When only seven appeared bench warrants were issued immediately for the four fugitives On Tuesday their bail of $20,000 each was forfeited.

Eight Now Being Hunted

In all, eight Communist leaders now are fugitives from justice. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been making an intensive search but has failed to report progress. Four disappeared on June 20, when they were indicted for the same criminal conspiracy for which the eleven had been convicted. Seventeen party leaders were arrested on June 20 and have been freed on $181,000 bail posted by Field's bail fund and $5,000 put up by Field personally.

The fugitives include four members and three alternates of the party's national committee, or ruling body. They are believed to have gone underground, possibly in, or en route to, a foreign country from which they can direct the party here.

Field registered with the Government last year as a foreign agent representing Red Chinese interests. He refused last year to tell a Senate investigating committee whether he had ever been a Communist.

On Thursday, Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan sentenced Field for repeatedly flouting the court's directions to answer questions and produce the books of his bail fund. Field pleaded self-incrimination as the reason for his refusal, but Judge Ryan held this to be a "subterfuge."

The bail fund is part of an organization that calls itself the Civil Rights Congress, listed by the Attorney General as a Communist subversive group. Field is secretary and a trustee of the bail fund.

Judge Ryan paroled Field on Thursday in the custody of his counsel, but directed him to return to court at 11:30 o'clock yesterday morning. At that time Mr. Saypol moved that Field be committed to jail immediately.

Mr. Rabinowitz, Field's counsel, asked that his client be allowed to remain at liberty on parole until the bail application could be made to Judge Swan.

"Otherwise," the lawyer argued, "my client might have to suffer the consequences of being kept in jail over the week-end before the physical-arrangements of making bail could be concluded."

Judge Ryan, denying further parole, observed that "the consequences, whatever they may be, are such as this man has brought on himself."

Judge Rejects Legal Doubts

The judge explained that if he continued the parole it would be a tacit recognition that "a substantial question of law or fact" existed to create doubt as to the validity of the sentence. He asserted he felt no such doubt and therefore must at once remand Field.

Judge Ryan further explained he had paroled Field overnight in the hope that "a night's sober reflection might bring about a desire on the part of this man to give the court the information that it seeks."

Repeating his statement of Thursday that the names of the bondsmen were needed to assist the authorities in their hunt for the fugitives, he said any one who would risk such large amounts of money on behalf of the fugitives might well know something of their whereabouts.

"When these four fugitives were released on bail after their conviction," Judge Ryan said, "they were given into the custody of their bondsmen. Therefore, it is the duty of this court to inquire of the bondsmen whether they know anything about the non-appearance of these four men."

Judge Ryan called upon Field to say whether his night's "reflection" had caused him to change his mind about answering the qeustion. Field, who by direction of the court was standing in front of the bench in the middle of the court room, remained silent, but his lawyer replied that he still refused to answer.

Judge Ryan turned to Field and said:

"You were asked to produce certain books and records. I found your claim of privilege was not made in good faith and was not well founded in law. You are found guilty of contempt of court and are committed to the custody of the Attorney General for ninety days or until such time as you

a prison van was ready to take him to the House of Detention.

Trustee, Bookkeeper Called

Meantime, W. Alpheus Hunton, who had been sentenced to two in jail for making available another trustee of the bail fund, explosives to a Soviet atomic was sworn in as a witness before Judge Ryan. Hunton is secretary ing.

by two deputy marshals, who listed by the Attorney General as him to a detention cell in the a Communist subversive organizanent, where he remained until tion.

s his third wife.
o years earliers Mrs. Field
obtained a divorce from Dr.
ond Boyer, Canadian scient-

She is his
purge yourself."

The 46-year-old great-great-grandson of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, the railroad builder, flushed and nervously fingered his horn-rimmed glasses. He smiled vacantly as his wife came forward from a seat in the back of the courtroom, rushed inside the rail and kissed him good-bye. She is the former Mrs. Anita Cohen Boyer. They were married in 1949.

room by t
took him t
basement,

Hunton followed Field's example in refusing, despite directions from the court, to answer questions about or produce the books of the bail fund. He declined to say whether he knew the four fugitives. He pleaded that answers might tend to incriminate him, and claimed the privilege of immunity under the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Miss Muriel Patterson, the bail fund's bookkeeper, also refused to answer on the same grounds. Though Field had named her as the fund's bookkeeper, she refused to say whom she was employed by, or whether she knew the trustees.

Both Hunton and Miss Patterson denied they in any way had aided or abetted the four fugitives in making their escape or in concealing themselves since their arrest was ordered.

Field having made the same denials, Judge Ryan ruled that he had no reason to fear incrimination in helping a fugitive to escape or in harboring him, and accordingly could not claim his constitutional privilege to refuse to testify against himself.

Judge Ryan directed Hunton and Miss Patterson to return to court at 11:30 A. M., Monday, at which time his inquiry into the disappearance of the fugitives will be resumed.

Mr. Saypol notified the court that Dashiell Hammett, a writer of mystery stories and chairman of the bail fund, had not been found.

"A subpoena was issued for him returnable at 2:30 o'clock Tuesday afternoon," said Mr. Saypol, "and indications are that he is evading service."

Judge Ryan issued another subpoena for Mr. Hammett, returnable Monday morning.

Prison Bars Spectators

LEWISBURG, Pa., July 6 (AP)—An armored prison bus containing seven convicted American Communist leaders and an atom spy arrived at the Federal Penitentiary here today.

Two guards stationed at the gate—nearly a half-mile from the main part of the prison—prevented newspaper men and spectators from entering. The outer grounds usually are open to the public.

The bus pulled up to a rear door of the main prison and unloaded its passengers. A spokesman said they had been assigned to single cells to await the prison orientation program.

The eight joined Atom Spy Harry Gold, who arrived here last week and Alger Hiss, former State Department official convicted of perjury, who has been here since March.



The Washington Post

At Communist Rally in 1947

Two whose names were mentioned by Mrs. Mary S. Markward are shown at a Communist rally in Sept. 26, 1947, held in Franklin Park. They are, from left, Mrs. Dorothy Blumberg and William Taylor. Mrs. Markward said Dorothy Blumberg was a member of the District committee of the Communist Political Association and that William Taylor had been city chairman before he left Washington



(AP Wirephoto)

COMMUNIST LEADERS LEAVING IN ARMORED BUS FOR FEDERAL PRISON

Four top Communist leaders in the U. S. sitting behind bars in an armored bus in New York yesterday as they left for the Federal prison at Lewisburg, Pa., to start five-year sentences for conspiracy. They are (left to right) Benjamin Davis, Jr., John B. Williamson, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the party, and Irving Potash.

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Reds Indicted in New York



James Jackson



Albert Lannon



Alexander Trachtenberg



Alexander Bittelman



Claudia Jones



Israel Amter



Marion Bachrach



V. J. Jerome



William Weinstone



Elizabeth G. Flynn



Simon Gerson



Arnold Johnson



Betty Gannett



Fred Fine



Louis Weinstock



Isadore Begun

21 More U.S Red Leaders Are Indicted

Their 'Second Tier' Called Conspirators; 17 Arrested by FBI In Dawn Raids

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Twenty one Communist officials in the "second echelon" of the Party command were indicted yesterday in New York for conspiracy to overthrow the Government by violence.

Seventeen of them, including four women, were immediately arrested by the FBI in an early-morning roundup. Agents are seeking the other four.

The indictments are the first sequel to the Supreme Court decision of June 4, upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act and the conviction of 11 top Communist leaders. The 21 it was charged, planned to take over party leadership in the absence of those already convicted.

Taken in New York

FBI agents took into custody 16 of the Communist leaders in New York, starting about 7 a. m., and brought them to the Federal Building in automobiles. The seventeenth was arrested in Pittsburgh.

Their indictments were filed before Federal Judge Samuel H. Kaufman yesterday by a Federal grand jury which has been in session since May 21. It was directed to continue its investigations.

Bail for the 17 was set at amounts ranging from $1000 to $20,000.

Hoover Calls Them Active

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover announced here that "each of the persons arrested . . . is a prominent, active functionary of the Communist Party, U.S.A."

One of those arrested was Albert Francis Lannon, 43, now of New York City, who for several years was Washington-Maryland district director of the Communist Party. He was held in $10,000 bail.

The Justice Department said "Lannon has been in the Communist Party for 19 years and has been known as the . . . District organizer of Maryland and Washington, D. C., and president of the Communist Political Association of Maryland and Washington, D. C., chairman of the Communist Party's District No. 4, Maryland and Washington, D. C., and a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America, for a period up to 1947."

Lannon was named in the nine-month-long trial of the 11 Communists in 1949, as having said in a Cumberland, Md., speech in 1945 that a revolution in this country was not possible without the aid of the Russian army.

Ex-Howard Student Sought

Among the four persons sought by FBI agents is James Edward Jackson, jr., 36, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a native of Richmond, Va., who attended the Howard University School of Pharmacy here from 1934 to 1937 and received a doctor's degree.

The Justice Department said Jackson also attended Virginia Union University in Richmond, Va., and helped organize the American Student Union there.

Later, it was said, he became an organizer for the CIO tobacco workers in the Richmond area, and is now the Southern Regional Director of the Communist Party.

Jackson is listed as a member of the Alternate National Committee of the Communist Party, "recently formed to serve as the top policy-making body in the absence of the present National Committee members, now convicted."

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath said he hoped that yesterday's action would make the country realize that the Justice Department "will continue vigorously to pursue and bring to account those leaders who would attempt to overthrow the institutions of freedom in this country by force and violence."

United States District Attorney George Morris Fay has said that he expects to confer soon with Justice Department officials about possible prosecutions here.

The 21 persons indicted face maximum penalty of 10 years in jail and $10,000 fine, if found guilty. They are listed as "co-conspirators" with the 11 already convicted.

Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson is today scheduled to hear pleas for the 11 and for their five attorneys, who were convicted of contempt as a result of the stormy New York trial. They seek a stay of the June 5 decision until the high court reconvenes in October, so that a rehearing can be sought. This would keep them out of jail until then.

Dennis on "Thought Control"

Eugene Dennis, one of the convicted 11, termed the new indictments "thought control" and "a crude effort to stifle throughout the Nation all criticism or opposition to the suicidal war policies of the Administration."

Soon after the arrests, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, secretary of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress and frequently attacked in Congress as a Communist Party "angel," posted $67,500 in United States Treasury bonds as bail for four of the defendants.

William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, was indicted with the original 11 and is still awaiting trial.

Among those indicted yesterday were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 60, of New York, prolific Communist writer and the only member of the Party's National Committee who was not previously indicted.

Defendants Listed

In addition to her and Lannon, others arrested were lister with identification by the Justice Department as follows:

Victor Jeremy Jerome, 54, chairman of the Party's Cultural Commission, accused as the principal organizer of communism in Hollywood. On March 8 he refused to discuss that subject before the House Committee on Un-American Activities; Alexander Leo Trachtenberg, 65, one of the most active early Communists and head of International Publishers, Inc.; Israel Amter, 70, member of Party State Committee; Marion Maxwell Abt Bachrach, 52, public relations director; secretary of the Party's Defense Commission. She appeared before the House committee in December, 1948.

Isidore Begun, 47, former New York public school teacher, chairman Bronx County Communist Party; Alexander Bittelman, 61, staff member, Daily Worker, termed one of the Party's 'foremost theoreticians and dialecticians"; George Blake Charney, 46, Trade Union Secretary of the New York State Party; Betty Gannett, 44, Party National Educational Director; Simon William Gerson, 41, chairman of New York State Communist legislative bureau.

Arnold Samuel Johnson, 46, arrested in Pittsburgh, temporary chairman Western Pennsylvania district; Claudia Jones, also known as Claudia Vera Scholnick, 36, secretary National Women's Commission, member of Alternate National Committee; Jacob Mindel, 69, active in National Education Department, charter member of Party.

'I'm No Communist'–Bishop Walls



AME Zion Bishop W. J. Walls denied that he supported or in any way has any connection with Communist-front organizations and blasted those who stir up fear among American people by such accusations, at a testimonial in his honor Tuesday in Washington where he attended the Fraternal Council of Churches session. Partially hidden is Dr. Victor Tulane, Howard U. professor.

Bishop Denies Tie With "Red" Group

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA) Bishop W. J. Walls of the AME Zion Church, president of the Fraternal Council of Churches, last Wednesday night branded as false the report linking him and Dr. William H. Jernagin, head of the Council's Washington bureau, with the world-wide Communist "peace offensive.

Delivering his annual address to the council at the Bible Way Church, Bishop Walls attributed to "loose statements" of the press and the House Un-American Activities Committee assertions that leaders of the organization are Communists.

"I brand this to be a lie," he declared. "There are some here supporting the effort to save our civilization from total war, in the spirit of Christ, in peace, and some who are sighting for justice to accused and innocent victims of prejudice and courts that become instruments of the mob," he said, adding

Won't Surrender Rights

"We will not surrender that right though some committees seek to dub us as affiliated and sympathetic with atheistic communism in doing so. There is a studied, shrewd and sinister campaign to make all independent fighting people of color or leftists so as to intimidate and strike awe to all activities for civil rights."

Bishop Walls charged that publicity stemming from the House Committee on Un-American Activities had listed him and Dr. Jernagin as being associated with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact which, he said, was organized as "a deterrent to total war and to work for peaceful alternatives."

Denying any affiliations with leftist groups, Bishop Walls said "I am for peace against war. I support efforts for justice to colored persons and others whom I deem to be victims of prejudice or hysteria" He added that if he finds he is working with Communists, he will "certainly withdraw my support"

PENN. RAILROAD DINING CAR UNION CALLED "RED"

BY ALBERT ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Labor circles in the capital were shocked last week at a report that the House Un-American Activities Committee had a dining car waiters union, listed tentatively for inquiry because of Communistic infiltration.

The union under suspicion is the "Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers Union, an independent organization of 1800 members, operating solely on the Pennslivania Railroad lines. According to Congressman Francis Walter (D., Pa.) the organization has suffered an infiltration of Communists.

Dining car workers are part of the railroad system workers and as railroads are regarded as No. 1 defense projects, all workers employed on railroads are subjected to scrutiny of the Un-American Activities Committee, should there be a suspicion of subversiveness.

Committee members say the union has received much favorable publicity in the "Daily Worker" officia Communist Party organ, similar to the type of publicity given Red-controlled unions.

Other unions dealing almost exclusively with waiters and cooks or non-operating employees of the rail roads, have never received such publicity in that publication, which leads committee members to believe the Reds hope to capture this small union and use it as a spring board for activities against stronger outfits. This usually is the Kremlin pattern, they say.

There was reluctance here to discuss the situation, but it is known that an investigation is planned if continued inquiry shows Communist patterns developing within the union. One report has it that some members of the union under suspicion even hold Communist party cards and are "party plants."

Past performances of the Communists have been identical with what is happening in this little union. Their efforts to obtain support of Negro workers had confused Negroes to the point where many are unable to distinguish party-line activities from accepted union practices. In this manner, thousands of Negroes have been duped and now find themselves listed as "subversives."

Since all railroad legislation originates and is enacted in Washington, particularly policies governing labor, grave concern is expressed here by both government officials and railroad men regarding the future of the Pennsylvania cooks and waiters.

Unless it rids itself of the Communist members believed operating within the ranks and purges itself of the Communist tinge, not only will the union find itself suspended and dissolved as was the International Workers Order recently, but the members, themselves, will be subject to dismissal under provisions of the McCarran defense act.

Red Efforts To Win American Negroes 'Miserable Failure'

CHICAGO—(NC)—Communist propaganda among Negroes in the United States "has proved a miserable failure," Dr. William A. Nolan states in a new book, "Communism Versus the Negro," published here by the Henry Regnery Company.

The author, a professor at the St. Louis University Institute of Social Order, based his book on a study of communist documents and writings, interviews with 500 persons, including many former Communist Party members, and analyses of such incidents as the Detroit and Peekskill race riots and the Scottsboro, Herndon, Trenton and Willie McGee cases.

THE STUDY covers Red activities among American Negroes from their beginnings in 1919 to the Korean War. It is divided into three parts: an analysis of the propaganda and tactics used in the formative period, 1919-30; an appraisal of the communist-inspired movement towards self-determination in the "Black Belt," 1928-45, and an examination of Red exploitation of "equal rights" up to the attempted revival of race riots among troops in Korea.

Prior to the Progressive Party movement, Dr. Nolan asserts, "much less than one per cent of the Negro population had given it (communism) serious sympathy and co-operation." And soon after the "systematic exposure of communist underhand tactics in the Progressive Party," its influence again declined, he adds.

THE FAVORITE Red slogan for Negroes since 1928, "self-determination in the Black Belt," he writes, was chosen as the quickest way of inciting rebellion in the United States. Neither the slogan nor the spirit behind it has ever been accepted by Negroes, Dr. Nolan continues. He claims that the fact that such a slogan was never aimed at oppressed whites, such as sharecroppers, proves that the communists were motivated by expediency and not a real desire to improve the lot of any oppressed minority.

Following the outbreak of the Korean War, the author states, the communist tactic was to insist at every opportunity that it was a race war. "According to the comrads, Negroes who supported this war effort must be very stupid, since they were only doing the white man's dirty work in Asia," the author adds. Nearly every Negro publication, he shows, rejected the imputation that United Nations' action in Korea was a problem of race arther than one of communism versus democracy.

W. J. Walls Says He Is Not A Red

A.M.E. Zion Prelate Hits Committee Report

WASHINGTON, D.C.—(NNPA)—Bishop W. J. Walls of the AME Zion Church, president of the Fraternal Council of Churches, last Wednesday night branded as false the report linking him and Dr. William H. Jernagin, head of the Council's Washington Bureau with the world-wide Communist 'Peace' offensive.

Delivering his annual address to the Fraternal Council of Churches at the Bible Way church, Bishop Walls attributed to loose statements" of the press and the House Un-American Activities Committee that leaders of the organization are Communists.

"I brand this to be a lie," Bishop Walls declared. "There are some here supporting the effort to save our civilization from total war, in the spirit of Christ, in peace, and some who are sighting for justice to accused and inno-



BISHOP WALLS

cent victims of prejudice and courts that become instruments of the mob," he said, adding:

Won't Surrender RKNT

"We will not surrender that right though some committees seek to dub us as affiliated and sympathetic with atheistic Communism in doing so. There is a studied, shrewd and sinister campaign to people of color leftists so as to intimidate and strike awe to all activities for civil rights."

Bishop Walls charged that publicity stemming from the House Committee on Un-American Activities had listed him and Dr. Jernagin as being associated with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, which he said was organized as "a deterrent to total war and to work for peaceful alternatives."

Denying any affiliations with leftitst groups, Bishop Walls said: "I am for peace against war. I support efforts for justice to Negro and others whom I deem to be victims of prejudice or hysteria." He added that if he finds he is working with Communist, he will "certainly withdraw my support."

Bishop Walls pointed out, however, that there are loyal organizations fighting for equality and we must be on our toes to see that all freedom and human-equality organizations are not driven to cover in this country" and that "these causes" are not abandoned by all except Communist-front groups.

Say Reds' Played Part

In a report on the Communist "peace" offensive, "a campaign to disarm and defeat the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee charged that Communists in the United States did their part in the Moscow-directed movement, which paraded under the name of "peace," by instigating a Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact.

This conference, allegedly held in Washington in July, 1949, resulted in the "formation of a front organization known as the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact."

The Atlantic Pact is a defense treaty signed by twelve western democratic nations, including the United States. It was designed to provide the basis for effective collective action to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area if an armed attack should occur. The pact was signed April 14, 1949.

The House Un-American Activities Committee named Bishop Walls as one of five individuals who proposed the conference against the Atlantic Pact. The other members of the committee were Albert Einstein of Princeton, Thomas Mann of California, Emily Green Balch of Wellesley, Massachusetts, and the Rev. Edwin Dahlbert of Syracuse, New York.

According to the Daily Worker of June 28, 1949, fifty-five colored religious leaders called upon President Truman "to reject the military concept contained in the North Atlantic pact," in a statement issued through the Fraternal Council of Churches in America, claiming to represent 7,000,000 church members in eleven denominations.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, in this connection, charged that the Rev. Mr. Jernagin was "a perennial supporter of Communist 'peace' fronts as well as their other front organizations.

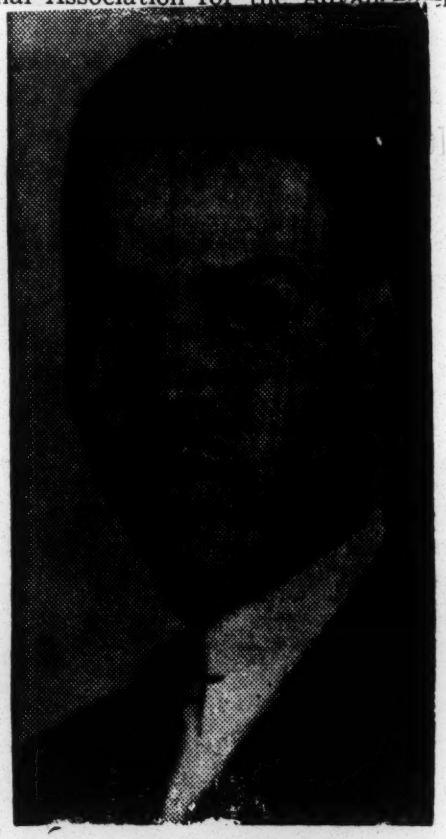
It said he has supported the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Win-the-Peace Conference, and the World Peace Appeal. It also said he has supported such Communist fronts as the Council on African Affairs, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Civil Rights Congress, the United Negro and Allied Veterans, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress, and the Washington Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

A letterhead of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated Sept. 16, 1950, listed headquarters at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, and Bishop Walls as one of two honorary chairmen. Dr. Charlotte H. Brown, president of Palmer Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina, and Dr. D. V. Jemison, president of the National Baptist Convention, were listed as two of eight vice chairmen.

American Communists Suffer Greatest Defeat In Attempt To Recruit Negroes, Says Wilkins

New York.—The greatest failure of the American Communists has been the complete fizzle of its attempt to recruit Negroes, a prominent Negro observer declares in the December issue of the American Magazine.

Roy Wilkins, Administrator, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," says, "The Negro section of our population has slammed the door on the Communists. And the recent steady progress in enlarging opportunities for the race is bolting it. If this progress continues, the door will stay bolted, despite the moving last fall of the National Communist headquarters from downtown New York into the heart of Harlem."



ROY WILKINS

No stone was left unturned, no trick uncalled in the Communist drive, Wilkins points out, yet with all this strain and effort it is estimated that not more than 500 Negroes are Communist Party members out of a total Negro population of 15,000,000.

"Their colossal failure can be chalked up to one simple fact which the Communists either ignored or just did not comprehend The American Negro is an American. The vast majority of our colored citizens have never even been fellow travelers; a few have been hitchhikers for short stretches when it served a particular purpose. True, they are dissatisfied with their treatment, often angry and bitter, but at bottom they are loyal to America and its ideals.

The Communists "thought that slogan and catch-phrases could flatter, cajole, or browbeat him into a cabal against his own country, but they reckoned without his record of loyalty running back to black Chrispus Attucks shot down by the Redcoats on Boston Common."

Despite a 30-year drive to win converts among Negroes, Mr. Wilkins estimated "that not more than 500 Negroes are Communist Party members."

Reds Misjudge Negro, Roy Wilkins Says

NEW YORK— The Communists have "sadly misjudged the Negro, his aims, aspirations, and loyalties," Roy Wilkins, administrator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says in the lead article, entitled "Stalin's Greatest Defeat," in the December edition of The American Magazine.

The Negro wants, Mr. Wilkins asserts, "solid first-class American citizenship, including jobs, education, and the privileges and responsibilities inherent in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

Masses Of Negroes Repudiated Communist Movement--Clement

The logic and the attitude of the American Negro have made him stay out of the Communist Party and many of the 10,000, more or less who joined have subsequently quit the party in disgust. These were some interesting insights on Negroes and communism which were brought out in a review of Wilsons Record's new book, "The Negro and the Communist Party," which was reviewed by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, the Atlanta University president, at the closing review of the School of Library Service series.

The New Deal in a large measure, he disclosed, was responsible for the fact that large numbers of Negroes did not espouse Communism. He pointed out that the late President Roosevelt not only made an attempt to help Negroes, but strongly emphasized that there should be no type of discrimination is government agencies, and, in addition, appointed many Negroes to government agencies which were charged with carrying out these policies.

Interweaving his review with personal observations of the Garvey movement and other organizations which preceded the rise of or were contemporaneous with the Communist Party in this country and which alerted the Negro to the Need for organization and guidance in labor and politics, Dr. Clement stated that although the major activities of the Party have been centered in New York City, "Negroes in Harlem and elsewhere have not succumbed to the siren song of the Party." This was because they could discern that the Communist Party has never considered the welfare of the Negro as being of paramount importance. Dr. Clement also pointed out that because these Negroes have refused to be used as tools to serve Moscow's ends, that at no time have been there over 8,000 Negroes in the Party.

The speaker was critical of Mr. Record's failure to give greater consideration to the groups of young Negroes who went to Moscow in the late twenties and early thirties to study USSR policies, a movement which Dr Clement considered to be one of the major projects of the Kremblin in the period covered. He also expressed a belief that Mr. Record should have made mention of the trials of the top Communist Party leaders since the book was supposed to cover activities through 1950, and of the Harlem councilman's race in which Earl Brown ousted Benjamin Davis for a seat in the New York City body.

34d 1951 Communist

CHARLES E. DAVIS
SENATOR McCARTHY (R.,Wis).

M'CARTHY INFORMANT CONVICTED AS A SPY IN SWITZERLAND



Charles E. Davis, flanked by uniformed guards, as he appeared in the Swiss Federal Court at Lausanne on Tuesday. He was found guilty of charges that he was spying on Communists and United States diplomatic personnel on behalf of the Senator from Wisconsin and United States agents. The court sentenced him to eight months imprisonment, ordered him expelled from Switzerland and barred his re-entry for a period of ten years.

Associated Press Radiophoto

Benton Says New Evidence on Convicted Spy Backs Charge McCarthy Is Unfit for Senate

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17 (AP)—Senator William Benton, Democrat of Connecticut, told a Senate subcommittee today he had new evidence showing that "a personal spy on Senator McCarthy's payroll" was an "admitted homosexual ex-Communist."

He said the man was Charles E. Davis, onetime American sailor, convicted yesterday by Swiss courts on charges he spied for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, "to the prejudice of Switzerland."

Senator Benton told the Privileges and Elections subcommittee now investigating his charges that Mr. McCarthy was unfit to hold his Senate seat that this new evidence, obtained from the State Department, backed up one of his original ten charges against the Wisconsin Senator.

This was the tenth charge, which said "the pattern of conduct I have described underlying Senator McCarthy's actions also seems to extend to the people he employs."

Not only that, Senator Benton said, but the Davis case damages the prestige of the United States—and thus the American people and their Government—in foreign eyes. He added:

"Here we have an admitted homosexual ex-Communist convicted as a personal spy on Senator McCarthy's payroll trying to frame an American diplomat—John Carter Vincent—with a fake telegram linking him to Communists."

Mr. McCarthy has said he received information from Davis, but did not consider it important. He said today that Davis had written and even telephoned him from Switzerland, but that his appeals for a job and money were rejected "because the stuff he (Davis) had was meaningless."

"Davis had never been high enough in Communist circles to have much information," Senator McCarthy added. "However, we passed on all the information to the F. B. I. and some to the C. I. A. (Central Intelligence Agency).

GENEVA, Switzerland, Oct. 27 (UP)—The United States Consulate revealed today it had invalidated the passport of Davis for travel anywhere but back to the United States. Davis was ordered expelled from Switzerland yesterday. He received an eight-month jail term, but was freed because he had already spent eleven months in prison.

The passport restriction, announced by Vice Consul Carl Thomas, ended Davis' plans to visit Italy, Germany or Austria when he left Switzerland.. Mr Thomas said the consulate hoped to get Davis aboard a plane for the United States tomorrow.

Swiss to try American as spy in behalf of Sen. McCarthy

GENEVA, Oct. 10—(AP)—A tubercular young American Negro is to be tried in the Federal Swiss Criminal Court on charges of political spying in behalf of Sen. Joseph W. McCarthy (R., Wis.).

The Swiss government has accused Charles E. Davis, 24, of Pasadena, Calif., of violating Swiss sovereignty by allegedly gathering information about John Carter Vincent, U. S. minister to Switzerland until his transfer last Ferbuary, and supplying it to McCarthy.

Davis also was charged with leaving his landlady with a bill for more than $100 for telephone calls to the United States.

* * *

DAVIS, ARRESTED last November, for the past several months has been treated in a Geneva tuberculosis hospital, where he has been kept in the prison ward.

Davis told U. S. consulate officials here that he was a correspondent for a Communist newspaper in California. Members of the consulate staff who visited Davis in the hospital said he was looking in better health after treatment for tuberculosis.

The indictment filed in the Lausanne Federal Court said Davis was paid for his information.

McCarthy repeatedly has attacked Vincent with assertions he followed the Communist line, particularly when the State Department sent him to China during the war.

Vincent, transferred to the consulate-general in Tangier eight months ago, stated when he was moved th[illegible] I can't fight back because of financial considerations, but I could fight back on moral grounds."

* * *

THE CHARGE SAID Davis had written to McCarthy offering information.

"Davis was called to Paris by an emissary of McCarthy, John E. Farrand, who charged him with watching the relationships and contacts of the American diplomatic and consular personnel in Switzerland, particularly of Mr John Carter Vincent, minister at Bern. Davis was paid for this by Farrand. McCarthy transmitted a part of this information to the (U S.) Federal Bureau of Investigation," it said.

McCarthy said last February Davis had written him that he had "a lot of information about Communists."

The senator said he gave the FBI some information voluntarily supplied by Davis and had an investigator meet Davis in Paris.

SWISS SLATE TRIAL OF 'M'CARTHY'S SPY'

Davis, Former Writer, Faces 5-Judge Federal Tribunal Tomorrow in Lausanne

10-14-51

GENEVA, Oct. 13 (UP)—A 23-year-old American will leave a hospital sick bed here this weekend and face a Swiss court Monday on charges of spying on American diplomats for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin.

Charles Davis, a former left wing newspaper correspondent who fell ill of tuberculosis in jail after his arrest by Swiss authorities last November, will go on trial before a five judge Federal tribunal in near-by Lausanne.

Mr. Davis is charged with having been hired in Paris by "one of McCarthy's emissaries, John E. Farrand, who instructed him to watch the social relations and contacts of the United States diplomatic and consular staff in Switzerland, and especially John Carter Vincent, [former] United States Minister in Berne."

Senator McCarthy, who has often attacked State Department officials, has accused Mr. Vincent, now chief of the United States mission at Tangier, of having Communist sympathies and of undermining Nationalist China when an adviser on Far Eastern policy.

Mr. Davis will be tried under Article 272 of the Swiss Penal Code, which makes it a crime to gather information on political activities of any citizen or resident of Switzerland.

Swiss Convict An American as McCarthy Spy

Herald Tribune

He Draws 8-Month Term, Already Served; Ordered Expelled for Ten Years

Wed. 10-17-51

LAUSANNE, Switzerland, Oct. 16 (UP).—A Swiss Federal Court today convicted Charles E. Davis, twenty-three-year-old American, on a charge of gathering political information on American diplomats which he said was for Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R., Wis.

An eight-month jail sentence and expulsion from Switzerland were decreed, but the term was held already served, as Davis had been held in a Geneva jail for eleven months. He will remain under police surveillance until he leaves the country. The expulsion order is for ten years.

The five-man court here also found Davis guilty of passing information on Swiss and American Left-Wing extremists to the United States Consulate General in Geneva and to the American Embassy in Paris.

Presiding Judge Albert Rais directed that Davis be set free immediately. The prosecution had asked for a fifteen-month term in addition to expulsion.

"I thought it was a very good verdict," Davis, a Californian, said. He also was ordered to pay 150 Swiss francs (about $35) toward costs of the trial. The prosecution had demanded that he pay the entire costs, but Davis protested he was penniless.

Wants "Example" Made

Davis was convicted under a Swis law which provides a maximum sentence of three years for any one gathering information on political activities for a foreign power or organization to the prejudice of Switzerland, its citizens or residents.

In testimony yesterday, Davis admitted the charges against him but Swiss law differs from American procedure in that judges do not ask at the beginning of a trial whether a prisoner pleads guilty or not guilty. Instead, they question him, hear wetnesses and then hear the final pleas by the prosecutor and the defense.

Prosecutor Rene Dubois, the Deputy Attorney General, said in an hour-long plea that political espionage is an important "cold war" weapon. He demanded that the court make an example of Davis "in order to keep away from Switzerland spies and stoolpigeons in foreign pay."

Mr. Dubois said John Carter Vincent, former American Minister to Switzerland, had suffered "tragically" because of a faked telegram Daivs admitted he has sent to Vincent. The wire, signed by a Swiss Communist, asked Mr. Vincent for information on another Left-winger. The prosecutor charged that the wire was sent for "the manifest purpose of discrediting Vincent and establishing a link between him and extreme Left Swiss circles."

Vincent Letter Read

The court found Davis guilty of sending the telegram and also of working for Sen. McCarthy through John E. Farrand, described as the Senator's representative in Paris. It also found he received money from Sen. McCarthy through Farrand, as intermediary.

Davis told the court yesterday he was hired in Paris by Farrand, whom he described as a "McCarthy agent." He said Farrand sent him some money by mail and several times paid for his plane trips and hotel accommodations.

Davis' lawyer, Edmond Martin-Achat, read in court a letter from Mr. Vincent to Davis, thanking the defendant for an apology he had received from Davis. Mr. Martin-Achat did not deny the indictment drawn up against Davis, but he described Davis as "boasting and naive" and said he had been an actor and wanted only to play a dramatic role and be "a success with women."

Davis told reporters after the trial that he does not know exactly what he will do now, "but I won't return to the United States for quite a long time." He said he probably would visit Germany, Italy or Austria, although he admitted he did not know where he would get funds.

Carl Thomas, American Vice-Consul in Geneva, who attended the trial, said that if Davis left for the United States, the consulate would lend him passage money.

SWISS CONVICT, EXPEL DAVIS AS McCARTHY 'SPY'

Herald Tribune
Wed. 10-17-51

Time Held Cancels Out Jail Sentence

Chicago Sun

LAUSANNE, Switzerland, Oct. 16 (AP)—The federal court today sentenced Charles E. Davis, 23, Pasadena, Cal., to eight months in jail for political spying on Communists and United States diplomatic personnel in Switzerland for United States agents and Sen. McCarthy [R., Wis.]. He was also ordered expelled from Switzerland and barred for 10 years.

Because he already has served 11 months in jail during the investigation of his case, Davis technically became a free man tonight but must leave the country as soon as arrangements can be made.

Judge Names Farrand

Judge Albert Rais, presiding judge of the five man court, in sentencing Davis, said the American Negro had furnished information to United States officials in the Geneva consulate-general and the Paris embassy.

"He put himself at the service of the Republican Sen. McCarthy, with whom he was in contact either directly or thru the intermediary, the agent of McCarthy in Paris, to whom he sent similar intelligence of a political nature, observing in addition for him, the American diplomatic personnel in Switzerland," said Rais. The court identified McCarthy's intermediary in Paris as John E. Farrand.

Charged with Forgery

Judge Rais charged Davis with forging a document in an effort to falsely demonstrate that John Carter Vincent, then United States minister in Bern, had communist connections. He said, "Davis sent from Geneva on Nov. 4, 1950, in agreement with Farrand, a telegram to Mr. Vincent, with the false signature of Statempfli, one of the militant Geneva Communists, to make it appear that the minister had relations in Switzerland with the Communists. He sent Farrand a copy of this telegram, which constitutes a forgery. Davis has received from McCarthy, thru the intermediary of Farrand, money for this activity."

The court also sentenced Davis to pay the costs of the long investigation and trial. The total amount was not set.

Has 1-Way Passport

Davis' movement is now limited to a trip back to the United States, which he left in 1949. The United States consulate-general in Geneva has received orders to limit his passport to the return journey. Previously, Davis had hoped to tour Italy, Austria, and Germany before returning home. He was expected to remain under Swiss police supervision in a Geneva hospital before being deported.

Davis told correspondents, "It is true that I have been in direct contact with the senator [McCarthy] and the history of the telegram to the minister was that it was directly to discredit the minister."

Asked how he came in contact with Farrand, Davis said, "His name was sent to me by the senator in a letter. I was told to get in touch with Farrand in Paris."

Back in U. S.



[Associated Press Wirephoto]

John Carter Vincent, American minister in Tangiers, Morocco, with his wife who met him as he disembarked from liner at New York yesterday. Vincent was named in a Swiss political espionage case yesterday when the defendant said he tried to incriminate him a year ago.

Spy Trial Opens In Switzerland

Herald Tribune Wed. 10-20-51

LAUSANNE, Switzerland — Charles Davis, 24-year-old alleged spy for Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) and correspondent for a Communist newspaper in California, faced trial in Swiss Federal Criminal Court here Monday on charges of conducting illegal political espionage.

Davis is accused specifically of supplying a representative of McCarthy in Paris with information concerning John Carter Vincent when Vincent was United States Minister to Switzerland. Davis was reportedly paid for the service.

The former minister has been a frequent target for Senator McCarthy's charges of Communist influence in the State department. If convicted, Davis faces deportation or a term of imprisonment to be decided by the court.

Charles Davis
Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

Charles Davis Convicted of Espionage In Switzerland; Linked To McCarthy

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Senator William Benton, Democrat, of Connecticut, last Tuesday gave to the Senate Privileges and Elections subcommittee a letter addressed to him by Under Secretary of State Carlisle H. Humelsine outlining the activities of Charles E. Davis, 23, of Pasadena, California, who was sentenced Tuesday, October 16, to eight months in jail by the Swiss federal court for political spying.

Davis was convicted in Lusanna, Switzerland, of spying on Communists and United States diplomatic personnel in Switzerland for United States agents and Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin.

Davis also was expelled from Switzerland and barred from returning for ten years. Because he already has spent eleven months in jail, Davis technically became a free man after sentence was passed upon him but must leave the country as soon as arrangements can be made.

Calling Davis "an admitted homosexual ex-Communist," Sen. Bennet told the subcommittee that the letter from the State Department supports one of his ten charges that the pattern of conduct underlying Senator McCarthy's actions "also seems to extend to the people he employs.

The subcommittee has voted to investigate Benton's charges that McCarthy is unfit to hold his seat in the Senate.

"Here we have an admitted homosexual ex-Communist convicted as a personal spy on Senator McCarthy's payroll trying to frame an American diplomat—John Carter Vincent—with a fake telegram linking him to Communists," Senator Benton charged in his letter transmitting the State Department letter to the subcommittee.

"The testimony and the evidence show this fraudulent wire was drafted by John E. Farrand, a Paris attorney who was also Senator McCarthy's representation and who paid Davis to act for the Senator," Benton added.

In his letter to Benton, Under Secretary of State Humelsine wrote:

"Davis, who has also gone under the name Serling, was born in Dallas in 1927. He lists a Pasadena, Calif., street address as his last U. S. residence and claims acting as his main civilian occupation.

"Prior to his departure from this country, Davis was active in Communist circles in California and alleges that his enlistment in the U. S. Navy in 1947 was for the purpose of propagandizing service personnel.

"His term of service in the Navy was brief. In July, 1948, after a confrontation with charges, he signed a voluntary statement admitting homosexuality. Through the statement he escaped a general court martial. He was given an unsatisfactory discharge from the naval service.

"On his return to civilian life Davis continued to work for the Communists in California and did some writing for party publications. Although he officially declared on his passport application that his European trip was 'for pleasure,' Davis is said to have claimed subsequently that he was a correspondent for the People's World, sometimes called the Daily Worker of the West Coast.

"It is reported that he now states that the publication financed his tour and that his real mission on the continent was to effect closer liaison between the Communist underground there and the party organization in this country.

"In Europe, Davis made extensive contacts with various Communist groups, attended meetings, and gave talks in a number of cities in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. At the same time, he was apparently picking up what money he could peddling information to any potential buyer.

"There is a suggestion in the evidence that he was operating or attempting to operate in both the Communist and anti-Communist camp proffering information on each to the other. He was still a vigorous participant in Communist activities at the time of his arrest."

Judge Albert Rais, presiding judge of the five-man Swiss court, in sentencing Davis, said the colored American had furnished information to United States officials in the Geneva consulate-general and the Paris Embassy.

"He put himself at the service of the Republican Senator McCarthy with whom he was in contact either directly or through the intermediary, the agent of McCarthy in Paris, to whom he sent similar intelligence of a political nature, observing in addition for him, the American diplomatic personnel in Switzerland," said Rais. The court identified Farrand as McCarthy's Paris agent.

Judge Rais charged Davis with forging a document in an effort to falsely demonstrate that Vincent, then United States Minister in Bern, had Communist connections. He said: "Davis sent from Geneva on Nov. 4, 1950, a telegram to Mr. Vincent, with the false signature of Staempfli, one of the militant Geneva Communists, to make it appear that the minister had relations in Switzerland with the Communists. He sent Farrand a copy of this telegram, which constitutes a forgery. Davis has received from McCarthy, through the intermediary of Fararnd, money for this activity."

Charles E. Davis Returns Home

BOSTON. — (INS) — Charles E. Davis, 23, convicted as an alleged "spy" for Sen. McCarthy (R) Wis., and expelled from Switzerland, was enroute home Monday to Pasadena, Calif.

A subpoena was served on Davis at Logan International airport when he alighted from a Transatlantic airliner, ordering his appearance before a congressional committee studying a resolution by Sen. Benton (D) Conn., to expel McCarthy from the Senate.

Davis said his only immediate plans were to seek medical treatment in California. The subpoena did not set a definite date for his appearance, but ordered him to be ready when and if he is called.

Davis was expelled from Switzerland when he pleaded guilty to a charge that, while acting as an agent for McCarthy, he kept in close touch with the activities of Diplomat John Carter Vincent when he was United States minister to that country.

Vincent, who was one of the targets of McCarthy's allegations that Communist forces dominate the State department, later was transferred to Tangier, French Morocco.

The subpoena was served on Davis by James F. Fitzpatrick, assistant counsel for the Senate committee on elections and privileges.

Swiss Give Negro Spy 8-Month Jail Sentence

LAUSANNE, Switzerland, Oct. 22 — Charles Davis, 23, of Pasadena, Calif., was sentenced by a Swiss Federal Court Tuesday to eight months in jail, after trial by a five-man tribunal on espionage charges. Expulsion from Switzerland and barring of re-entry for 10 years completed the sentence.

Because he had already served 11 months in jail during investigation of the case, he technically became a free man, but must leave the country as soon as arrangements can be made.

During his trial, Davis testified that he and an agent of Senator Joseph McCarthy, R., Wis., sent a fake telegram to American diplomat John Carter Vincent which made it appear Vincent was a communist, that he had received money from McCarthy.

Davis claimed he confused Vincent, former U. S. minister in Bern, now head of the U. S. Mission in Tanglers, with a Geneva Communist lawyer named Jean Vincent. He said that he was hired by John E. Farrand, McCarthy representative, to report on social and official relations of American diplomats in Switzerland.

Swiss Expel Chas. Davis For Spying

LUSANNE, Switzerland—Charles Davis, 24-year-old ex-Communist and former U. S. sailor, was sentenced to eight months in jail and expulsion from the country by a Swiss federal court last Tuesday for gathering political information about U. S. diplomats for Sen. Joseph C. McCarthy (R., Wis.).

Davis, whose home is in Pasadena Calif., has been treated for tuberculosis at the Geneva hospital since March. Since he had already been held in a Geneva jail for 11 months while awaiting trial, Davis was set free immediately, but remained under police surveillance, pending his departure from the country.

The jailing Davis testified that he sent a telegram to former U. S. Minister John Carter Vincent in Bern a year ago in an effort to discredit the diplomat. The defendant said he had direct contact with Senator McCarthy. The Senator charged that Vincent followed the Communist line.

The young spy had planned to visit Germany, Italy or Austria before returning to the States, but his passport was invalidated last Wednesday by the U. S. consulate.

In Washington, Sen. William Benton (D., Conn.) told a Senate subcommittee last Wednesday that he had new evidence showing that Davis was an "admitted homosexual ex-Communist."

McCarthy said he received information from Davis, but did not consider it important, because Davis was never high in Communist circles.

Convicted Spy Says He's McCarthy's Boy

Afro American Baltimore, Md
Sat. 1-10-51

By WOODY L. TAYLOR

WASHINGTON

"I am still under Senator McCarthy's guidance. I have not heard him, or any of his associates, say that my services are no longer wanted. He must tell me from his own lips that he is through with me before I will consider my connections with the Senator at an end."

This is what Charles E. Davis, 24, of Pasadena, Calif., who was recently convicted, served a jail term on charges of political espionage in Switzerland, and deported to the United States, told this writer in his Dunbar Hotel room Wednesday afternoon.

Filed Statement

Davis also stated that he filed a statement with a Subcommittee ator Joseph McCarthy (Rep. Wisc.) of the Senate Committtee on Privileges and Elections which is considering a resolution to oust Sen- Ouster proceedings were instituted by Sen. William Benton (Dem. Conn.).

He also stated that the subcommittee has his diary, the only possession he secreted from his belongings when arrested in Switzerland.

He produced a nine-page document bearing the signature of a notary public and dated Oct. 29.

Behind McCarthy

He said he considered McCarthy honest and sincere. Davis stated he realized that the Senator might have to repudiate him because of political reasons but he is in sympathy with his position.

"I will support the Senator's work although I may disagree with him on some specific issues or points. I may or may not campaign in his behalf next year."

Davis declared that his actions since 1949 to the present have been a total struggle against left wing movements.

Broke With Reds

He admitted however that prior to this time he was a Communist sympathizer and had belonged to numerous Communist front organizations.

He says he broke with the party when it began to distort articles he had written about racial conditions in America and asked him to write untrue statements.

"Racial conditions are bad enough in this country on their own without going to the trouble to make them worse by stretching the truth," he averred.

A Texan

Davis, who gave his address as 356 W. 34th Street, New York City, is a native of Dallas, Texas, moved to California and graduated from the Pasadena High School in 1947. He later attended the Pasadena City College.

Between 1947 and 1949 he was connected with numerous Communist front student organizations and published material for the Communists.

He stated in this document he is alleged to have filed with the Committee on Privileges and Elections that he was sent to Europe to participate in Communist youth activities, having left the States on Sept. 28, 1949.

He contacted left-wing groups in France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg.

Became Irritated

It was after this trip that he became irritated with the party for exaggerating the conditions of his race in this country.

As his irritations grew, Davis continued, he decided to go to the Consular Office of the United States in Geneva, Switzerland.

He said he was impressed by the lack of discrimination in Europe and was seriously thinking of becoming a Swiss citizen.

"My greatest hurt was when I was told I must return to the United States," Davis declared.

He said he first contacted U.S. Vice Concul S. R. Tyler, a Texan, and told him his intentions. Tyler is alleged to have advised him not to sever his connections with the party but to remain and report to him.

Called Names

Davis named numerous persons he had contact with in Switzerland and Paris in the interest of McCarthy, the principal one being John E. Farrand.

He related how he had contacted McCarthy through his European connections and how he had received funds for trips to and from France and Switzerland.

Set Trap for Vincent

During a period of two and a half months, he stated, he had been paid $600 by the Senator. He told of one trip on which Farrand had ordered him to Switzerland to contact high U.S. diplomatic officials, alleged to have been consorting with Communists for which he was given between $150 and $200 expense money.

He told how he had been sent from Paris to Geneva on one occasion, at his own suggestion, to send a telegram to John Carter Vincent, then U. S. Minister to Switzerland, and signed the name of Emil Stampfli, top-rank Swiss Communist leader.

This was done to establish the fact that Vincent, although he didn't answer the letter, at least had been contacted by a high Communist official.

Telephoned McCarthy

Davis states that when he was in serious need of money while in Switzerland he called McCarthy by Trans-Atlantic telephone at his home in Washington.

He described the Senator as being quite cordial, and said McCarthy promised to communicate with him through his European agents.

Shortly after that he was given $20. He related how he had received several communications from McCarthy directly both in Paris and Geneva.

Mistreated in Prison

He was arrested by the Swiss police at 8:30 a.m. on Nov. 19, the document stated, and charged with political espionage. He was freed and deported to the United States earlier this month after having spent 11 months in prison.

Davis told the AFRO that he was treated badly in prison and became ill because of the manner in which the Swiss prison guards and officials treated him.

Courier Editorials

Operation Negro

LAST week the Communist party in the United States, meeting in secret four-day convention in New York under the watchful eyes of Russian bosses, decided to devote most of their attention and efforts in 1951 to wooing and winning the allegiance and adherence of American Negroes.

It was voted to infiltrate Negroes in every way and to take an active interest in every issue of interest to Negroes.

To this end four of the nine persons selected as alternates to the national committee were Negroes, while two Negro Communists (Henry Winston and Benjamin J. Davis) recently convicted of conspiracy to destroy the American Government, were returned to top positions.

The Communist leaders were instructed to concentrate on winning over Negro women, infiltrating basic industries, fighting military service and getting U. S. youths to agitate against this country interfering militarily with Soviet aggression for world conquest.

The assembled agitators and subversives were told to spread the propaganda among Negroes that they have something in common with the Communist-dragooned Chinese hordes now fighting United Nations troops (colored and white) in Korea, because the Chinese Reds are also colored.

Not many years ago the Communists were trying to show Negroes that, despite similar color, they and the Japanese had nothing in common.

The Communists took elaborate precautions to keep their deliberations secret, but the undercover FBI operatives were present just the same.

The Communists have never made any appreciable headway among Negroes (except among a few professors, doctors and social workers) because the average colored American was always too smart to "fall" for their propaganda; but they are likely to make some progress this year if they concentrate on Negroes as planned last week.

Under the circumstances we think it is timely to warn our readers against this forthcoming drive of Reds against blacks.

No organization or institution in Negro life in this country will be free from the blandishments and infiltration of these conspirators, their fellow travelers and dupes.

New organizations of all kinds, staffed by a hard core of Reds, will be established with unsuspecting Negroes of prominence invited to join as directors and sponsors, to exasperate every grievance, legitimate and otherwise, in desperate effort to foster bitterness and division.

Since there will be much emphasis on "organizing" Southern Negroes, we may expect a recurrence of the Red tactics of the Thirties which resulted in reckless agitation and unnecessary deaths.

A good way to thwart these agitators and their schemes is to avoid any projected programs which promise overnight solutions to difficult and delicate problems of racial adjustment.

For Negroes to succumb to this Red drive would, of course, be suicidal in the present temper of the American people; but, of course, there is little danger that more than a small minority will do so.

Nevertheless, to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

Italian Back From Poland Says U. S. Negroes Are In Red Prison

Geglie Messapico, Italy, June 10 (AP)—An Italian woman just back from Poland said in an interview here yesterday that a number of American Negroes are held in a Soviet prison camp in Micova, near Warsaw.

The woman, Maria Argentiero, married a Polish soldier of General Anders' army during the war. She followed her husband, Ludwig Pawvot, to Poland at the war's end and lived with him near Warsaw. There, she said, she contacted a cousin, Antonio Scarafilo, interned in the Micova prison camp in the outskirts of the Polish capital.

Through her cousin she learned that thousands were held in the camp, including American Negroes, Germans and Russians. When the Communist police found out she was in contact with one of the camp's inmates, they moved her to another town, from which she fled through the German Eastern zone into Western Germany and then back to Italy.

She said the "prisoners live in a state of undescribable filth, are badly nourished, and very poorly clothed. Their daily food consists mainly of a couple of boiled potatoes."

She said her husband had been arrested by Soviet police in Warsaw and she had not heard from him since.

PUBLIC AID SOUGHT IN HUNT FOR 8 REDS

F. B. I. Makes Appeal to Alert Citizens to Report Any News of Communist Fugitives

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 5 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation called on the public tonight to aid in the capture of eight fugitive Communist leaders who are believed to have gone "underground" to carry on their activities.

The F. B. I. would give no hint as to whether it was making any progress in running down the eight men, four of whom have been convicted and have jumped bail, and four who have been indicted and are evading trial. The Federal detective agency is making an intensive nation-wide hunt to get the men before they consolidate underground, and tonight's appeal to the public was its latest move.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F. B. I., not only called on alert citizens to report any pertinent information to the nearest field office of the F. B. I. but asked the press, radio and television to disseminate descriptions and photographs of the men.

The four principal fugitives are Gilbert Green, chairman of District Eight, Communist party, Chicago; Gus Hall, national secretary and member of the party's national committee; Robert George Thompson, member of the party's national board, and Henry Winston, national organizational secretary.

These four men were among eleven Communist leaders convicted of criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. Seven of them surrendered on Monday and were imprisoned; the $80,000 bail of the four others was forfeited.

Ten of the eleven were sentenced to serve five years each, while Hall was sentenced to three years in consideration of his war record. They were also fined $10,000 each, all of which was paid.

The four other fugitives, regarded as secondary leaders, are Fred Morris Fine, 37 years old, secretary of the public affairs commission of the Communist party; James Edward Jackson Jr., 36, Southern regional director of the party; William Norman Marron, 49, executive secretary of the New York State Communist party; and Sidney Steinberg, 36, assistant national labor secretary of the party and a member of the alternate national committee.

A summary of F. B. I. descriptions of the men follows:

Green — Five feet six inches; 150 pounds; hazel eyes; black curly hair; dark complexion; medium build; high forehead. Works as writer, lecturer, electrician and machine shop worker.

Hall — five feet eleven inches; 220 pounds; heavy build; blue-gray eyes; light brown hair; fair complexion; sometimes wears mustache; has small scar on left thumb, two pockmarks on left cheek, mole on right side of neck. Has been active in Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

Thompson — five feet nine and one-quarter inches; 170 pounds; dark brown eyes, brown hair; light complexion; muscular build; has bullet wound on left knee and appendectomy scar. Speaks slowly. Active in California, Ohio, Mexico City, Mexico.

Winston—Five feet eleven and one-half inches; Negro; 200 pounds; brown eyes; stocky; pockmarks on face. Active in Kansas City, New York, and Cleveland, and visited Russia in 1937.

Fine—five feet five and one-half inches; 139 pounds; medium build; brown hair; brown eyes; mole on left cheek at mouth. Active in New York, Michigan and Chicago.

Jackson—five feet six and one-half inches; 160 pounds; medium build; Negro; small star scar on outer corner of left eye; sometimes wears a mustache. Has worked as a druggist. Active in the South and in Michigan.

Marron—better known as Bill Norman—five feet six inches; 162 pounds; black hair, blue eyes, dark complexion. Active in New York and New Jersey.

Steinberg—five feet six inches; 157 pounds; medium build; brown hair; blue eyes; light complexion; works as writer and butcher. Active in New Jersey.

Wanted: 8 Reds—Public Aid Asked

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover last night asked all citizens and law enforcement agencies to assist in the hunt for eight fugitive Communist Party leaders. The Inquirer as a public service publishes the descriptions and pictures of the missing eight.

HENRY WINSTON, 40, 5 feet 11½ inches, 200 pounds, brown eyes, black, kinky hair, dark complexion, stocky build, has pockmarks on face.

ROBERT GEORGE THOMPSON, 36, 5 feet 9¼ inches, 170 pounds, dark brown eyes, brown, thick, straight hair, light complexion, muscular build, has bullet wound left knee and appendectomy scar, speaks slowly, usually carries a brief case.

GILBERT GREEN, 44, 5 feet 6 inches, 150 pounds, hazel eyes, black, curly hair, dark complexion, medium build, high forehead.

GUS HALL, 40, 5 feet 11 inches, 220 pounds, heavy set, blue-gray eyes, light brown hair, fair complexion, sometimes wears mustache, small scar on left thumb, two pockmarks on left cheek, mole on right side of neck.

SIDNEY STEINBERG, 36, 5 feet 6 inches, 157 pounds, medium build, brown hair, blue eyes, light complexion.

FRED MORRIS FINE, 37, 5 feet 5½ inches, 139 pounds, medium build, brown hair, partially bald in front, brown eyes, mole on left cheek at mouth level, large mouth, heavy features, prominent Adam's apple.

JAMES EDWARD JACKSON, Jr., 36, 5 feet 6½ inches, 160 pounds, medium build, black, curly hair and bald in front, brown eyes, small scar outer corner of left eye, sometimes wears a mustache.

WILLIAM NORMAN MARRON, 49, 5 feet 6 inches, 162 pounds, medium build, black hair, blue eyes, dark complexion, heavy beard.



HENRY WINSTON



ROBERT G. THOMPSON



GILBERT GREEN



GUS HALL



SIDNEY STEINBERG



FRED FINE



J. E. JACKSON, JR.



WILLIAM N. MARRON

Dean Drops Red Charge Law Suit

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—After a two year delay, the $50,000 damage suit brought against Mrs Thomasina Johnson Norford, chief of Minority Groups, U. S. Employment service, by Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of the school of medicine, Howard university, was settled out of court last week.

The settlement came after Mrs. Norford had agreed to pay Dr. Johnson a substantial sum of money and retracted the statement she was charged with having made regarding Dr. Johnson's affiliation with the Communist party.

The suit grew out of a telephone conversation originating in December, 1948, when Mrs. Norford is alleged to have referred to Dr. Johnson as a "No. One Communist."

The remark is supposed to have been made to Dr. Herbert Marshall, former president of the local NAACP branch and Mrs. Annie Lee Davis, an employee of the Federal Security administration.

Mrs. Norford is said to have hurled these "red" charges at Dr. Johnson in a campaign in which she opposed his election to the presidency of the Washington branch of NAACP.

Dr. Johnson's damage suit against Mrs. Norford was about to go to trial when an agreement was reached to dismiss the case without prejudice. The financial settlement which Mrs. Norford agreed to pay was not revealed by either of the attorneys but it was learned that it was in excess of $4,000.

Southern Faction Controls Congress

Democrats Name Anti-Fair Dealers To Key Positions

WASHINGTON — Civil rights is a "dead duck" for the duration of the Eighty-second Congress!

Reverberations from loud-sounding slaps in the face dealt the Truman administration by the less than seven-day-old Congress echoed throughout Washington this week, telling the nation that the lawmaking body has shaped up as being coalition-controlled, Southern dominated, and sharply conservative.

The Truman stalwarts were dealt shocking blows in both House and Senate. These defeats fell in the following order of importance:

1. The House upset a two-year old rules reform and restored to itself the rules committee's "life and death" power over legislation by a vote of 244 to 179.

2. Senator Lyndon Johnson, Texas Democrat, was appointed majority whip.

3. Senator Ernest W. McFarland, Arizona Democrat, was chosen as the Senate majority leader.

4. Former Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida was named Director of Civilian Defense.

By its action the House rescinded a twenty-one-day rule reform initiated in 1949 to halt indefinite bottling up of Fair Deal legislation in the rules committee, and made it impossible for decisions by the rules body as to what legislation shall receive floor consideration to be overridden only by petition of a majority of the House membership or through special parliamentary tactics on special days.

REQUEST REJECTED

Truman Democrats had asked the House to adopt for the new Congress the rules, including the rules committee restrictions, that were approved for the Eighty-first Congress, but this request was rejected.

With the old rule in effect, and the powerful rules committee controlled by Southern Democrats, it now seems highly improbable that any civil rights measures will get on the floor of the Eighty-second Congress.

The measure rescinding the twenty-one-day rule was presented by Representative Eugene Cox (Democrat of Ga.) one of the four Southern members of the coalition-controlled rules committee. The motion urging continuation of the "reform" rule was presented by the veteran chairman of the rules committee, Adolph J. Sabath (Democrat of Ill.)

In the Senate, civil rights champions suffered an upset earlier, when during a Democrat caucus meeting Tuesday, Senator Ernest W. McFarland of Arizona was elected Majority Leader to succeed Scott Lucas, who was defeated in the November elections. McFarland was elected leader over a Truman favorite, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Democrat, Wyo.)

Though an administration man on most issues, Senator McFarland is reportedly "anti-rights" having sided with Southern Democrats in voting on nine out of ten rights measures.

NAACP HITS MOVES

During its forty-first annual meeting last week the NAACP assailed the appointment of Senator Lyndon Johnson (D., Texas) as the majority whip. The appointment of former Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida as Director of Civilian Defense also came in for criticism as the group asserted that he "organized the regional college plan for the specific purpose of circumventing the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court on equality of educational opportunities for Negro-Americans."

In a resolution, the NAACP pledged to "continue an unrelenting campaign for the enactment of civil rights legislation by Congress and for complete equality for the Negro minority of our nation."

The NAACP, earlier in the week, had deplored the change in House rules which gave the House Rules Committee "sweeping powers of life-or-death" over pending legislation. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, declareed, "This restoration of dictatorial power over all legislation in the Congress to the hands of a dozen men is one of the greatest setbacks to democracy."

The board of directors announced that Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta and a weekly columnist of The Courier, was one of three new members placed on the body. Other newly elected board members included Dr. Jesse Leonida Bush of Flint, Mich., and Samuel Williams, president of the branch of the Oranges and Maplewood in New Jersey.

Re-elected to the board were the following: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Senator Herbert Lehman, Theodore M. Berry, Rabbi Judah Cahn, Roscoe Dunjee, Alfred Baker Lewis, Dr. James J. McLendon, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and treasurer of The Courier; Mrs. Lillian Alexander and Mrs. Amy Spingarn.

Mrs. Roosevelt and Messrs. Bunche and Lehman were chosen for three-year terms.

Demo Caucus Asks Seating Of 4 Loyalists

Investigating Group Ousted Them In 3rd District Vote Contest

A majority of the members of the incoming State Democratic Executive Committee reportedly agreed late Sunday to insist on the seating of four committee members recently ousted by a party investigating committee.

A high-ranking party member who declined the use of his name said the action was taken at a caucus of the loyalist committeemen on the eve of the first meeting of the new Democratic governing body.

Meanwhile, a Birmingham lawyer who opposed the anti-Truman revolt in 1948 appeared in lone for the state committee chairmanship, succeeding States Righter Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile.

Ben F. Ray, who is understood to have the backing of incoming Gov. Gordon Persons, was given the edge over two other candidates, Circuit Judge Roy Mayhall of Jasper and Probate Judge T. C. Almon of Decatur.

Rushton Resigned

Mayhall was believed the likely choice for vice-chairman and Almon for Democratic national committeeman.

States' Righter Marion Rushton, of Montgomery, the committeeman elected in 1948, handed in his resignation in protest against the Truman civil rights program but it was never acted on by the state committee.

A caucus was scheduled later Sunday night to pick loyalist candidates for chairman and other committee offices.

The four seats taken away from the loyalists after an investigation of election fraud charges were in the Third Congressional District. A States' Rights-dominated subcommittee made up of members of the outgoing party governing body ordered the loyalists ousted and States Righters seated in their places.

39 Of 72 Seats

Even if they lose the four seats, the national party regulars will have 39 of the 72 votes on the new state committee.

The decision to review the Third District dispute reportedly was taken in the face of arguments by McCorvey and other States' Righters that it is a closed matter.

McCorvey, who appointed the investigating subcommittee, gave it full authority to decide the Third District contest and said neither the outgoing nor the incoming state committees could change it.

The 65-year-old Ray, a veteran of previous party battles, was twice a delegate to the Democratic national convention and served on the state committee once before. from 1927 to 1931.

TRUMAN GETS ANNUAL AWARD FROM HADASSAH

Washington, Jan. 11 (AP)—The 1951 Henrietta Szold citation and award for humanitarian service was presented to President Truman today by Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization.

With the citation was an award of $1,000 to perpetuate the memory of Henrietta Szold, Baltimore born Jewish scholar, teacher, social worker, and Zionist, who founded Hadassah in 1912 and died in Jerusalem in 1945.

The President turned the $1,000 check to Hadassah, which will add $5,000 to it and establish a fellowship in the name of the President's mother, the late Martha E. Truman. The money will be used to bring a physician from Israel to study American medical methods and to teach these methods later in Israel medical schools.

President Truman Writes Negro Pupils

BIRMINGHAM, Feb. 22—(AP)—Sixth graders at Kingston Elementary School for Negroes Thursday proudly displayed a letter they received from President Truman.

After listening to the President's State of the Union message on the radio last month, the 42 Negro boys and girls voted to send Mr. Truman a telegram.

They told the President they were studying his speeches and trying to learn to be better citizens.

The President responded this week with a letter thanking the class for its interest in him.

Southern Democrats Give Aid to G.O.P.

Many Partisans Won't Support Administration

Special to The Courier-Journal

Washington, March 26 — A Southern Democratic congressman, who shall have to be nameless, dropped into the office of Representative McVey (R., Ill.) with a key to what's happening to vacationing President Truman's projects in Congress.

"You Republicans," said the Southerner, "keep on plugging away against Administration bills.

"Eventually we'll get those fellows (meaning the Truman Administration) out of here. A lot of us Democrats hope we can vote with you for President next year."

"That," said McVey later, "explains what's going on. It is a revolt by Congress, the Republicans leading and being joined by a number of Southerners who think as they do.

"That revolt comes from the people. They have lost confidence in the Truman Administration."

It is generally believed on Capitol Hill that Truman will not run again in 1952, for that if he should seek renomination he would be defeated in his party's convention.

That is responsible for some Democratic slipping away from the bandwagon.

But it is only a part of the story.

Speaker Rayburn (D., Texas) can be certain of no more than 160 of the 234 House Democrats, according to Republican accounts, in showdown issues on Administration pet measures. There are 200 Republicans in the House.

Senate Majority Leader McFarland (Ariz.) has a bare party majority, 48 Democrats to 47 Republicans. There are at least a dozen Democrats of whom McFarland can't be certain on issues unpopular in the South. A Senate coalition put a 4,000,000-man limit on the armed forces.

On Tuesday the House, by 227 to 167, rejected Truman's blank check plan to reorganize Government agencies during the emergency.

On Wednesday by 219 to 107 the House defeated a resolution to consider the Administration's emergency-housing bill on the ground that it would cost too much and impose more Government controls over housing.

Also on Wednesday the opposition narrowly failed to defeat the President's R.F.C. reorganization plan to put that embattled lending agency under one administrator instead of a board. The vote was 200 to 196 against the President, but a majority of the whole House, 218, was necessary to defeat it.

Because of the rising demand in House and Senate and both parties, for liquidation of the R.F.C., the Senate is deemed likely to defeat that presidential bill.

Many congressmen believe, with McVey, that public confidence in the Administration has been lost. They cite as reasons the Korean War stalemate, the 18-year-old draft proposal, R.F.C. scandals, the troops-for-Europe issue, the huge spending budget, the high tax proposal, and the fight over Secretary of State Acheson.

The $71,600,000,000 budget appears in for some real paring this time. Many demands for cuts up to $10,000,000,000 have been uade. The $16,000,000,000 tax bill is yet to coue out of committee. But forecasts are freely made that a final tax bill will not exceed $8,000,000,000.

Truman's biggest troubles with Congress seem yet to come.

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Thanks Just The Same

The Dixiecrats had proceeded as though their troth had been plighted with Gov. Byrnes of South Carolina. His great prestige would give the Dixiecrats who have hitherto lacked a face card.

Gov. Byrnes said nothing by way of confirmation.

Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat standard bearer in 1948, wrote Gov. Byrnes a public letter urging him to assume leadership of the Dixiecrats.

"If you assume this leadership . . ." Thurmond wrote Byrnes, "I am sure you will receive the loyal support of the more than a million staunch Americans who followed the States Rights movement in 1948 . . . I sincerely hope you will feel inclined to respond to the call for leadership.

Columnist John Temple Graves rhapsodized:

"Nothing could be more statesmanlike than this act of Gov. Thurmond's. It carries the movement he led to new dimensions in great turns of event. It identifies the cause with the great American who has come back to public life for its principles and who is the most national South Carolinian since Calhoun. It brings Byrnes dramatically into the the 1952 picture . . .

"Thurmond is . . . saying that he and the million States Righters of 1948 for whom he is most qualified to speak look to Gov. Byrnes as the indicated and able exponent of their principles and the man *whose lead they expect to follow* into the confusions, maneuvers, and shining chances of 1952."

The Byrnes response:

COLUMBIA, S. C., March 23 — (AP) — Gov. Byrnes said flatly again today he will not be a candidate for president on a States Rights or any other ticket.

Byrnes also declared in a letter to . . . Thurmond that he will not "seek leadership" of the more than 1,000,000 voters who supported Thurmond for president.

Assuming that Thurmond and Graves do "follow the lead" of Byrnes, they are, as of the statement above, repatriated into the National Democratic Party, the party of Jefferson, Wilson, Pierce and Truman.

Jefferson-Jackson Day

Race Dems At Big Fete

WASHINGTON—Approximately one hundred Negroes, the bulk of them prominent figures in Democratic circles, from points across the United States, were part of the colorful crowd of more than five thousand persons, who filled the National Guard Armory here Saturday night for the traditional Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

Repeating a pattern he set last year, Congressman William L. Dawson (D., of Illinois), unofficially and officially regarded as the number one Negro Democrat, was the sole Negro at the table of celebrities who included President Harry S. Truman.

Familiar faces in the celebrating crowd were Mrs. Christine Ray Davis, clerk of the House Expenditure Committee; Atty. Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia; Councilwoman Jean Murrell Capers, Cleveland, Ohio; Sherman Hibbitt, New York's "Mayor"; Councilman Earl Brown, New York; Dr. Harry T. Penn, Roanoke, Va.;

Atty. and Mrs. Roy Garvin, Atty. Belford V. Lawson, D. C.; Dr. Charles Atkinson, West Chester, Pa.; Judge Andrew J. Howard, D. C.; Miss Leah Brock, secretary to Judge Armond W. Scott, D. C.; Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Weaver, New York; Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth Brown and Miss Valerie Parks, D. C.;

OTHER LEADERS

Mrs. Thomasina J. Norford, D. C.; Dr. Alphonzo Harris, D. C.; Mrs. Carriebell J. Cook, Cleveland; Hubert B. Pair, D. C.; Assemblyman Elijah Crump, New York; Atty. Jesse Dedmon, Atty. and Mrs. Richard Atkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Cortez Peters, and Clement E. Atkinson, D. C.; Dr. Whittier C. Atkinson, Coatesville, Pa.; George L. P. Weaver, D. C.; Dr. Nolan N. Atkinson, Bryn Mawr, Pa., and others.

Negro Democrats Club Organized In Biloxi

BILOXI, Miss., July 17.—(DSN)—The Biloxi Democrats Club of the Mississippi Negro Democrats Association was organized in a meeting here Tuesday night, at the home of Mrs. Rosa Coffee, 307 E. Railroad Street.

A brief program proceeded the organization. Mr. Charles Burton, State Representative, and advisor opened with an explanation of the purpose and program of the Mississippi Negro Democrats Association, and was followed by scripture reading from the 14th chapter of John by Mr. E. Booker and prayer by Rev. R. V. Andrews, which was followed by the song, 'Come On Don't You Want To Go."

After the meeting the crowd enjoyed a watermelon cutting, which was followed with plenty of cold punch.

Those who paid their membership and who will become charter members of the organization are Rev. R. V. Andrews, Henry Scott, E. Burrell, Edward Young, Wilson Green, Rev. A. J. Coviness, Joe Battiest, Mrs. Elvina Strong, Mrs. Ruth Thompson, Mrs. Rosa Coffee, E. Booker, Rev. R. D. Deans, Emanuel E. Reed, James Reese, Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Diggs.

The officers elected were: Rev. R. V. Andrews, president; A. J. Calveriness, vice president; Eddie Diggs, secretary; Joe Battiest, treasurer; E. Booker, recording secretary and Rev. J. Robinson, chaplain.

President Truman Tells Newsmen Plans To Fight For Entire Fair Deal Program, Including Civil Rights In 1952 Democratic Party Platform

We Are Either For Democracy Or We Are Not, The President Says

SOUTHERN CRITICS MAP NEW ANTI-TRUMAN OFFENSIVE

KEY WEST, Fla., Nov. 19.—Repercussions from the recent meeting of southern governors in Hot Springs, Ark., and blistering attacks against the civil rights proposals of President Truman, were accredited as being the inspiration behind the Chief Executive's utterances during a press conference here Friday morning. Truman told newsmen that it is his plan to fight for his entire "Fair Deal" program—civil rights proposals and all—both within his own Democratic party as well as against his Republican opponents.

It doesn't make any difference, the President said, who runs for President on the Democratic ticket; he made it emphatically clear that he has no intention of giving up his control of the Democratic party and its platform policy.

The President allowed that he would like to see harmony within the party ranks, but that he would not submit to the least variance from his 1948 platform proposals.

When questioned concerning recent southern blasts of his civil rights program, Mr. Truman stated, "we are either for Democracy or we are not. If we as the sponsors of freedom and equality of opportunity to all people want to influence this ideology throughout the world, we must practice it ourselves. Many of our young men died in Europe to convince Hitler and his cohorts that the brotherhood of men—all men—was the basic origin of principles designed to guarantee freedom of thought, freedom of press, and freedom of speech to modern peoples. We in America, cannot condone any process of thought or activity that would make the deeath of these noble Americans a sacrifice in vain. As long as I have a conscience, and as long as I am a sane American, the principles of the Democratic program for which I have so ferevently fought will be my guide in the promotion of government for the people of the United States."

In words that came with a fighting mood, the President put it bluntly that he is going to see to it that his "Fair Deal" demands be given a place in the Democratic platform.

It will be remembered that four years ago the President lost four Southern states by his firm adherence to these sharp controversial civil rights proposals. His insistence that this program be incorporated into his party's platform for the 1952 race shaped up as an obvious challenge to such leaders of the anti-Truman forces as Senator Byrnes of South Carolina, Senator Byrd of Virginia and Governor Talmadge of Georgia.

Byrd said in Washington shortly after hearing the President's declaration, "If the President is right in his forecast about the party platform, especially as to civil rights, it will touch off a bitter new fight."

Governor Talmadge, after reaching Atlanta late on his return from Hot Springs because of airplane delay, said, "the South is much concerned over the President's declaration of policy for the Democratic Party in the 1952 elections. He may be sincere in his advocacy, but we cannot go along with him in a program to deprive us of Statees' Rights. I feel that the President should realize our position and consider the fact that we are as interested and concerned as he in the progressive developments of our nation. We just don't believe in nor will we, in the South, accept or support socilistic domination by the federal government."

The President's views were expressed following an open air news conference here, and embraced all the deteremination exemplified in his consistent messages to Congress in the past few years of his presidency. His initiated plan is to take his program to the people, as he did in 1948.



MUTUAL CONGRATULATIONS are exchanged by Cong. William L. Dawson of Illinois (right) and Frank B. McKinney (center) newly elected chairman of the Democratic National Party. At left is Joseph S. Clark, first Democratic mayor elected in Philadelphia in 5[illegible] years. Occasion was the 3rd annual New York $100-plate dinner of the Democratic National Committee at the the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, McKinney was formally introduced at the dinner, during which Cong. Dawson made an address. — Defender photo by deMille.

The South Should Stand Up For Principles, Not Remain Subservient To A Label - -

An Editorial From The Savannah Morning News

FOR THE benefit of those members of the Democratic party in the South who are inclined to vote the Democratic ticket election year after election year because their fathers and grandfathers did before them, the argument can be rightfully and logically advanced that they are and have been surrendering to the influence of a label rather than to a principle.

That they are and have been surrendering to the influence of a label rather than to a principle is a particularly important truth to consider when we remember that the New Deal and Fair Deal parties are by no stretch of the imagination the same Democratic party which Thomas Jefferson founded.

In so far as labels are concerned, however, this indisputable fact should be remembered by those who call themselves "Democrats" and are disposed to vote the Democratic ticket in national elections, that the party originally founded by Mr. Jefferson was called by him the "Republican party." An examination of the country's political history in Jefferson's day will prove this.

THE REASON the author of the Declaration of Independence described the political organization he founded as "Republican" is because the United States, formed on a basis of the federal Constitution of 1787, is primarily a "republic," and not a democracy.

To understand more clearly why the Sage of Monticello called his party "Republican" we must remember that the word republic is derived from the Latin "res," meaning "a thing" and "publicus," meaning something that belongs to the people. In Jefferson's day, or rather prior to and during his term as President, there were two outstanding parties the Federalists on one side and Jefferson's Republicans on the other. His Republicans believed in the principle that the people are fully capable of self-government and can be trusted contrasted with Alexander Hamilton's Federalists who believed that the masses should be under the control of a strong centralized government.

The reason the United States is considered a republic rather than a pure democracy is that a democracy represents a rule directly by the people, of which the New England town system is an example. Inasmuch, however, as the township principle cannot be applied to large bodies of peoples, it was necessary to set up a republic which means that the people must vote directly to send their representatives to a Congress where those representatives in turn can act in their behalf on legislative matters.

* * *

ESSENTIALLY, under the circumstances, the United States is, therefore, a democratic-republic, which means that it is democratic in its initial process by which the people vote directly for their senators and members of the House, who in turn vote on legislation in their behalf.

There is no record in history, or in any of the papers of Mr. Jefferson, that he himself ever used the term "Democratic" in connection with his Republican party. As far as can be discovered the term "Democratic" was added to the "Democratic-Republican party" by others and not by Mr. Jefferson. It was not until Andrew Jackson appeared on the scene that the party became universally known by its present simple Democratic name.

It is an interesting and significant twist of fate that the elements in the so-called Democratic party which we know today as the New Deal and the Fair Deal, have adopted the very principles which Mr. Jefferson opposed when he organized the original Republican party—that is to say, principles embodying Hamilton's insistence on a centralized government. Strangely enough, however, instead of adopting the better concepts of the Federalist centralized government, the New Dealers and Fair Dealers have prostituted Mr. Jefferson's Democratic-Republican party and followed to an alarming degree the totalitarian policies of Mr. Stalin and his Politburo. The Republican party as we know it today was not formed until 1854.

* * *

WE BELIEVE that what we have emphasized here is sufficient evidence to demonstrate the folly of remaining absurdly loyal to mere labels. It is to be hoped that next year—which will be a vital one in the history of the republic and of the world—Southerners, who too long have thought they were remaining loyal to a governmental principle but who actually were surrendering merely to a label, will see the light and act in the best interest of the South and of the people of this country as a whole, go to the polls and throw out the radical crowd which has prostituted the party of Mr. Jefferson and dragged his democratic-republican principles into the mire of ineptitude and corruption.

Says Valentine's Essay On Truman Was Prejudiced

Like in many divorce cases, the real issue for separation is seldom brought to light but, rather, extraneous grievances are made the basis for suit. So appears Mr. Valentine's attack on the morality of the President.

Mr. Valentine would place Mr. Truman in the underworld of Pendergast, if such there were, and into Madam's brothels, when his real grievances are the spending of the Fair Deal and vast expenditures for armaments, which has brought high prices, high wages and unprecedented prosperity—and high taxes which have trimmed the profits of wealth. And Mr. Truman's civil rights program to make the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution operative. It is these, and Pendergast's brothels that is in Mr. Valentine's windpipe.

It has been written, that on occasion, when the Kansas City gang went to Pendergast for an endorsement of some nefarious scheme, the boss told them they would have to see Harry Truman —that he was the man they would now have to deal with. But they said: "Hell, no, we can't handle that dern fool; he's too d---- righteous; he won't stand for it."

Concerning civil rights, here Mr. Truman is on solid ground. Whether we Southerners like it or not, it is in the Constitution, and Mr. Truman did not put it there. The Dixiecrats should go to the Republican party, who made that edict, and at a time when the South lay prostrate and voiceless, and seek redress there. Go to that court for divorce. If Mr. Truman now uses that political trick to keep the Democratic party in power, it is no more than the Republicans did for the greater part of some 68 years for the same ends, until the Negro found a better Lincoln.

Mr. Valentine also charges that Mr. Truman was kicked from out of obscurity into the White House but the record proves that the President was nationally heralded even before he became Vice-President. Even Secretary Stimson, Mr. Roosevelt's Secretary of War, came to Senator Truman to ask him to slow down on his investigations into graft, and for a good reason.

President Truman is doing a good job in these perilous days. The people will not be deceived by the anvil chorus.

D. F. HARRISON,
Richmond.

Court Dismisses Suit To Force Electors To Follow Party Line

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 30—(AP)—A court petition seeking to bar the State Democratic Executive Committee from forcing presidential elector candidates to pledge support of the national party candidate was dismissed Friday.

A special panel of Circuit Court Judges J. Russell McElroy and Whit Windham ruled that no present controversy exists to give the court jurisdiction.

The petition for a declaratory judgment against the state committee was filed by Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney. He was elected a Presidential elector in 1948 and joined with the other 10 in casting Alabama's electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket.

Wilkinson said Friday he will appeal the decision to the Alabama Supreme Court.

In its ruling, the two-judge panel specifically declined to say whether it could take jurisdiction to rule on purely political and party policies of the committee. The 72-man committee controls Democratic party machinery in the state.

Wilkinson's petition was argued entirely on briefs. It was dismissed on demurrers (legal objections) filed on behalf of Chairman Ray and the committee by Attys. Harold Cooke, Birmingham; James J. Mayfield, Tuscaloosa, and John C. Godbold, Montgomery.

Wilkinson said in his petition that he desires to become a Presidential elector candidate, but would never pledge himself to vote for President Truman, if Mr. Truman should be a candidate for reelection.

He added that the state committee claims it has the right, power and authority to bar members of the party in Alabama, including the plaintiff, for qualifying as a candidate for elector unless they pledge to support the nominee of the 1952 National Democratic convention."

The attorney had requested a declaratory judgment to prohibit the committee from requiring such a loyality pledge.

Answering, the court said the facts as set out in the complaint "do no more than indicate the possibility that there may arise hereafter a controvesy which a court may properly decide."

"The complaint is not sufficient to invoke a declaration upon the matter of whether the State Democratic Executive Committee has the power or authority to adopt or enact a rule or regulation requiring a person who offers to become a candidate for the office of presidential or vice-president elector, to pledge or agree that if he is nominated and elected as such elector, he will cast his vote for the nominees of the National Democratic Convention."

Marion County Wants Truman

The Democratic Executive Committee of Marion County has, by a vote of 11 to 4, adopted a resolution, *annus mirabilis*, thanking God for Mr. Truman and memorializing Him for a dispensation of four years more of Mr. Truman.

We hastened to confirm that annunciation with a true copy of the Marion County committee:

WHEREAS, the National Democratic Administration has meant greater prosperity to the Southland and the United States as a whole than all the combined Republican administrations in the history of the nation; and

WHEREAS, more progress has been made in matters of agriculture, industry, public health, hospitalization, housing, and public welfare under the New Deal and the Fair Deal of the National Democratic Party; and

WHEREAS, the Hon. Harry S. Truman, the President of these United States, the leader of the National Democratic Party, has been foremost responsible for such progress; and

WHEREAS, it is imperative for the continued welfare of this nation that the Hon. Harry S. Truman remain President of these United States for another term.

NOW THEREFORE, be it resolved by the Marion County Democratic Executive Committee—

That the National Democratic Party be, and it hereby is, most strongly urged and petitioned to renominate the Hon. Harry S. Truman as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States at its convention in 1952. . . .

Whether this resolution is a faithful reflection of public sentiment in Marion *The Advertiser* cannot say, but since the committeemen hold office by the will and whim of the voters we may speculate that they have not flown directly into the teeth of public sentiment.

Any way you take it, however, it is a notable expression since even the leaders of the Democratic Party wish in their beards that Mr. Truman would abdicate, go to Independence and commence his memoirs. Even Mr. Truman sometimes feels that way, having once and maybe twice asked Eisenhower to relieve him.

Southern Governors About Equally Divided For, Against Truman

By WILLIAM M. BATES

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (AP — There's a lot of talk these days about a 'Dixie revolt,' but the fact is that Southern governors—key figures in political string-pulling—are about evenly divided in support of an opposition to President Truman.

Although forthcoming state primaries may alter the situation in some states, a United Press survey showed today that Mr. Truman has some influential friends currently in the highest Southern offices. They just don't make as much noise as the anti-Trumanites.

Control of state governmental machinery by either pro-Truman or anti-Truman forces will play an increasingly-significant role as the nation goes down the road to next year's presidential race.

In most states, the administration in power has a strong voice in the complexion and action of the convention delegates. With leadership of Democratic state policies under their supervision, incumbent governors can sometimes maneuver election machinery advantageously to their cause. That was demonstrated by both sides in the 1948 States' Rights revolt.

As things now stand, should President Truman seek renomination next year, he could count on the support of the present governors of Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida. He would be opposed by the governors of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. Alabama and Louisiana are unknown quantities.

Governors Sid McMath of Arkansas and Kerr Scott of North Carolina are two of Mr. Truman's most vocal Southern supporters. Both are on record favoring his renomination but they probably would support the Democratic nominee, regardless of the convention's choice.

Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida also has expressed his unqualified support of the President's renomination. But in his state the convention delegates are elected by the people, thus limiting his influence over the complexion of the delegation.

In Tennessee, Governor Gordon Browning personally supports Mr. Truman but he and other pro-Truman leaders may have to do battle with Memphis political leader E. H. Crump should the President run again. Crump is a died-in-the-wool Truman foe and prevented his nomination for vice-president in 1944 from being unanimous.

Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, acknowledged leader of the South's anti-truman element, will go to the Democratic convention in complete command of his state's delegation. He is expected to take the lead in the fight to defeat the President and to drive through a platform acceptable by the South.

Byrnes will have the support of Governors Herman Talmadge of Georgia, who also will have undisputed control of his delegation; Allan Shivers of Texas, John S. Battle of Virginia and Gov.-Elect Hugh White of Mississippi.

Battle, a member of Senator Harry Byrd's strong anti-Fair Deal organization in Virginia, and White are expected to encounter little difficulty in lining up anti-Truman delegations from their states. But Shivers has a fight on his hands in Texas.

The Texas governor, leader of anti-Truman forces in the state, faces a state convention fight with Democratic loyalists over selection of delegates. He would like to take an uninstructed delegation to the national convention so as to be in a bargaining position with the state's big bloc of 52 votes.

Negro Demos Map Plan To Fight Dixiecrat Menace

Atlanta (ANP).—Southern Negro Democrats are making plans to offset any influence the Dixiecrats may exert on the party's liberal platform, it was learned here last week.

Just how the ten Democrats plan to go about their political business was not revealed, but the fact that "big plans" are in the making leaked out when Congressman William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) conferred with leaders from five southern states here last week.

Dawson, regarded as titular head of the Negro members of the Democratic party, came down to "talk things over," it was said. One informant said that plans were discussed to "get out a big vote" for the Democratic nominee in 1952, and what role the Negroes would play in event of a rebellion by white southerners. He said that Negro Democrats are determined to see that the civil rights planks are "not tampered with" in the coming convention.

Negro Democratic organizations all over the South are conducting registration campaigns to get as many race voters on the books as possible before the books close.

One of the leaders who conferred with Dawson, but declined the use of his name, said that southern Negroes have not been satisfied with the overlooking of Negroes in "patronage." He pointed out that they had expected a few jobs in CIPS and other agencies on a regional and state basis, but opposition from local whites had prevented them from getting jobs.

Dawson was told that southern Negroes who support the party candidates do not have access to patronage through regular party channels because these are controlled by hostile whites. They expect the national party leaders to "look out for them."

Louisiana Points The Way

The action of the Louisiana State Central Democratic Committee in admitting Negroes into full membership of the Party, goes a step further than the other southern states have been willing to go since the 1944 Supreme Court decision in the Smith-Allbright case, which opened the primaries to Negroes. In this voluntary decision, therefore, Louisiana has moved ahead of the other southern states, save Texas, and now Negroes in that state not only are permitted to vote in the Primaries without obstruction but are equally welcome to participate in helping to shape the rules of the Central State Committee and name the party's candidates who will campaign on the Democratic ticket. That is not true in Georgia. It is not true in most of the other Deep South states. It is true in Texas and to a limited degree, it is true in South Carolina, only after a bitter court fight.

On its own, the State Central Committee voted Tuesday to strike out the ancient phrase from its Constitution which prescribes that party participants "shall be a white person", and substitute in its place, "he shall be registered as a member of the Democratic Party." This, therefore, opens the way for Negroes to be represented on the local and state Central bodies and to have official representation at the National Democratic Convention. And unlike Georgia and the other states, Louisiana by her action, is taking the initiative in making the Negro Democrat a part and parcel of the State Democratic Party with power to help shape the policies, name the candidates who shall run on the Party's Ticket and otherwise legislate the welfare of the Democratic Party in the state.

That is a praiseworthy step and state officials are to be commended for doing so voluntarily before it becomes compulsory for all states to do so. Eventually and not long hence, Negroes are going to insist upon this representation on the party councils of their states, just as the United States Supreme Court intended that they should do when it handed down the decision in the Texas Primary case of 1944.

Young Dixie Democrats Obtain Major Concessions On Civil Rights At Meet

ST. LOUIS — (AP) — Persisent Southern delegates obtained what they termed major concessions on states' and civil rights at the national young Democratic convention Saturday.

First, they gained adoption in the resolutions committee of a Virginia proposal urging the national Democratic leadership to do "everything within its power to preserve to the individual states their historic rights."

And secondly, they succeeded in knocking down a California resolution endorsing federal fair employment legislation and carrying reference to anti-lynching and the anti-poll tax.

A watered-down resolution was adopted over the protests of Southern delegates. It merely praised President Truman for his stand on civil rights, deleting reference to the three specific subjects.

Both proposals now face action on the convention floor.

Sidney C. Duncan of Columbia, S. C., a member of the resolutions committee, described adoption of the Virginia measure as "the greatest concession that has been made within the past six years in those believing in states' rights."

In other action, the South lost its fight for a two-thirds majority rule to govern Democratic elections. The vote in committee was 9-6.

Duncan said he would bring the matter up on the floor later in the day.

South Carolina delegates said Friday a similar resolution will be offered at the national Democratic convention in Chicago next summer under the sponsorship of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

Principal convention addresses thus far have indicated the theme for the Democratic presidential campaign next year will be that the Republican party is the war party.

Alabama's Anti-Trumanism Impresses Visitor

The Wood River, Illinois, Journal

TO A vacationist just returned from a fortnight's stay in the heart of Alabama, the most lasting impression at the moment is the bitterness manifest throughout the South at the incumbent occupant of the White House. Wherever we went there was apparent unanimity on that score in the press and among persons prone to discussions of politics and the relation of the latter to national and international events.

The Southerner, in fact, will tell you candidly that the Democratic party as known in the pre-F. D. R. era is in the same category with the Dodo bird; that what Trumanism now stands for is unadulterated socialism. If you believe the editorial writers, no bridge of sufficient length can be constructed to span the chasm between Mr. Truman and the South. A reconciliation just isn't possible.

For example, on Aug. 3, the *Alabama Journal* published in Montgomery, the state's capital city, said editorially under the caption "Why South Abhors Trumanism":

> "The Southern states must realize that Truman is the worst enemy this section has had since reconstruction in spite of his lavish distribution of patronage and funds and grants to people and places where they will be politically most beneficial. He is still as ardently in favor of FEPC as he can be about anything. He is pursuing a socialistic course that is carrying him further and further from the constitutional landmarks on which the South has depended for generations."

Because, apparently, the South's bitterness stems essentially from the Truman so-called "Civil Rights Program" the address of Senator Byrd referred to in the *Alabama Journal's* editorial is reproduced elsewhere on this page.

Our readers may wonder why, when many of the problems recited by Senator Byrd are alien to the Wood River area, it is germane to recite them in these columns. The reason must be obvious: they are inextricably involved in a national political pattern in which a decision must be reached by the Democratic party a scant year hence. It seems to us the feelings of the South at the moment will, unless there is a sudden change, carry a preponderant weight at the 1952 national convention. It's going to be an interesting thing to watch.

Stench in Mississippi

Down in Mississippi a Federal grand jury has indicted a batch of Democratic politicians on charges of selling Federal jobs to the highest bidder. It is an unsavory mess that deserves plenty of national attention. This is what happened. After the last Presidential election, the Truman high command was bent on punishing the Dixiecrats. The Democratic party machinery was placed under pro-Truman management, and the new regime promptly went to work. Reports began flying of an organized system of extortion. Every government job had its price. The charges reached the floor of the United States Senate; a subcommittee began investigating. The truth was not hard to discover. The Senatorial task force, composed of four Democrats and three Republicans, unanimously reported back last month on the smelliest sort of a scandal. It denounced a "brazen" and "vicious" collection system, corrupt in every particular Furthermore, this was the doing of the Democratic National Committee, which installed its friends in power and then apparently was content to let them make hay. Party headquarters in Washington did oust the Mississippi national committeeman, but this action came after the scandal had burst. It was clearly a forced gesture. Incidentally, this local chieftain, Clarence E. Hood, leads the list of those now indicted.

Some Democrats may think the Mississippi episode is just a bit of practical politics that went wrong, but the national temper is not one of complacency. In this case, the Democratic party's philosophy stands exposed. This is a matter of more than factional intrigue in one state. It is a revelation of how corruption stems from overgrown power. The sight is far from pleasant, as even Mr. Truman must be aware.

If South Splits, Byrnes Likely To Steer Clear

But Seen Opposing Truman's Renomination

BY WILLIAM M. BATES
United Press Staff Correspondent

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 21—Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina will have no part in a new Southern splinter party that may spring up if President Truman is renominated next year, it was believed today.

But the former secretary of state in Mr. Truman's cabinet is expected to play an active role in opposition to his former chief if the president seeks renomination at the Democratic National Convention next Summer.

Byrnes is expected to head South Carolina's delegation to the convention. And he will join Sens. Harry Byrd (D., Va.), Richard Russell (D., Ga.) and other anti-Truman Southerners in an effort to wrest control of the party from the present administration.

But most anti-Truman Southerners admit that the President will be a hard man to stop if he again seeks the nomination. And if Mr. Truman is the party's nominee in 1952, a new Southern splinter party along the lines of the 1948 States' Rights Democrats might arise.

Byrnes own statements and the observations of his friends indicate that he will have no part in such a movement. Byrnes has certainly ruled himself out as a candidate or leader or a Dixie splinter party.

Byrnes in March firmly rejected the leadership of the remnants of the States' Rights movement offered by his predecessor as governor and the States' Rights 1948 standard bearer, J. Strom Thurmond.

"Should I be urged to assume the role of leadership, either as a candidate for national office or without being a candidate, I would decline to assume that role," Byrnes told Thurmond.

Byrnes' friends say he hasn't changed his mind on this point.

From Free Alabama

The Tallassee Tribune joins a growing list of Alabama newspapers that have announced they are prepared to go Republican if the party nominates the best man.

Like *The Talladega Daily Home*, it gives the back of its hand to party loyalty and the primary ballot pledge to keep regular in the November general election. *The Tribune* says—

The [recent Gessner McCorvey] letter is too long to print but a portion of it reveals, we think, the Achilles heel of the [Dixiecrats]; the disinclination to go *all the way*.

Mr. McCorvey states: "Let me reiterate [that] if our State Democratic Executive Committee gives to the Democrats of Alabama a free and open primary in which the Democrats of all shades of thought can become candidates, then if a majority of the Democrats of Alabama participating in that primary select a slate of rabid pro-Truman presidential electors, I will certainly cast my ballot *for* them in November . . . This will be my pledge, this will be my duty, and my obligation. . . . That is what I consider party loyalty."

Albeit . . . but not for us. At this writing we frankly do not know how we are going to vote. But this we do know . . . we are going to place country above party . . . We are going to vote our convictions and any politician who doesn't like it, in or out of the party, can go to the devil.

We believe the present Washington crowd has been in the saddle too long. A change is needed, desperately needed. *And if it takes voting Republican to effect such a change, that will not scare us.*

It will be observed that *The Tribune* does not now announce that it is going Republican. That would be unreasonable since not until July will the nominees of the two parties be known. At this time, as we read *The Tribune*, it will make the well-known reasoned choice between the Democratic and Republican candidates. And in so doing, it will not be influenced in its choice by any 19th Century sins of the Republican Party against the South.

The Tribune thus joins the Byrnes wing of the Southern revolt in preference to the Byrd wing. Gov. Byrnes, in his recent formal speech at Clemson, urged Southerners to vote Republican if that party's candidate gave the best promise of relinquishing certain war-time powers of the federal government. Whereas, about the same time in Richmond, Senator Byrd said that in no circumstances would he ever go Republican.

All of which is to say that Mr. McCorvey of the Byrd wing is a captive of prejudices handed down from the previous century. *The Tribune* has unchained itself.

Program Now Is 'Unrealistic,' Says Sen. Byrd

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

SELMA, ALA., Nov. 1 — (AP)—A small band of rebel Southern Democrats acting without big name leadership Thursday hinted broadly at another revolt against the national party.

The group, after hearing a fiery anti-Truman speech by Senator Byrd (D-Va), adopted a general statement of principles but withheld any recommendations on what course should be followed.

Byrd, in tongue-lashing the Truman administration, said such action at this time would be "unrealistic." He said he wouldn't be presumptuous enough to even suggest a program of action.

The Virginia political leader was admittedly the first choice of many States' Righters present to head an independent presidential slate in the 1952 election.

But the much ballyhooed "strategy" caucus that failed to develop any strategy or announce it if there was a meeting of minds didn't go so far as to endorse Byrd for president.

Talmadge Reflects Statement

Georgia's Gov. Herman Talmadge spoke the sentiments of many present when he answered a reporter's question as to his feelings about the meeting by saying:

"I want to see the whites of their eyes before I fire."

Most of the Southern political leaders whose names would have given weight to any declaration by the Dixie Democrat conference either didn't show up or had already left town when it started at 3 p.m.

The statement of principles adopted by the States' Righters was similar to the platform adopted at a similar meeting several years ago in Birmingham. It could be the nucleus for another one.

At that time the States' Righters chose a presidential slate of ex-Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, to oppose the Truman-Barkley ticket.

A leading Alabama States' Righter, Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, offered a resolution, saying:

"We should go on record informing the world that Alabama's electoral vote will not go to Harry Truman under any circumstance."

Wilkinson was one of the state's 1948 presidential electors who voted for Thurmond instead of Truman.

He withdrew his resolution, however, when former Congressman Sam Hobbs, of Selma, suggested it would be an unwise course this early. Hobbs added that a meeting of "volunteers" had no authority to make such a commitment.

Hobbs later was elected permanent chairman of the "Alabama Democrats" as the group termed itself.

Admiral Crommelin Speaks

Adm. John Crommelin, who was involved in a personal clash with the administration last year and later ran against Senator Hill (D-Ala) as an independent, said the opposition was "not entirely an anti-Truman matter but against the entire functioning of that administration."

If you concentrate all your fire power on one man and he is not the nominee, Crommelin warned, the rug will be pulled from under your house.

About 400 persons attended the strategy meeting, including Ben Ray, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, a national party loyalist.

Among those voting for the declaration of principles were nine from Mississippi, two from Tennessee and Louisiana and one from Florida.

There were three votes against the resolution. The three identified themselves as Aubrey Williams, Jr., Montgomery, son of the publisher of the Southern Farmer and former N. Y. A. administrator; Mrs. Aubrey Williams, Jr., and Will T. Sheehan, former Montgomery newspaperman.

Two Mississippi women spoke in favor of the resolution. They identified themselves as Mrs. Hermes Gautier, of Pascagoula, who said she was an ousted Democratic national committeewoman, and Mrs. Mary Cain, of Summitt, a newspaper publisher.

Mrs. Cain said she has announced that in January she will refuse to pay social security as a self-employed person and that she is not afraid of going to jail if it comes to that.

She said she feels so strongly about the need to get rid of Truman that she is willing to die for the cause.

While not recommending any specific plan now, Senator Byrd urged that the solid South keep itself free "to take whatever effective action . . . necessary for our fundamental freedoms."

"We must meet the conditions as they develop," he said.

This was interpreted as a thinly-veiled warning that the South could withhold electoral votes from the presidential choice of the national party if necessary.

39 Given In 1948

In 1948 Southern states gave 39 of 128 electoral votes to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Among other things the "strategy" conference statement called for "re-emphasis on local state government, restoring courts and Congress to their rightful place in government, and strict adherence to the constitutional mandate that Congress, not the President, has power to declare war and make treaties."

It also urged a limit on federal taxation because it is "immoral and wrong for the government to rob a citizen of the fruits of his labor and take from him the greater portion of his earnings."

The manifesto called for a halt to what was termed the trend toward state socialism.

As for the President, the statement said:

"The only way to save America is to nominate and elect to the presidency . . . a man who believes in the supremacy of the Constitution, who will respect it as the supreme law of the land, and who will insist on the sacred observance of the limitations on the government."

Staunch States' Righters from a half a dozen Southern states stamped and cheered Byrd as he t into President Truman, charging him with leading the country toward socialism.

34d 1951 Demoractic President Harry Truman

Capitol Spotlight

LOUIS LAUTIER
NEA STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON — All presidents in recent years have had valets. But this bit of information about President Truman's valet was brought out at hearings on White House appropriations.



Louis Lautier

Mr. Truman inherited his valet from FDR. He had been retired after thirty years in the Navy, but after World War II started he was placed on active duty but kept at the White House as valet. Recently released again from the service, he is being continued as valet in a civilian capacity. His salary is $2,850 a year.

Other domestic employees at the White House are: housekeeper, $4,325; maitre de hotel, $4,325; first butler, $3,140; second butler, $2,914; butler, $2,450; first cook, $3,140; second cook, $2,914; four cooks, $2,680; four doormen, $2,588 each; seven housemen, $2,423 each; five maids, $2,358 each, and a messenger, $2,930.

Truman as leader

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE on the State of the Union is the beginning of the supreme test of the leadership of Harry S. Truman. During the next months, he must deal with a refractory, sordidly partisan and increasingly isolationist Congress. He must unite a worried and divided country. He must prepare to meet the challenge of a gigantic world crisis, which will threaten the independence and even the survival of the United States.

Above all, the unfortunate president must do all these things simultaneously and at once, restoring to America the lost power of decisive national action before this Spring or Summer. Time is now all important. April, or May, or June, is the probable date of the final Soviet move in Europe, which can conceivably leave this country with its national position all but irretrievably impaired.

What the president is

THOSE WHO OUGHT TO KNOW give an interesting picture of the way Truman is responding to this worst situation that ever confronted an American president. Basically, he is unchanged. While the world reels and totters, the Truman White House continues its established round—the morning staff meetings, Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan's jokes, the president's endless hours at his desk, the occasional evening poker parties, the week-ends down the Potomac. To the extent that Truman shows the strain at all, it shows in a marked increase of nervous tension and a greater tendency to give way to his hot temper. (As has been disclosed, the Hume letter was not the first such episode; this sort of thing merely happens more often, nowadays.)

Yet for all the strain, Harry S. Truman is still the same decent, generally kindly if occasionally vindictive, and above all brave man. Courage is the prime quality he brings to his overwhelming task. While his advisors wrung their hands, it was Truman who suggested that he go to Moscow and "have it out with Stalin," when the dread news came of the first massive Chinese attack in Korea. If courage is all that is wanted, Truman can be counted upon.

Unfortunately, however, in the existing situation, courage is not all that is wanted. The president must also be able to carry in his hands all the innumerable threads of many complex developments. He must see that all the different kinds of effort to unify our Allies, to re-arm the free world, and to control our own economy, all march forward abreast. He must manage continuously to disentangle good from bad in a great uproar of conflicting advice. And because he finds it so difficult to do all these multifarious and complicated other things, the value of his simple courage is depreciated.

* * *

What the president is not

PERHAPS the most illuminating comment on Truman came from a man very close to him, who said, "The president was absolutely at his best in the 1948 election, when what was needed was only the willingness to slug it out." The remark implied a weakness in all the finer points, from footwork to feinting.

The president in fact has these main deficiencies. He has little power to analyze complex arrays of facts, so that he can act upon them forehandedly—witness his evident unpreparedness for Soviet aggression. He has even less power to present complex facts to the country in a simple and convincing way—witness his courageous but ineffectual speech on the national emergency. And he has no power at all to create the climate, the atmosphere of national action—witness the events of every day.

These three powers or knacks, of correctly analyzing complex facts, presenting them clearly to the people, and creating the climate in which the facts will be acted upon, are unfortunately the three essential powers of the democratic leader. They are the tools that the democratic leader needs to do his job successfully and efficiently.

Thus the greatest and strongest of the democratic societies, on which the whole world-future now squarely depends, is headed in this desperately critical instant in history by a man ill-equipped for the high task of democratic leadership. On the surface, it looks very bad.

But it will not be bad, if the country and the Congress take the president for what he is, being grateful for his decency and bravery, not looking to him for the other qualities which he does not seem able to supply. Resoluteness in the country, foresight and national-mindedness among the politicians, can take us through the dark times ahead. Perhaps it is not a bad thing that in this crisis we cannot look up to the father-image of a great leader, but have only a good man at our head. For if we do get through—and no one can doubt that we somehow shall—the vigor and inner energy of this nation will be proven for good and all.—©

By Joseph and Stewart Alsop

Boo Truman at Ball Game in Washington

BY WALTER TROHAN

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, April 20 — President Truman was roundly booed at the opening baseball game today as an aftermath to the triumphant appearance of Gen. MacArthur here yesterday.

The swell of boos came at the end of the 8th inning when an announcement over the loudspeaker urged 32,000 fans to remain seated after the game until the Presidential party could make their departure.

The boos rolled out over the field. There was no applause.

The Washington Senators defeated the New York Yankees, 5 to 3.

When Truman arrived at the ball park to throw out the first ball, there were scattered boos mingled with some applause. The reception was the coldest given a President in the history of the game opening event.

Taft Started Custom

President Taft began the custom of throwing out the first ball of the season.

Mr. Truman's appearance was his first public appearance since MacArthur's visit. The President avoided welcome functions for MacArthur and canceled a scheduled appearance before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

While MacArthur was flying to Washington, Mr. Truman went to a British made motion picture with Mrs. Truman. At the time MacArthur was making his historic address before congress, Mr. Truman scheduled a conference with State Secretary Acheson, who urged the firing of the five star general. Mrs. Truman went to a Maryland race track.

"End of His Career"

The boos at the ball park sent ominous chills down the backs of Democrats. Party leaders said the public disapproval spells political death for Mr. Truman and setbacks for the Democratic party.

"That does it," a Democratic senator told this correspondent at the ball game. "That is the end of his political career, but don't quote me."

Mr. Truman appeared unmindful of the few boos on his arrival. He heard the round roar of boos in the eighth inning without concern. It was considered significant the boos came from a crowd joyous over the home team's impending victory over the powerful Yankee team.

According to the White House, Mr. Truman had predicted Washington would win by a score of 5 to 3. The President had a hot dog and drank a cup of hot chocolate during the game, as did Mrs. Truman.

Mr. Truman's two predecessors in office have been publicly booed. Former President Hoover was booed at the American Legion convention in Detroit in 1932 and decisively lost his reëlection bid.

Boos helped the 1936 reëlection campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was booed on a campaign tour of New York, but the boos came as the Presidential party passed Wall st.

Roosevelt and his campaign managers rejoiced over the booing from the financial district and worked to spread the story of this booing as a means of attracting votes.

'Impeach Me,' Truman Tells Sen. Tobey

Post-Herald 4-13-51

'I'll Help You', President Quoted

WASHINGTON, April 12 (AP)—President Truman, in a new and angry telephone call, has challenged Senator Tobey to start an impeachment move against him, the New Hampshire Republican reported today.

Tobey told reporters the President called him Tuesday and said in an unfriendly tone:



TOBEY

"I understand you are going to have me impeached."

Tobey said he replied he intended nothing of the sort, but that Mr. Truman, insisting he had gotten the information from a source in whom he had "the most complete confidence," declared:

"Now let me tell you this, senator. If you want to have me impeached, you just go right ahead and I'll help you."

Before Firing

Tobey did not interpret what the President may have meant when he said, "I'll help you." Tuesday was the day before Truman dismissed Gen. Douglas MacArthur, however, and there was speculation that perhaps the President had in mind his dismissal order and the controversy it would arouse.

During the storm in Congress over the MacArthur ouster several members have called for the President's impeachment.

No Demand

But Tobey has not made any public demand for impeachment. He said today he entertains "friendly" feelings for the President and is sorry the incident occurred.

Other senators offered an explanation for the President's ire. They reported that Tobey told a closed meeting of the Senate banking subcommittee Monday the President "could be impeached" if he supplied evidence he once claimed to possess that some members of Congress received fees in connection with RFC loans.

Members of the subcommittee refused to speculate about how Truman might have obtained a version of Tobey's remarks from a meeting at which all present were pledged to secrecy.

Democrats Proceed Without Bowing To South; Northern Negro Vote More Appealing

By LYLE C. WILSON
United Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON — (UP) — The Democratic party trend away from the so-called "solid south" continued on schedule at the political pow-wow just concluded at Denver.

No one talked about it but the record was plain. Democrats from 24 western states talked in Denver mostly of President Truman to head the 1952 ticket. There would be a lot of dissent from that in any representative gathering of Southern Democrats.

The Westerners adopted a resolution urging Congress to pass the Civil Rights legislation which Mr. Truman proposed in February, 1947 and which Southern Democrats have kept on ice ever since. Right there is the basic split between the Southerners and all other Democrats.

Diminishing importance of the south in Democratic councils was further indicated at Denver by allotment of national convention votes among the states. Each of four Southern states lost bonus convention votes, because their electoral votes in 1948 were cast against Mr. Truman. Those states were Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. States gaining votes largely were outside the South.

Decline of the South within the Democratic party began in 1936 when the national convention abolished a long standing requirement for a two-thirds majority vote to nominate a presidential candidate. The two-thirds rule had provided any substantial (one-third) minority, group of states, a veto in Democratic national conventions. It was the device by which the Southern states most effectively made their influence felt within the party.

FDR united the party in his first term, 1933-37. The 1936 convention was mostly a love feast although the late Sen. Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina took a walk in protest against the allotment of one of the opening prayers at Philadelphia to a Negro preacher.

From that small beginning the rebellious spirit of Southern Democrats has swelled considerably. The party division is widening steadily. As it widens pressure increases for some kind of political realignment which, when it comes, is likely to extend far beyond the southern states and to affect both major parties.

A great many Southern politicans are looking around now for a 1952 solution to their problem. Some of them think Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower may be the answer to their prayers, either as their own party's nominee or as the Republican candidate.

Democratic headquarters proceeds on the theory that the south is welcome but not needed in 1952. It is a fact that the last Democratic president who required the vote of the "solid South" to win was Woodrow Wilson in 1916. The northern Negro vote today probably is more important to the party than the vote of the Southern states.

Southerners In Control

By Marquis Childs

Democratic Split

A GREAT deal has been made of the speech of Senator Harry F. Byrd at the Jackson-Jefferson Day dinner in Atlanta. Both liberal viewers-with-alarm and stalwart conservatives have seen in it a declaration of war on the Truman party as opposed to the Democratic Party of the South.

As a matter of fact, the war has been going on for a long time. Senator Byrd's speech sounded more nearly like the message of a confident general to his troops on the eve of victory.

The Southerners have been in control of the Senate from the beginning of the session. Under the skillful leadership of Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, as chairman of the Armed Services Committee investigating General MacArthur's dismissal, they took President Truman off a very hot spot.

Byrd played an important part in that rescue operation. When the Senate was voting on whether to keep the hearings closed or open, and feelings were running high on that issue, the Senator from Virginia helped Russell round up reluctant Southern Democrats. The vote in the Senate was 41 to 37. Without Byrd's help it might have gone the other way.

Whether anyone likes it or not, and a great many people definitely do not like it, Byrd is one of the three or four most influential men in the present Senate. A good case can be made that he wields more power than perhaps any other Senator unless it is his good friend, Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

SINCE THE Southerners are so obviously in control it seems to me that they cannot escape the issue of responsibility. Having salvaged the Administration in the MacArthur controversy, they can now in the flush of victory go ahead with the process of chopping the National Production Act and the whole defense program into small bits.

That is what they helped to do last week, working in partnership with the Republicans. It was the Southern wing of the party that put Majority Leader Ernest McFarland in that office and McFarland seemed to think it was his duty to pay back all his kind friends by helping them get special favors.

The bill that was passed by the Senate, before the House gave up and adopted a 31-day extension of the present defense act, was a bad joke. Administratively it was a monstrosity. So far as general consideration for special interests went, it was as full of holes as a sieve.

Last Thursday was a kind of Black Thursday. Rarely has party responsibility—all responsibility—broken down so completely. The behavior of the Senate through that squalid night session has been compared, and properly, to the conduct of the French Chamber of Deputies at its desk-banking, ink-slinging worst. In fact, the Chamber of Deputies has some right to feel resentful at the comparison. The savage attack on Senators Benton and Lehman when they attempted to vote "present" on the phony bill had a primitive revenge quality in it.

SINCE Southern control is such an obvious fact, responsibility for what finally happens will rest squarely on the Southern wing of the party. Here is an opportunity to show mature leadership, such as Senator Russell demonstrated in the midst of the near hysteria stirred by MacArthur's dismissal.

This would mean an acceptance of at least the economic controls provided in the Defense Production Act that has been extended for a month. It would mean a tax bill providing an increase certainly no less than the $7,200,000,000 in the House bill. And, above all, it would mean a determination to hold firm on the rebuilding of armed strength in cooperation with the North Atlantic powers, even though a Korean armistice brings an end to the shooting.

This would not constitute yielding to the President. Bernard M. Baruch has repeatedly urged the need to apply stern controls in order to check inflation while appropriating the huge sums necessary for defense of the West. And Baruch is close to the Southerners, a long-time ally of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, whom Byrd praised in his Georgia speech.

No one believes that anything like this is going to happen. Senator Walter George of Georgia, the all-powerful chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, is reported ready to cut the House tax increase by at least a billion and perhaps two billions. The same holes are to be kicked in a frail price ceiling by those who want to open the way for price increases for cotton textiles and other commodities produced in the South.

Interpreted as a declaration of war, the Byrd speech looks forward to capture of the machinery of the Democratic Party in '52. That may be possible by a raid in force. But if it comes in the form of revenge and reprisal, it will not be worth much.

11 Negroes Elected To Top Political Body

BY CARTER JEWELL

PETERSBURG, Va—(ANP)—Eleven of the 32 members elected last week in the Democratic Central Executive Committee here were Negroes. Two were reelected and nine new Negro members were elected at a later date.

The re-elected Negro committee men are Lawyer R. H. Cooley and J. H. Owens elected to the body two years ago. Before their election, all of the members of the committee were white.

Negro voters had an opportunity to elect committeemen of their choice in five of the eight precinct meetings held last week. Negro committeemen would likely have been elected at another meeting, but no action was taken on the vote for committeemen because no member of the Democratic Committee was present to conduct the meeting. More than 60 persons came out for this meeting.

Precinct and ward meetings for the election of committeemen are usually very poorly attended. It took a lively campaign to get out the Negro voters. White voters, however, did not manifest the usual interest in the meetings as one would haxe expected. For this reason Negro voters found their best opportunity to elect members of their race to committee positions.

Negro committeemen elected from the First Ward were James Lomax, E. S. Moorefield, Bennett Powell and J. A. Edmonds. Fifteen of the 22 attending this meeting were Negroes, and they elected all Negroes to the committee.

The Third Ward meeting elected Moses Moody, Charles A. Griffin, James A. Jackson, and R. J. Valentine, all Negroes, as committee men. Valentine declined to serve, and Ellsworth Tench, white, was elected in his place. Negroes outnumbered the whites at this meeting 19—6.

TENNESSEE MOB DEFIES LEADERS, REJECTS PACT

Bars Court Session in Battle for Power

BULLETIN

Benton, Tenn., April 2 (Special) —The Polk county court failed to meet today for the third time because of mob opposition by the Good Government league. The Democratic dominated court voted informally to make another try to meet April 16 after a G. G. L. mob had shouted down the "peace plan" agreed upon by leaders of both factions.

BY MORRIS GREEN

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Benton, Tenn., April 2—An attempt to bring peace to Polk county by compromise between the rival Democratic and Good Government league factions was blown sky high today by a hot tempered, shouting mob of mountaineers.

An estimated 100 of the G. G. L.'s backers, gathered in the courtroom on the second floor of the county courthouse here, spurned a "peace pact" reached in a three hour parley among Sherif John Edwards, County Democratic Boss Leach Park, and the full membership of the disputed, Democratic dominated county court.

The parley among these leaders of the two groups seeking control of the county government was held in the large, barn-like rear room of the general and hardware store run by W. August Lewis, Democratic chairman pro tem of the court, which is the county's administrative body.

But Members Disagree

The parley was held to agree in advance on the actions to be taken at today's scheduled meeting of the county court. The G. G. L., which twice by mob actions has prevented the court from meeting to take over the county government, had decided to let it meet this time — provided Lewis and his cohorts agreed to compromise certain disputed issues.

At least, the G. G. L. leaders thought they had decided to let the court meet. But their pistol packing members decided otherwise. As this is written the court has not yet met officially, and it appears doubtful that it can except over several dead bodies.

G. G. L. squires [court members] A. L. Dalton and J. V. Newman carried the word of the agreement to the G. G. L. crowd while the parley recessed for lunch.

Curses and a thunder of "noes" met Dalton as he told what had been decided. And the G. G. L. crowd, members of which twice had to be ejected by deputies from the unofficial parley in Lewis' store this morning, prepared to move in on the negotiations when they were resumed later today.

Packed by Democrats

The G. G. L., which holds most of the county's elective offices, has opposed the meeting of the court because, tho once divided 4 to 4 politically, it was packed in favor of the Democrats by the Democratic state legislature, which recently added a new Democratic state legislature, which recently added a new Democratic member to the court. The legislature also abolished the jobs of the three elected G. G. L. county commissioners, who actually administered the county, and turned their powers over to the court.

Points on which agreement was reached in the informal parley included the election of Democratic Squire Broughton Campbell, a sawmill operator, as permanent chairman of the court. Lewis, chairman pro tem, was not acceptable to the G. G. L.

Lewis had wanted the county beer commission replaced; the commission has revoked about a dozen beer licenses. But the Democrates gave in completely on this issue, agreeing to leave the G. G. L. appointed commission on the job.

"Hinges on Sherif"

The Democratic squires, except for Lewis, each assured Sherif Edwards, a G. G. L. man, that they had no plans for trying to oust him from office or for trying to abolish the four man, uniformed Polk county patrol instituted by he G. G. L.

"The whole thing hinges on keeping the sherif," said Frank Lowery, former state representative who is one of the G. G. L. leaders, when he told the crowd at the courthouse, before the unofficial parley began, that "we've all decided to let 'em in."

"We can't defy the courts forever," he said, in apparent reference to a chancery court injunction obtained by the Democrats and forbidding the G. G. L. to interfere with court meetings.

"Take 'Em Outside"

The sherif, too, urged his political adherents, jammed into the courthouse corridors, to let the Democratic squires enter the courthouse "peaceably" to convene the court.

"There ain't no law against knockin' hell out of 'em, is there?" a loud voice demanded.

Deputy Sherif Louis Wright answered the query. "If you want to beat 'em up, take 'em outside," he advised.

Move Grows In South to Stop Truman

By DON WHITEHEAD

Editor's Note—Associated Press Writer Don Whitehead traveled through seven southern states and talked to scores of people from all parts of the South to find out what is brewing in next year's presidential campaign below the Mason and Dixon Line. The following story is one of a series of surveys by Associated Press reporters of the American political scene.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20 (AP).—A "Beat Truman" movement led by powerful Dixie Democrats already is gaining headway throughout the Southland even though President Truman has given no hint he will seek another term in the White House.

This political uprising can hardly be written off as just another "Dixiecrat" rebellion with no more steam behind it than the one which cost Mr. Truman thirty-nine electoral votes in the 1948 election.

This time the fires of political revolt are being tended by men whose names are known across the nation. Whether it could achieve greater results than the 1948 States' Righters is a question for the future.

Even though the Democratic national convention is nine months distant, the South's anti-Truman forces are groping toward a way either to deny Mr. Truman the nomination, or—failing that—to block him in winning another term.

These are facts and conclusions drawn from a trip through seven southern states and talks with Senators, Governors, political leaders, editors, and others from all walks of life.

This movement has not yet developed a solid organization. But the direction is clear and the effort already is underway.

SUCCESS IN DISPUTE

Whether it will ever succeed is a point of dispute even among southern leaders. So far, the pro-Truman forces for the most part are waiting to see what happens.

The "anti" leadership is coming from Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia and Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina. Other leaders in the South who are looking to them to call the signals.

Some sort of working organization may begin to develop next month. Prominent Southerners are being invited to journey to Selma, Ala., on Nov. 1 where Byrd is scheduled to address an Alabama farm group. This meeting has taken on signs it may be the kick-off in the "Beat Truman" drive.

The picture is likely to become clearer, too, after the southern Governors' conference in mid-November at Hot Springs, Ark.

Three years ago, Mr. Truman lost all the electoral votes of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, plus one vote from Tennessee. The votes went to State's Rights Presidential Candidate J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

LEADERS IN THIS TIME

The 1948 rebellion lacked the support of the South's top-ranking political leaders. But indications are that there will be no such lack next year.

The States' rights movement three years ago was regarded even by most of the South as a splinter movement outside the regular ranks of the Democratic party.

New strategy of anti-Truman forces may be an effort to capture control of the South's convention delegations and to set up machinery for carrying out the revolt within the framework of the state Democratic parties.

Here is a plan of possible strategy being discussed among political leaders, based on the assumption that Mr. Truman will be the Democratic candidate and that Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio will win the GOP nomination:

Southern delegations to the national convention would notify the convention in advance of their opposition to Mr. Truman and their intention of opposing him if nominated.

Then if Mr. Truman were nominated (and Dixie leaders concede they couldn't block it; the Southerners would call a convention to nominate a candidate of their own choice.

RUSSELL MENTIONED

Most frequently mentioned for this nomination is Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

With electors instructed for Russell, some of these strategists figure the South might deny Mr. Truman from seventy-three to ninety-three electrocal votes and throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives for lack of a majority by any candidate.

A presidential election in the House would give the South a strong position because each state has only one vote and Senator Russell is a highly respected figure in Congress.

In a 3-way contest between Mr. Truman, Taft and Russell, some Southerners figure Russell would win all the South's votes and pull enough votes from Taft and Truman to be elected as a compromise candidate.

This talk is only in the feeler stage. Some doubt it can be pulled off.

PRESIDENT HAS SUPPORT

"Unless such a move can be made within the framework of our state Democratic organizations and election systems," one Governor said, "it won't work. The people aren't interested in a 'third party.'"

No matter what form the strategy takes, the fact remains that a political revolt against Mr. Truman is stirring in the South. No one who travels the area can fail to see it.

One veteran on the Texas scene said: "Political activity in the state is starting six months earlier than I've ever known it to start before. The national election is doing it."

Southerners agree that despite the anti-Truman feeling in the South, the President has a vast reservoir of strength which would be difficult to overturn.

The core of this strength lies in the historic fact that most Southerners vote the straight Democratic ticket in all elections. Then there are federal workers, farmers, union men and others genuinely content with the leadership of Mr. Truman.

One Georgian put it this way: "Mr. Truman has got everybody against him but the people and these people who underestimate him are going to be fooled like they were in 1948."

Dissident Dixie—Southern Democrats After Truman's Scalp

Albert Clark
In The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON

A MIGHTY "Beat Truman" political storm is brewing in the South.

Key Dixie Democrats interviewed here during the past few days all agree anti-Truman sentiment in the Southland runs much deeper, and has stronger leadership, than during the Dixiecrat days of the 1948 Presidential election. Even then, Mr. Truman lost four states—South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Of course, it's not certain that the President will seek another term in the 1952 elections. He hasn't committed himself as yet. But if he does seek reelection, he seems sure of some stiff opposition from Southern members of his party.

The gathering revolt has many willing followers.

"The grass roots boys are getting into the act," reports an Alabama Democrat.

A South Carolina legislator just back from home describes his state as "up in arms" against the President. "They want me to do something," he says.

A visitor from Mississippi vows his state would even go for Mr. Republican himself—Senator Taft. He argues that Mississippians so bitterly oppose Mr. Truman they'd vote for anyone else, regardless of his party or policies.

These reporters on the Southern situation could be putting their case a bit strong. But it must be remembered they're not amateurs—their compatriots on Capitol Hill consider them hard-thinking shrewd politicians.

THERE are two big differences between the current revolt and the one in 1948. The rebellion of three years ago had not been well planned. Now a group of the shrewdest Southern Democrats are engineering the Southern scheme to get Mr. Truman out of the White House next year.

Another big difference is that this time the anti-Truman men hope to soft-pedal the old Dixiecrat civil rights race issue. "That would take care of itself," says one legislator. Instead, they hope to center the fight around such issues as Government spending, high taxes, big government and "socialistic" trends in the Truman regime—the same issues often raised by conservative Republicans.

The Administration of course, is fully aware of the unrest among its southern cohorts. Just what the President and his advisers plan to do about it, however, isn't known, but some soothing gestures have already taken place.

A few months ago Mr. Truman paid a personal visit to Bernard Baruch when he was here recently. The object of the Presidential visit, presumably, was to reconcile their differences. Mr. Baruch is very close to James Byrnes and several other leaders of the southern revolt. And just this week the Administration said it would consider stockpiling cotton—a move that would hardly antagonize Southern voters.

Why this deepening feeling against the man in the White House? Southern rebels point to a few specific reasons, and some others that aren't so specific.

"It's just a lot of little things," declares one dissident Dixielander. He mentions scandals touching White House cronies, Presidential sniping at Southern leaders, and civil rights schemes, among other things.

"The South just doesn't agree with Truman's socialistic domestic policies," this lawmaker adds.

"The only thing the South likes about the Fair Deal is handouts from the Treasury," says another Southern lawmaker, "and I'm ashamed of that."

INTERMINGLED with this opposition to his political policies, there's a lot of personal bitterness among many anti-Truman men. They say the President stirred it up by his sniping at Southern leaders.

He once complained, for example, there are "too many Byrds in the Senate." He accused Senator George (D-Ga), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, of always opposing raising enough taxes to run the Government. He charged James F. Myrnes, Governor of Eouth Carolina, with "running out on me" as Secretary of State "just when the going was roughest." All these men are big-shots in the South. So when Mr Truman snipes at them, he offends a lot of other people, too.

How do the dissident Southerners plan to defeat the President? The final strategy will depend partly on whom the Republicans nominate at Chicago next July.

The Southerners figure things would take care of themselves if the G.O.P. picks General Eisenhower to head their ticket.

"If the Republicans nominate Eisenhower, he'd sweep the South," says one Congressman from deep Dixie. Another is more restrained, although he says Eisenhower would carry "at least half" the Southern states.

Still a third Dixielander, who's less opposed to Mr. Truman, thinks some of the strongest Democratic states, like Louisiana, for instance, would attempt to put General Eisenhower on their ballots as a "states rights" candidate if he runs on the Republican ticket.

What if the G.O.P. nomination falls to Senator Taft? The Southerners argue he'd find the going tougher than Eisenhower would, though they think the Ohioan might carry some Southern states.

"The South agrees with Taft's domestic policies," says one Southern seer, "but there's a feeling he's tinged with isolationism." Furthermore, the South, which the orators like to call "the cradle of Democracy," would find it difficult to vote for the symbol of Republicanism—Senator Taft.

To keep the anti-Truman storm brewing, the "beat Truman" group has two plans. They're talking of "building up" a candidate to throw into opposition to Mr. Truman at the 1952 Democratic convention. Not that they have any hope of knocking him out as the party's nominee if he wants that spot, says one Southerner, "but we'd let him know a lot of people don't want him as President."

Senator Byrd (D-Va), one of the strongest anti-Trumanites, already has as good as asked the South to vote against Mr. Truman next year. He's already taken his "Beat Truman" doctrine into South Carolina and Georgia, where he found plenty of support. He'll go to Alabama in November. Other anti-Truman speeches are in the works.

BEYOND these trouble-making schemes, the Southern leaders have some pretty definite plans for their party's 1952 convention. They plan to go to Chicago with definite demands: They'll ask for a return of the rule under which a two-thirds majority would be required thrown out for a simple majority rule in 1936 at the late President Roosevelt's command. They'll ask for a strong "states rights" stand in lieu of the present Fair Deal platform on Federally-guaranteed "civil rights."

The Southerners don't count on winning on either point. These demands are mainly for the record.

But once they're defeated, they won't walk out of the convention as a big bloc of Southern delegates did in 1948. They fear the Truman Democrats would have a slate of pro-Truman delegates ready to take their seats. So, according to present plans, the defeated Southerners would just "sit it out" after losing out on their political demands.

Then the rebels would get busy trying to make sure the South "withheld" its electoral votes from Mr. Truman in the "electoral college" that actually elects a President. According to present scheming, each Southern state would decide on its own just what device it would use to beat Truman. The leaders figure some of the "close" Southern states, like Virginia, Florida and Tennessee, might go Republican if they can keep a third party candidate off their tickets. In some of the other Southern states that just wouldn't go Republican—like South Carolina or Alabama, for example—the anti-Truman plotters figure they could throw their electoral votes to some "favorite son" or third party candidate.

This strategy is calculated to either elect Republican or throw the election into the House of Representatives. Under the Constitution, the House is supposed to elect a President from the three leading candidates if neither has a majority in the electoral college.

They'll Vote For Truman In '52 As In '48

THE 1952 presidential campaign will begin to assume its shape this November when the Southern Governors Conference convenes at Hot Springs, Ark. Gov. Persons and his fellow governors from Dixieland will undoubtedly, as in 1948, come to grips with the question of the South and Truman. There is national interest in the indications of the temper of the South towards the Democratic party and Mr. Truman. We find a correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor* writing from Columbia, S. C.:

Reasons of sentiment and the fact that the South feels it couldn't get much better treatment from the Republicans than the Democrats on the racial or civil rights question, precludes the Deep South states from seriously considering supporting the Republican Party for the first time.

Yet for some time even this part of the South has been toying with the idea that *it can't mean much politically unless there is a strong two-party system.* The realization has grown in some quarters that the South cannot win a voice in the councils of either the Democratic or Republican Party unless it abandons the traditional one-party system.

Both at the Southern Governors Conference and in the Chicago convention next year (presumably) as the head of South Carolina's delegation Gov. Jimmy Byrnes will be the largest of Southern figures and the one to whom the South will look for leadership.

There are such figures as Senator Byrd of Virginia and Senator Russell of Georgia, but Byrnes' occupancy of many high posts of duty confers an authority and eminence above that of the two senators.

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AND here we come to a practical consideration on which *The Advertiser* has been beating a tattoo. It is, we submit, a consideration that every rebellious, thoughtful citizen must account in his thinking.

If President Truman wants the nomination again, it is a foregone conclusion that he can have. The Byrnes-Byrd-Russell element is one of weight and power. It can hector and incense Mr. Truman (thus giving Byrnes and Byrd some personal satisfaction for the slurs the President has visited upon them) but it cannot prevent Mr. Truman's nomination.

With Mr. Truman nominated again at Chicago, where will that leave Southerners who cannot bear to vote for him?

It is here that Democratic politicians such as Byrnes, Byrd and Russell will uncouple from the rebellion express. They're not going to go off on a Dixiecrat tangent.

They can't vote Republican.

There is only one thing they can do—*vote for Mr. Truman the same as they did in 1948. Mark that.*

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BE it remembered that Senator Russell and Senator Byrd assailed Mr. Truman in 1948 and opposed his nomination. Senator Russell was even placed in nomination. But both, like all Southern senators, refused to bolt the convention. *And a few weeks later they voted for the nominee of the Democratic Party—one Harry S. Truman.*

Be it remembered that Byrnes has already given the back of his hand and a cold look at the Dixiecrats some months ago when Dixiecrats sought to make him their sovereign. Byrnes made it clear that he would not be caught quick or dead with the Dixiecrats with these words:

> Should I be urged to assume the role of leadership, either as a candidate for national office or without being a candidate, I would decline to assume that role.

All of which is to urge upon the Southern voter who just can't take any more Truman Administration that men such as Byrnes, Russell and Byrd are likely to march up the hill and march back down again, as in 1948.

This does not discredit them. They are creatures and creation of the Democratic Party. All that they have has come to them under the banner of the party. For Russell or Byrd to vote Republican would be to sacrifice their seats in the United States Senate. *If Mr. Truman is on the ballot in 1952, they will vote for him.*

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BUT the mass of voters are *not* called upon to turn their backs upon the mother of their careers and forfeit the future. The loudest, most eloquent and most memorable protest they can register is to vote Republican and to hell with it.

It may be that some intolerable alternative like Senator Taft will make Mr. Truman a little more sweet-smelling, relatively speaking.

That is apart from the point we seek to emphasize for the troubled, independent voter. Byrnes, Byrd, Russell and their associate rebels can go only part of the way. *In November, 1952, such Democratic leaders are all going to vote for the nominee of the Democratic Party and nobody else.*

For the voter who thinks anything is better than more Truman, *the only course that makes sense is to skip the dead past and yank that Republican lever.*

Mulatto Party Trumanite Aim

By PETER MOLYNEAUX

ONE ASPECT of the pro-Truman breakfast at Austin last Saturday which should not go unnoticed is that an objective of the organization which the breakfasters launched is that of making the Democratic party in Texas exactly like that in Northern States and like the national Democratic party.

In the account of the affair by Dawson Duncan in Sunday's News, it was stated that "the speakers made it clear that the sense of the meeting was to set up a group aimed at fighting for the renomination of Mr. Truman, keeping Texas in the Democratic column next year, and purging Dixiecrats or other administration dissenters from its party affairs."



Mr. Duncan noted that there was no segregation of the Negroes attending the breakfast, which was held in a public dining room, and that this was "a sharp departure from custom." And he also described a striking incident in this connection. He related that a white man who described himself as the son of a slave owner stood up with a Negro who, he said, was the son of a slave, and as they clasped hands, the white man remarked: "It took ninety years and Roosevelt and Truman to bring this about." And he added that all sons and daughters of slaves should join the Democratic party.

WHEN HARRY HOPKINS and Sidney Hillman, with the co-operation of Franklin D. Roosevelt, worked out the plan in the summer of 1943 to convert the Democratic party into a socialistic labor party, they counted on the "Democratic" name to hold the South in line until the time when a "liberal" following could be built up in the South and until a sufficient number of Negroes could be brought into the Democratic primaries to help make up a majority.

As part of this plan the outlawing of white primaries would be essential, and this was provided by the Lonnie Smith decision of the Supreme Court on April 4, 1944.

Also as part of this plan "Operation Dixie" was launched by the CIO by which it was expected to organize Southern workers into CIO unions and to line them up for political action.

It was the reasoning of the planners that with the office-holding and office-seeking politicians and their followers, such "liberals" as might live in the South, the CIO union rank and file, and the Negroes, it would be possible to capture the Democratic party machinery in Southern States.

THE PLANNERS EXPECTED also that old-line Democrats in the South would help this process by quitting the party and going over to the Republicans, thus making it easier to muster a majority for the "liberals" in Democratic primaries.

This process has not worked out as rapidly as the planners expected, but there have been signs that it is working.

Over in Florida, for example, Edgar W. Waybright Sr., of Jacksonville, chairman of the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee, has just sent out a letter to county committee members in every county in the state urging the importance of a full registration of white voters.

"There were 106,500 Negroes 'bloc voted' by the unscrupulous politicians and radicals in our 1950 primary," says Chairman Waybright's letter. "A campaign is under way to double the Negro 'bloc vote' in the Democratic primary of 1952.

"It is imperative that every true Democrat register and vote. I believe it is the duty of every county committee member to see that the Democratic party is kept Democratic."

Recently Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was in Texas, and he urged that Texas Negro leaders should bend every effort to get every adult Negro in the state to pay his or her poll tax and thus to qualify as a voter.

It is the object of the movement started at the pro-Truman breakfast to line up the Negro voters with its organization.

NOW, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL objects of the movement headed by Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia is that of "keeping the Democratic party in the South Democratic." In his Atlanta speech, Senator Byrd said he wanted "above everything else, to see the real Democratic party preserved and strengthened."

This view is that it is only in the South that the Democratic party is still true to the party's original principles, and that the party bearing the Democratic name in other sections has become a socialistic labor party, and that if the Truman elements get control in the South the historic Democratic party will thus be destroyed.

The breakfasters at Austin saw not a single flaw in the national Democratic party, and they resolved to make the Democratic party in Texas exactly like it.

The supporters of the Byrd program, on the other hand, want to keep the Democratic party in Texas true to its traditional principles, even if it becomes necessary to take it out of the national party to insure this.

Under which flag?

The Trumancrat Element Is Spurning The South

A good idea of the attitude the left-wingers of the national Democratic Party are taking toward Southern Democrats and of the attitude they may be expected to take in the national convention, is provided by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, says the Texas Weekly. Recently Senator Humphrey discussed the Mundt realignment plan with Senator Mundt on a television program, and speaking of the Southern Democrats, he said:

"I say that the Senator from South Dakota is surely performing a service if he says they (Southern Democrats) should go into the Republican Party, because, frankly, the Democratic Party doesn't need them and the Democratic Party will be able to gain new strength in other parts of the country, standing as a truly progressive and liberal party."

Referring directly to the States' Righters who control the Democratic Party in some Southern States, and who carried four States in 1948 for a ticket of their own, running as the Democratic ticket in those States, Senator Humphrey said:

"If the Senator from South Dakota is proposing that he would take the Dixiecrats of the South, who were able to carry four States in the last election, and put them in the Republican Party, as a Democrat—as a New Deal Democrat, a Roosevelt Democrat—I would welcome that, I would say more power to you, and the sooner you can do it, the better."

Senator Humphrey has served as the head of the left-wing organization known as Americans for Democratic Action—the ADA—and his view may be taken as that of this group and of left-wingers generally. They will not be affected by threats of the Southerners to withdraw from the national Democratic Party, but, on the contrary, will do everything to bring about such withdrawal. They and other elements of the Truman crowd will fight the proposals of Senator Harry F. Byrd to the limit and it is probable they will succeed in preventing any of them from being adopted by the convention. And Harry Truman himself, directing the convention from being the scenes, will assume the same attitude.

For the record, let it be said that Senator Mundt is not proposing that the Southern Democrats shall become Republicans or that they shall join the Republican Party. He is proposing that the organized Democrats of the South, the party organization in each Southern State, shall part company with such people as Senator Humphrey, the rabid advocate of Federal coercion of the white people of the South in all their relations with Southern Negroes, and with the CIO Political Action committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other advocates of a political managed socialistic economy. On the other hand, he is proposing that the Republican Party shall nominate a candidate for President and adopt a platform acceptable to Southerners and worthy of being accepted by the Democratic organizations in each Southern State as the Democratic ticket in those States.

That's what Senator Mundt is proposing for the 1952 election. Then he proposes, after a successful election, that the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress shall "organize" each house, and the committee assignments be made on the basis of seniority, regardless of party affiliation.

Senator Mundt's ultimate object is a realignment of parties, after the 1952 election, with the purpose of merging Republicans and Southern Democrats into an entirely new party, with a different party name.

Senator Humphrey is neither a Democrat nor a Republican. He calls himself a "New Deal Democrat" and a "Roosevelt Democrat," but these are inadequate descriptions. The plain truth is that Senator Humphrey is a socialist, and he wants to finish the job of converting the historic Democratic Party into an out-and-out socialist party by eliminating all the real Democrats, the Southerners, who adhere to the fundamental principles on which the Democratic Party was founded and which guided it during nearly 150 years of glorious history prior to the coming of the Roosevelt Democrats and the New Dealers. The Democratic Party has always been opposed to socialism, with its centralized dictatorial government and subject States, and the Southern Democrats have remained faithful to this historic party attitude. They haven't changed their principles. It is the national Democratic Party that has been seized by men like Senator Humphrey and converted into a radically different party. He now wants to complete this transformation, this perversion, by telling the original Democrats, especially those in the South, to get out of the party.

Senator Humphrey's frank speech ought to make clear to Southern Democrats that the party that still bears the fine old name of "Democratic" is not for them, that to continue to support it in Presidential elections would be to betray the principles of the original party of their fathers. As they can't recapture it, they should save the party in the South by severing all connection with Senator Humphrey's party.

Louisiana Democrats Throw Open Primaries to Negroes

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 2—(AP)—Louisiana's Democratic primaries were thrown open to Negroes Tuesday—for the first time legally since Reconstruction days—but slammed shut to Communists.

The State Central Democratic Committee, the party policy-making body in Louisiana, adopted a resolution to that effect. It also set the gubernatorial primary for Jan. 15 and 5 p. m., Oct. 12, as the deadline for candidates to qualify.

The resolution revises language of the committee's rules and adds a new section.

The revision, dealing with qualifications of voters and candidates, strikes out a phrase, "he shall be a white person," and substitutes, "He shall be registered as a member of the Democratic party."

The new section reads:

"He shall not have been a member of or associated with any Communist or Communist front organization listed as such by the congressional committee on Un-American Activities or the Department of Justice, nor shall he have advocated any doctrines inimical to the Constitution of the State of Louisiana or of the United States of America, nor shall he have advocated any such doctrines in matters of government contrary thereto."

The resolution was adopted without debate and without dissent.

Negroes have been voting in increasing numbers in recent Democratic elections in Louisiana. Committee members said, however, registration of Negroes apparently was in violation of committee rules until the rules were revised Tuesday.

11 Negroes Elected To Top Political Body

BY CARTER JEWELL

PETERSBURG, Va—(ANP)—Eleven of the 32 members elected last week in the Democratic Central Executive Committee here were Negroes. Two were reelected and nine new Negro members were elected at a later date.

The re-elected Negro committee men are Lawyer R. H. Cooley and J. H. Owens elected to the body two years ago. Before their election, all of the members of the committee were white.

Negro voters had an opportunity to elect committeemen of their choice in five of the eight precinct meetings held last week. Negro committeemen would likely have been elected at another meeting, but no action was taken on the vote for committeemen because no member of the Democratic Committee was present to conduct the meeting. More than 60 persons came out for this meeting.

Precinct and ward meetings for the election of committeemen are usually very poorly attended. It took a lively campaign to get out the Negro voters. White voters, however, did not manifest the usual interest in the meetings as one would haxe expected. For this reason Negro voters found their best opportunity to elect members of their race to committee positions.

Negro committeemen elected from the First Ward were James Lomax, E. S. Moorefield, Bennett Powell and J. A. Edmonds, Fifteen of the 22 attending this meeting were Negroes, and they elected all Negroes to the committee.

The Third Ward meeting elected Moses Moody, Charles A. Griffin, James A Jackson, and R. J. Valentine, all Negroes, as committee men. Valentine declined to serve, and Ellsworth Tench, white, was elected in his place Negroes outnumbered the whites at this meeting 19—6.

BETWEEN THE LINES

By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK

HARD-HEADED HARRY

Harry Truman will go down in history as probably the hardest-headed president that ever occupied the white house. A few weeks ago the republicans and their sympathizers were trying to stampede President Truman into dismissing Acheson as secretary of state.

Truman refused to be stampeded and Acheson is still secretary of state and the clamor has subsided. A weaker man would have succumbed to the clamoring crowds but not Harry Truman of Missouri! I thank God for a man of Truman's stamina who refuses to let the obscurantist republicans and disgruntled democrats call his signals.

Harry Truman is the president of these United States in his own right, and the people gave him the presidency because he espoused civil rights and its accessories. It is true that northern reactionaries headed by Robert Taft and the southern state righters have thwarted Truman's program but Truman is still president of the United States of America. It is better to be a hamstrung president with a backbone than a grand-slam president with a wish-bone.

The fact that the proposed civil rights program is languishing in the committee pigeon holes of the senate and house, in no way detracts from the moral stamina of one hard-headed Truman who hails originally from Missouri. They have tried to disparage Harry and belittle him; but Harry Truman, hard-headed Harry, is still president of these United States and there is no help for it.

The reactionary southerners and their northern counterparts have done their darndest to make Harry Truman look small in the eyes of the world; but hard-headed Harry still functions in the White House. Truman is not a Roosevelt by a long sight but he does not need to be. Truman is president in his own right and not merely the successor to the lamented Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the paramount genius of the generation.

We needed a Roosevelt then and we need a hard-headed Truman now. It was heartening to see how impervious Truman was to the clamor of the multitudes for the head of Acheson.

More recently these same head-hunters were clamoring for the ambassadorial head of O'Dwyer who returned from Mexico to testify in the crimes probes. Truman refuses to deliver O'Dwyer to the ravening political wolves. The world must applaud the moral stamina and courage evinced by Truman who refuses to be stampeded into sacrificing O'Dwyer.

The world admires a man as history will abundantly attest. It must therefore admire Harry Truman the hard-headed president from Missouri. It is highly gratifying that such a person is at the helm of the state at such a time as this. The dixiecrats and reactionary republicans have done their darndest to make Harry Truman look bad, because he championed civil rights; but hard-headed Harry is still to be reckoned with in the affairs of this nation.

His executive orders to abandon race lines in army and air forces have met with a somewhat satisfactory response. It remains for the army alone to try to thwart hard-headed Harry's directives. The shame is not on Truman but on those who are trying to defeat his high and holy purpose. Truman will go down in history as one of the truly great spirits of the times.

He is not now nor has ever been as bad as some elements would have him appear. His greatest crime has been his advocacy of civil rights This will in the years to come, prove to be his crown and glory. The political wolves appeared once to have Acheson on the toboggan but they reckoned without hardheaded Harry the host.

DIES UNCOVERS DEMOCRATS' AID TO COMMUNISTS

Tells F. D. R. Opposition to CIO Inquiry

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

Washington, July 4—A dramatic political comeback, accompanied by startling revelations of the Democratic administration's protection of Communists, is being attempted by former Rep. Dies, a Texas Democrat.



Dies

The former chairman of the house committee on un-American activities is stirring Texans with explosive speeches. He is disclosing private conversations with the late President Roosevelt told him an investigator of communism in the United States "an enemy of the Democratic party."

Dies also has named House Majority Leader McCormack [D., Tex.] as one of those who sought to suppress the communism inquiry. He is showing audiences a letter from McCormack requesting that hearings on communism in the CIO not be held.

Hits Truman Policy

President Truman is being attacked in the Dies speeches as a man who says he is against Stalin but whose actions show he is in favor of what Stalin advocates. There is a close affinity, Dies is charging, between the Truman program for socializing the nation and the Russian pattern of government.

According to Washington reports, Dies has his eyes on the newly created seat of congressman-at-large for Texas, or will oppose Sen. Connally [D., Tex.] next year.

Dies voluntarily ended his stormy 14 year congressional career in 1945 when the administration and organized labor massed their forces to defeat him. He announced that a throat ailment would prevent him from making a vigorous speaking campaign.

Linked with Revolt

The Dies comeback campaign is linked with a revolt of Dixie Democrats which is brewing thruout the south. Sen. Byrd [D., Va.], Gov. Byrnes of South Carolina, Sen. Russell [D., Ga.], and other powerful southerners are out to capture or split the party in 1952, notifying Mr. Truman that they'll run the convention in Chicago next year or take their votes away from the party.

Copies of a typical Dies speech, delivered May 17 in San Antonio, Tex., are being studied with apprehension by Truman followers in Washington.

Dies charged that the Roosevelt and Truman administrations were mainly responsible for the "rise of Russia from a third rate power to the position of a world menace without the loss of a Russian soul in the post-war period."

"Plain, Ugly Truth"

"The plain and ugly truth," he said, "is that our government has protected communism at home and abroad from 1933 until quite recently. The house committee on un-American activities began exposing communism in 1938 and the leadership should have been on guard but they continued to do business with the Communists."

Dies gave the following account of a White House conference between himself and President Roosevelt, with the late Sen. Shepherd of Texas as a witness:

John L. Lewis "Disturbed"

F.D.R.—Sen. Shepherd, I want you to hear what I am going to tell Martin [Dies]. You know, Martin has a very bright future in the Democratic party. He can go a long way in our party because I am determined to promote the young men in our party and he can go a long way if he will play ball with us.

DIES—What do you mean, play ball, Mr. President?

F. D. R.—Mr. Lewis [John L. Lewis] has called me by telephone and is very much disturbed about your proposal to hold public hearings for the purpose of disclosing communism in the CIO.

DIES—I had a talk with Mr. Lewis and he told me that Communists had the same right to hold positions of leadership as anyone else.

F. D. R.—That may be true but you can't go forward with this investigation.

DIES—Why can't I go forward with it?

F. D. R.—If you do, you'll antagonize the CIO and we are dependent on it in the doubtful districts and it is important to have its support to win the next election.

"Grateful" to Party

DIES—I love the Democratic party and am grateful to it. But my father told me, if you ever have to choose between your country and party, choose your country.

F. D. R.—If that's your attitude, it's going to be pretty bad for you, Martin. You are going to brand yourself as a foe of labor, as an enemy of the Democratic party. You'll ostracize yourself from this party and destroy what would otherwise have been a very bright political career.

Dies showed his audience the letter he said came from McCormack, "requesting me not to expose communism in the CIO."

"I told McCormack," he said, "that I hadn't wanted the job as chairman of the house un-American activities committee. I knew it would be a headache. But the resolution authorizing the investigation commanded me to investigate and expose communism, the same as fascism and nazism and I intended to carry it out."

McCormack, Dies said, threatened to cut off the committee's funds and succeeded in slashing the first committee appropriation from $100,00 0to $25,000.

"The CIO aired vicious lies about me," Dies concluded. "But in the last 12 months, they have by their own voluntary actions confessed the truth of what we found. They expelled the very persons and unions we had exposed 12 years before."

Another recent judicial appointment was that of Frieda B. Hennock, a member of the federal communications commission, to the New York District court. She has been pronounced not qualified by the New York Bar association.

The Republican Bid To Southern Democrats

IN A recent speech before the South Carolina Bankers Association Republican Senator MUNDT of South Dakota urged southern Democrats to form a coalition with conservative Republicans, unless their party nominates a Presidential candidate from the South in 1952.

The Senator invited Democrats from the Deep South to join "like-minded Republicans" if necessary to wage what he termed "an effective battle against national socialism."

Meantime, the South Dakotan made certain specific recommendations to southern Democrats which, obviously were formulated with the intention of making his bid sound more plausible to the invitees.

As conceived in the mind of Senator MUNDT, the coalition he proposes would get a logical start by the dissident Democrats walking out of their party's national convention if it "refuses to nominate one of our fine southern statesmen" and picks "a left-to-center nominee."

Further, the Solons recommends that there he held informal conferences between southern and northern Republican leaders looking toward an agreement on a Republican nominee acceptable to the South, with a southern Democrat as his running mate for Vice President.

The next step in the MUNDT formula calls for the aborning coalition to declare "an affirmative states' rights" platform that would be "consistent with the convictions and traditions of the South."

Whether or not the recipients of the Senator's bid shall deem it necessary, or find themselves willing to accept it, is yet to be seen.

Nevertheless, if the invitation was extended with the approbation of the Republican High Command, the announcement of it exposes an interesting phase of that party's campaign strategy as mapped for 1952. It discloses that a wooing of the southern anti-Administration Democrats very definitely is one of the cards the GOP expects to play in a desperate game aimed at capturing the Presidency.

That is a revelation which is certain to prove disconcerting to Negro Republican faithfuls. It will also add to the confusion of the former followers of the party who have found reason to become inclined to return to its fold.

A Republican-Dixiecrat coalition presenting an affirmative states' rights platform conforming to convictions and traditions of the South certainly would not offer a comfortable place of political habitation for the mass of Negro voters.

On the other hand, northern and southern unity such as proposed by Senator MUNDT would be calculated to make permanent the disaffection from the GOP which the minority group at first evidenced so notably in 1932.

Negro voters could hardly expect their present lack of faith in the current national Democratic leadership to be compensated for by imposing a trust in a Republican leadership wedded to the States' Righters.

COURTS AGAIN DRAGGED INTO POLITICAL MIRE

Truman Repeats F.D.R. Tactics

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, July 22—The controversy between President Truman and Sen. Douglas [D., Ill.] over the appointment of judges focused the spotlight this weekend on the besmirchment of the federal judiciary with New Deal politics in the last 18 years. Administration and anti-administration forces are girding for a historic senate debate on the sanctity of the courts when the Illinois dispute comes to a head.

The late Presidnt Roosevelt made the courts the football of politics and so has President Truman, who specializes in the brand of politics practiced by his mentor, the late Democratic Boss Tom Prendergast of odoriferous fame. Roosevelt sought to make the judicial, as well as the legislative, branch of government his rubber stamp. He sought to induce Supreme court justices to consult him in advance on their decisions. He failed in that effort, the justices being outraged at the suggestion.

Court Packing Fails

Then Roosevelt sought to pack the court thru legislation with justices who could be relied on to uphold the New Deal laws. He failed in that attempt, but he succeeded in getting a New Deal court in the end by filling vacancies with New Dealers. Prior to the New Deal, Democratic as well as Republican Presidents had maintained a Supreme court division of six justices affiliated with the majority party and three with the minority.

Under the New Deal regime, Republican representation has sunk to one—Justice Burton who became friendly with Truman in the senate and found favor with him.

Roosevelt was not above trafficking in judgeships to further his political designs. He engineered the election of Alben Barkley over Pat Harrison for Democratic leader of the senate by one vote. That vote was supplied by the late Democratic Sen. Dietrich of Illinois. Dietrich was rewarded with an appointment to the bench.

234 Democrats on Bench

The Roosevelt and Truman rule in judicial appointments was to put none but Democrats on the bench with the exception of a few New Deal Republicans. When the New Dealers took over in 1933, there were 231 life term federal judges, of whom 172 were Republicans, 57 were Democrats, and two of unknown affiliation. There are now 297 judges, of whom 234 are Democrats and 63 are Republicans.

The late Sen. Vandenberg [R., Mich.] predicted in 1937 that the packing of the federal bench with New Dealers would fasten the New Deal upon the country for at least a generation.

Cook Up Youngdahl Deal

Under Truman political appointments, the courts have become what bids fair to be the outstanding scandal of a scandal ridden administration. The latest instances of Truman's playing politics with judicial appointments are the Illinois nominations and that of Gov. Youngdahl of Minnesota.

The appointment of the governor of Minnesota, a Republican New Dealer, to a district judgeship in the District of Columbia was cooked up by Mr. Truman and Democratic Sen. Humphrey of Minnesota.

The motives were numerous, all political. It removed Youngdahl as the most formidable opponent of Humphrey for reëlection next year. It could cripple the Republican party in Minnesota, the President calculated, and potently aid the Democrats in carrying that state in 1952.

Speculate on Backfire

It would give the administration another New Deal judge in the national capital. Youngdahl said the President told him he wanted the district court here to be representative, politically and otherwise, since it handles such vital matters as anti-trust cases.

There is speculation among the politicians that this deal may backfire on Truman as did a somewhat similar manipulation by another New Dealer, Chester Bowles, the OPA chief who became governor of Connecticut in 1949. In this deal Republican Raymond Baldwin resigned as United States senator from Connecticut, Bowles appointed him to the Connecticut Supreme court, and then appointed his former business partner, William Benton, to the senate. This deal with its politically fishy aroma was a factor in the defeat of Bowles for reëlection in 1950.

Douglas Gets in Bad

In the Illinois case Mr. Truman stalled for a year in the appointment of three sorely needed judges in an effort to make Sen. Douglas more tractable. But Douglas kept getting deeper and deeper in the Presidential ill-will. He fought the President's budget. He animadverted upon the moral tone of the administration reflected in the Reconstruction Finance corporation scandal touching the White House. He disparaged State Secretary Acheson. He talked up Gen. Eisenhower as a Democratic nominee for President and protested too much, Mr. Truman thought, that he himself [Douglas] is not a candidate.

Finally Truman let go a political haymaker at the intractable Douglas. He appointed only one of the trio of judgeship candidates recommended by Douglas—Atty. Joseph Sam Perry of Du Page county, Ill. He rejected the two others—Circuit Judge Benjamin P. Epstein and William H. King Jr., former president of the Chicago Bar association—and appointed Circuit Judge Cornelius J. Harrington and Municipal Judge Joseph J. Drucker, a nephew of Rep. Sabath [D., Ill.], Mr. Truman's good right arm in the chairmanship of the house rules committee. All five are Democrats.

Tries Political Artifice

Douglas countered with an appeal to the Chicago and Cook county Bar associations for advice on the four candidates involved. The Cook county association, composed of 300 Negro lawyers, refused to conduct such a poll on the ground that its constitution provides for polls only on candidates who are to be elected. The Chicago Bar association is polling its membership. The Illinois Bar association is conducting a poll at the request of Sen. McCarran [D., Nev.], chairman of the senate judiciary committee.

Douglas himself executed a political maneuver, which the Chicago Bar association accepted in framing its poll. Instead of choosing the best two of the four, members indicate whether they prefer Epstein to Drucker and King to Harrington. In this way, it is assured that one of the winners will be a Catholic, the other a Jew. The Illinois association rejected this Douglas political artifice for influencing the result.

Ignores Bar Advice

Mr. Truman has a low opinion of bar associations on the selection of judges. His appointee to a New York district judgeship, Tammany affiliated Samuel H. Kaufman, was pronounced "not qualified" by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Three other bar associations refused to indorse him.

The only favorable report was given by the New York County Lawyers association. The chairman of this group's judiciary committee was Lloyd Paul Stryker, who turned up in the first trial of Alger Hiss as defense counsel. Kaufman also turned up as the judge and attained notoriety by his prejudicial rulings and other conduct in aid of the de-

Big-Wigs at $100 Democratic Dinner

By LIBBY CLARK

HOLLYWOOD—President Harry S. Truman and Vice President Alben Barkley will be running mates in '52, according to the Veep's address at the swank Palladium here Monday evening.

Speaking before a $100-per-plate dinner assemblage of some two thousand Western States Democrats, Barkley indicated that the President and he were again in the market for this nation's two top political berths.

'ON OUR RECORD'

"The President and I have always worked together in close harmony and accord," he said, "we will go before the people next year on our record."

Taking a direct dig at the Republicans he added, "We don't go snooping up dark alleys or dig in garbage cans for our campaign material either."

He appealed to California's three warring Democratic factions to cement their differences for the good of the party as a whole.

OVATION FOR DAWSON

Sharing the spotlight with the "Veep" was Congressman William Dawson. He received tremendous ovation, but declined to speak at the dinner. However, he did address several conferences earlier in the day at the Town House in Hollywood.

Negro notables at the dinner included Assemblyman and Mrs. Augustus F. Hawkins, Gilbert W. Lindsay, chairman, Sixty-second Assembly District; Mrs. Lindsay, Atty. Everett Porter, Rodger Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Eddie (Rochester) Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Sapp, Wesley Brazier and numerous others.

Following the banquet, Mr. and Mrs. John R. Williams entertained with a cocktail party for Congressman Dawson at their South Arlington Street residence.

pending the outcome of his appeal.

Ward's counsel, Atty. Alvin B. Jones, told the Courier that the cash was posted with United States Commissioner Reginald H. Carter Jr., by Sam Engler, 110 East Seventeenth Street, New York City. The Labor Youth League is an organization which has been branded as subversive by the United States Justice Department.



Right: Party strategy and the '52 elections were undoubtedly discussed by this quarter of Democratic notables during the gay "after party" hosted by Mr. and Mrs. John R. Williams. Seated: Congressman Dawson, State Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins and Tidus Alexander, dean of California Negro Democrats. Standing: Gilbert Lindsay, chairman of California's Sixty-second Assembly District.—McLain Photos.

$100-a-Plate Democratic Dinner Puts $200,000 Into Party Coffers





At Democrats Dinner—West Coast Democrats held a $100-a-plate dinner at the swank Palladium in Hollywood and it brought in some $200,000 to help the party's national campaign. Left: Banquet principals chat informally. Left to right: Ed Pauley, who chaired the meet; California Attorney General Edwin (Pat) Brown, Representative William Dawson who flew in for the big occasion, Vice President Alben Barkley, main speaker, and George E. Lucky, dinner chairman. Center: Making one of his rare social appearances was radio comedian Eddie (Rochester) Anderson and his pretty wife, Mamie. In their party were Frank de Christina, John Landeau, Allan Bradshaw, Joseph de Christina, Harry Harris, Patrick J. Cooney, R. J. Parsonson and Dr. Clifton M. Brakensiek.

15 Invited to Reception for British Royal Couple

Afro American Dat. 10-27-51

WASHINGTON

Fifteen or more colored persons have been invited to the reception the British Embassy will give for Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburg next Thursday, Nov. 1, the AFRO learned last week.

The list includes Congressmen Adam C. Powell Jr. and William L. Dawson and their wives, President and Mrs. Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard University, heads of the Ethiopian, Haitian, and Liberian diplomatic missions in D.C., and two messengers at the British Embassy.

The latter are Chester Barksdale and Charles Browne. All have worked at the embassy for over 29 years.

Closely-Guarded Secret

Who will attend the reception is a question which has had downtown society editors a-twitter since the word got around that 2,000 invitations had been issued a week ago.

The actual identities of those on the guest-list is a closely-guarded secret at British Information Services which is handling press relations for the event.

However, it was announced last week that invitations had gone to all members of Congress as well as members of the President's Cabinet, heads of top Government agencies, chiefs of diplomatic missions, and the heads of Washington's five universities.

Harry Truman Not Invited

BIS confirmed on Friday that the persons mentioned above were among those invited and also disclosed that the two messengers listed had received bids to the royal affair.

Interestingly enough, President Truman himself is not on the list of invitees to the reception, although he will be host at Blair House to the royal personnages during their three-day stay in the Nation's Capital.

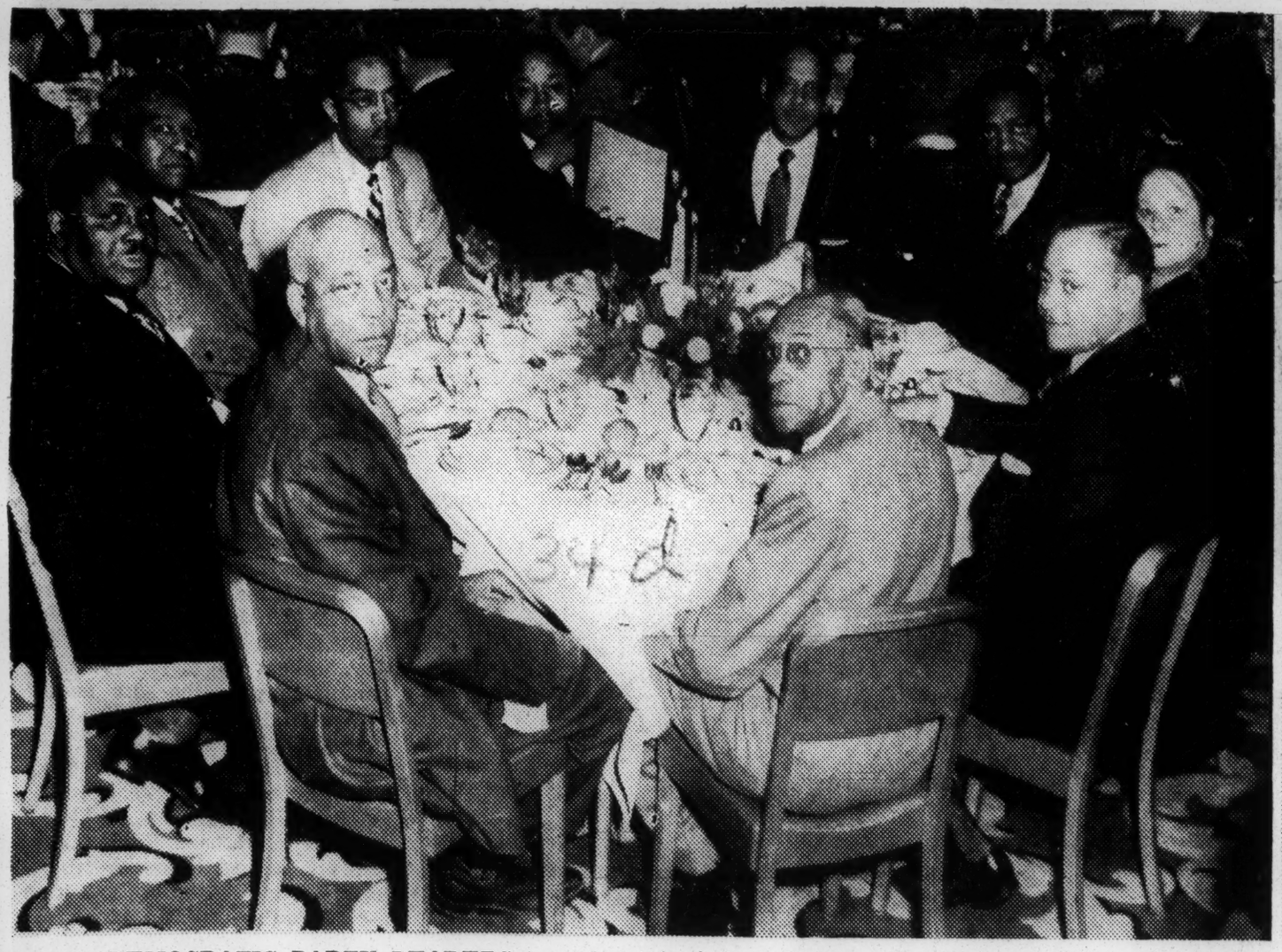
With Mrs. Truman and their daughter, Margaret, he will meet Princess Elizabeth and her consort when they arrive at the National Airport on Wednesday at 4 p.m. The couple will then be taken to Blair House for tea before proceeding to a press reception at the Statler Hotel at 5:30 p.m.

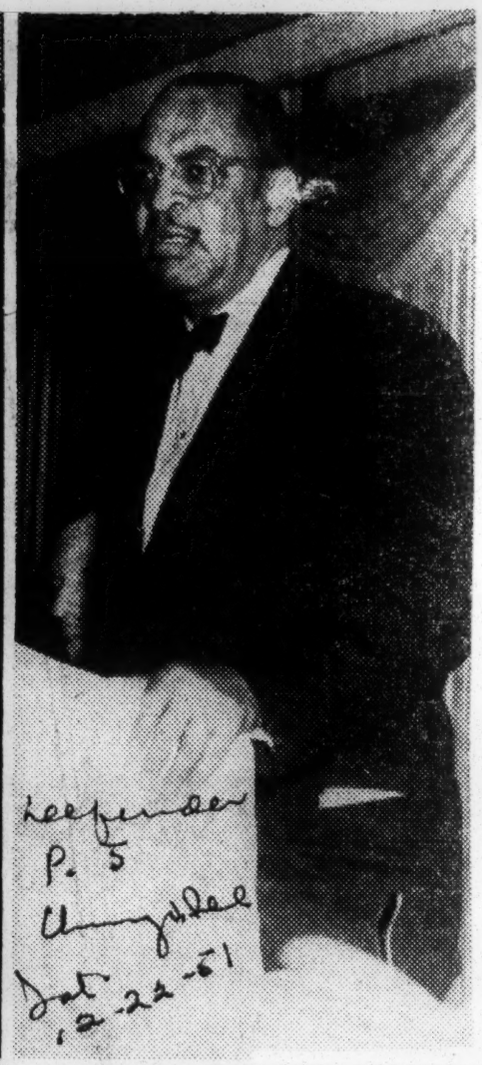
Flying Back on Friday

On Thursday morning they will visit Mount Vernon and Arlington Cemetery before visiting the Canadian Embassy. They will return to Blair House for luncheon and then proceed to the British Embassy for the much-talk-of reception.

Thursday night there will be a dinner for the Trumans at the Canadian Embassy. Princess Elizabeth and her party will remain in Washington through Friday noon, visiting points of interest before flying back to Montreal at 1 p.m.

Democratic $100 Plate Dinner Draws Record Crowd Of Local Lead





Leefender
P. 5
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Dat 12-22-51

LOCAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADERS turned out in full force for the $100 plate dinner of the Midwest Democratic National Committee in the Grand Ballroom of Chicago's Conrad Hilton hotel last Thursday evening. Photo at left shows representatives of the 20th ward. Beginning at far right and moving clockwise are Alderman Kenneth Campbell in dark suit, County Commissioner Edward Sneed, Judge Henry C. Ferguson of the Municipal court, J. J. Peters, Elston C. Colman, Richard Crawford, Charles M. Skyles, James W. Quisenberry, Atty. James D. Crosson, and Mrs. Maude Dennis. Center, Congressman William L. Dawson, vice-chairman of the Democratic Na-



tional Committee, who was scheduled to deliver one of the main speeches rises to yield his allotted time to Chairman Frank McKinney, whose speech was to be broadcast over a nation-wide hookup in a few minutes. Photo at right shows second ward leaders at their table. In right foreground is Mrs. Helen K. Hall, State Central committeewoman. Moving to the right, clockwise, are William Barnett, secretary to Alderman William H. Harvey, who sits next to him. Fred Wall, secretary to Congressman Dawson, State Rep. Corneal Davis, Attorney Aaron Payne, and Robert Jones. — Defender photo by Rhoden.



DEMOS JOIN HANDS—The opening gun of the Democratic National Committee's 1952 aspirations was the $100-a-plate dinner held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York recently. Frank E. McKinney, new chairman of the committee, who made his first major address (left), is congratulated by (left to right) Mayor Joseph F. Clarke Jr. of Philadelphia, Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island and Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago, a vice-chairman of the committee.

Harlem Democrats Map Primary Offensive Against Tammany Chiefs

Dissidents Rap Official Apathy

By RAY GHENT,
Staff Writer.

Harlem Democratic circles are stirring these days, with new and revived forces getting set to move against entrenched Tammany leaders in the August primaries. Battles shaping up there are symptomatic of party unrest throughout Manhattan.

Herbert L. Bruce, onetime district leader who was forced out in 1945 by the since-dethroned Clarence Neal Tammany clique, is challenging the three leaders in the 12th Assembly District.

William G. McDougald, who first entered the political wars supporting Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri in last year's elections, is seeking the 13th AD East leadership now held by J. Raymond Jones, known as "the dictator" in Harlem during the William O'Dwyer administration.

Mr. Bruce started the Crusaders Democratic lub, 720 St. Nicholas Ave., last year in preparation for his comeback attempt against the trio of leaders in his old district —Joseph E. Ford, Cecil E. Carter and Francis J. McDonald.

He maintains registration can be doubled in the area by a strong group of leaders who can, on the one hand, "help the residents realize the importance of citizenship and on the other get action for the betterment of the community."

"There is no reason," says Mr. Bruce, "why Lenox Ave. should be treated any differently than Madison Ave. in law enforcement, health, hospitalization or anything else."

He reports election district captains and other workers from incumbent leaders' clubs have joined his organization in disgust over the do-nothing policy being followed.

Mr. McDougald, who is working with Mr. Bruce, has the Experience Democratic Club at 469 W. 148th St.

He regards with skepticism a recent published announcement of retirement by the incumbent 13th East leader.



HERBERT L. BRUCE.
Photo by Stieglitz.



WILLIAM G. McDOUGALD.

"Jones may step out in name," he says, "but he will try to dictate the new leader from his club. However, we are confident we can beat him or anyone he puts up."

"It's time," he maintains, "that this area was given a leader intent on something more than helping himself and his friends.

"Although the population has trebled, we haven't had a new playground in 20 years. We need schools, better police protection."

Mr. McDougald, a veteran of the Pacific coming out of the Army as a master-sergeant, is past commander of Dorrence Brooks Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and chairman of the anti-Communist committee of the VFW County Council. He is in the color photography business.

Demos Plan To Fight Dixiecrat Influence

Defender Sat. 12-8-51

By C. W. GREENLEAF 34d

ATLANTA—(ANP)—Southren Negro Democrats are making plans to offset any influence the Dixiecrats may exert on the party's liberal platform, it was learned here last week.

Just how the tan Democrats plan to go about their political business was not revealed, but the fact that "big plans" are in the making leaked out when Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) conferred with leaders from five southern states here last week.

Dawson, regarded as titular head of the Negro members of the Democratic party, came down to "talk things over," it was said. One informant said that plans were discussed to "get out a big vote" for the Democratic nominee in 1952, and what role the Negroes would play in event of a rebellion by white southerners. He said that Negro Democrats are determined to see that the civil rights planks are "not tampered with" in the coming convention.

Negro Democratic organizations all over the South are conducting registration campaigns to get as many race voters on the books as possible before the books close.

One of the leaders who conferred with Dawson, but declined the use of his name, said that southern Negroes have not been satisfied with the overlooking of Negroes in "patronage." He pointed out that they had expected a few jobs in OPS and and other agencies on a regional and state basis, but opposition from local whites had prevented them from getting jobs.

Meeting in Atlanta's Butler St. YMCA, the Georgia leaders were hosts to the group. Atty. A. T. Walden of Atlanta is president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs, an all-Negro organization that is not recognized by the white state organization. C. A. Scott, local publisher, is head of the Atlanta and Fulton County Negro Democrats

Negro Pro-Truman Dems Set Campaign Fund Fete Here

The Mississipp Negro Democrats association, composed of Pro-Truman Negro Democrats, will hold their annual meeting on the morning of April 14, and that night will entertain at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

Percy Greene, president and executive director of the association, said the dinner would be $3 a plate.

Proceeds from the dinner will be divided between a contribution to National Democratic campaign fund and a fund to push a program to "increase poll tax payment, registration, voting and intelligent political participating on the part of the states' Negro citizens," Greene said.

The white Pro-Truman Democrats held their annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in February only a few days before charges of federal job-selling by Pro-Truman Democrats were aired in the state

Senators Hear Of Job 'Sales' by Anti-Dixiecrats

Mississippians Tell Inquiry of $250 to $1,000 Paid to Pro-Truman Leaders

By Jack Steele

JACKSON, Miss., April 10. — Evidence of wholesale peddling of Federal jobs in Mississippi by the pro-Truman Democratic State Committee set up after the Dixiecrat revolt of 1948 was unfolded here today before the Senate investigations subcommittee.

A parade of postmasters and rural mail carriers passed before the subcommittee and admitted paying of "contributing" from $250 to $1,000 each to leaders of the "rump" Democratic committee to have their appointments cleared by the Post Office Department in Washington. The Democratic National Committee recognized the "rump" group two years ago to keep Federal patronage out of the hands of Dixiecrats.

Many of the witnesses, including some highly indignant young veterans, testified that they paid for the jobs only after they discovered they could not get the jobs otherwise. Others insisted they had only made "voluntary" contributions after they had been assured such payments were legal. A few said they would never have made the "donations" if they had realized the state committee had any connection with President Truman.

Dillon, Boehm Involved

The subcommittee did not follow up its revelations yesterday that two alleged Washington influence peddlers, Paul Dillon and Glenn P. Boehm, had helped set up the patronage arrangements for the pro-Truman State Committee.

Francis P. Flanagan, subcommittee counsel, said Mr. Dillon would be called as a witness tomorrow. Mr. Dillon, St. Louis and Washington lawyer, brushed off today the "influence peddler" charges made in the House yesterday by Rep. John Bell Williams, D., Miss., as "a lot of bunk."

A rural mail carrier and his wife admitted collecting $2,875 for the "rump" state committee while passing around jobs as mail carriers and postmasters throughout northern Mississippi. But the couple, Mr. and Mrs. Claude V. Murphy, insisted that they were being made the "goats" of the job-selling inquiry.

Mrs. Murphy is a member of the pro-Truman State Committee. Mr. Murphy said he was a Republican who was only interesting in keeping his mail carrying job. He observed: "A republican has as much chance in Mississippi as a snowball in hell."

Denies Demanding Cash

Mrs. Murphy testified that she had welcomed but not demanded contributions from applicants for Federal jobs. She said she had acted on the instructions of Forrest Jackson, attorney for the State Committee, who had assured her it was just a matter of political "back-scratching."

Mrs. Murphy also revealed that she hd gone to Washington recently and discussed the job-selling scandal with Robert Moore, Assistant Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mrs. India Edwards, Committee Vice-Chairman, and a Deputy Postmaster General named Utley. They told her, she said, that she was simply being used by leaders of the pro-Truman State Committee to whom she said she had turned over all of the funds collected.

The ringleaders of the "rump" committee, Clarence E. Hood jr., recently deposed as National Committeewoman, and Curtis Rogers, to whom the Murphys and others said they turned over the funds, will be questioned tomorrow.

Typical of the "contributors" who testified was Grover Cleveland Smith, a World War II overseas veteran, who said he had given $500 in cash to pay for a mail carrier job. "I've been told I'd lose my job if I tell you this," he testified, "but if that's what it takes to get things going right for veterans in Mississippi, let 'er go."

It's The Sequence

Advertiser & Journal

THE "OPEN PRIMARY" bleat of the Dixiecrats, Hon. Wilkinson's suit to compel freedom for presidential electors and other such developments are not, we believe, matters which the public mind has come to grips with yet. It is at present a baffling swirl.

It ought to be as simple as listening to the speeches of the Democratic and Republican nominees and voting for one or the other next November. But it is not that simple. Sun. 9-23-51

The sequence of things is the basic reason for the confusion:

¶ Next spring Alabama will elect a slate of delegates to the Democratic convention in Chicago. These delegates can run as pro-Truman delegates, anti-Truman, pro-Vinson, pro-Eisenhower, or uninstructed delegates. A mixed slate is likely. Montgomery, Ala.

¶ On the same ballot will be candidates for presidential elector. The presidential candidates' name never appears on the Alabama ballot: Alabama votes for a *slate of electors* who represent the Democratic, Republican, or Dixiecrat candidates. The victorious slate of electors then casts the state's vote for its candidate in *December* following the election in November. Advertiser

¶ In accordance with old tradition, the Republicans will hold their convention ahead of the Democrats—in June. Presumably they will nominate Taft or Eisenhower. Sun. 9-23-51

¶ Then, in July, the Democrats will nominate Mr. Truman (unless he bows out).

That sequence of events sends the jury out before the evidence is heard.

★

FOR EXAMPLE (quite unlikely since Eisenhower is a Republican), what would happen if Alabama elected a slate of delegates pledged to Eisenhower, but the Republicans, meeting in June before the Democrats, nominated him first and the Democrats nominated Mr. Truman? You might at the same time have a slate of presidential electors pledged to vote for the Democratic nominee (whose identity was unknown in May when the electors were elected).

That is a far-fetched possibility, but illustrates the uncertainties attending the selection of convention delegates and presidential electors before it is known what men will be nominated by the two parties.

★

A CHOICE on the ballot between Taft and Truman, or Taft vs. Vinson, or Eisenhower vs. Truman, or Eisenhower vs. Vinson, would be a different kettle of fish in each case for Alabama voters.

The exasperated voter might say, "Nuts, I'll wait until November and see who's on the ballot for the Republicans and Democrats." But on the May-June primary ballot is a pledge that if you vote in that primary, you will stick with the Democratic nominees in November regardless of their identity.

That Democratic pledge (it's on every ballot) was placed there after Tom Heflin bolted the National Democratic Party in 1928. Dixiecrat Gessner McCorvey considers himself honor-bound by this involuntary oath, whereas Dixiecrat Tom Abernethy does not. Since this pledge is involuntary, a respectable case can be made on either side.

However, a large element takes this pledge seriously and though, for example, they yearned to vote for Eisenhower, would feel compelled to vote for Mr. Truman.

Another large element might well say, "If I hadn't entered the May-June primary, I wouldn't have been able to vote for my probate judge and coroner. That would deny me participating in the politics of my country—disfranchise me locally. I took that Democratic pledge under duress, the same as voting the one way *ja* in a German plebiscite. Anyway, I didn't know in May that the Democrats were going to nominate that stinker Truman and that Eisenhower was going to accept the Republican nomination. I'm voting for the GOP and Eisenhower."

★

HON. WILKINSON and fellow lovelies are suing so that they can run for presidential elector on an "anti-Truman" plank. What that means is that if Truman were nominated, such electors could, next December, give their one of Alabama's 11 electoral votes to anyone they chose.

This means that Alabama voters give Hon. Wilkinson power of attorney to cast their vote anyway he sees fit. All you know is he won't cast the vote for Truman. Advertiser

Otherwise, he is commissioned to act for Alabama voters *in loco parentis* in the case of an irrevocable trust. To which suggestion on a great many people will respond, "Oh, yeah?"

9-23-51

THESE snares, complexities and uncertainties might be multiplied the length and breadth of six galleys and spill over onto the editorial page of Monday's *Alabama Journal*. But these suffice.

Meanwhile, the other states of the union are not beset by this disorderly maze of uncertainties.

They are preparing simply to vote Democratic or Republican.

Truman Moves to Heal Breach With Dixiecrat

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — To further heal the breach between the ~~Democratic party and the~~ Dixiecrats, President Truman last Monday nominated Noel Malone of Mississippi, to be United States Attorney for the norther district of Mississippi. Malone was supported for the appointment by Sen. John C. Stennis, (Dem., Miss.) He will succeed Chester L. Sumners.

Act Widens Split With Dixiecrats

WASHINGTON — Declaring that "step by step we are discarding old discriminations; we must not adopt new ones," President Truman last week killed legislation requiring segregation of pupils in public schools located on federal property in 17 southern states. Leefender

The President's action came almost at the same time that discontented southern Democrats were meeting to devise means of beating him in the '52 elections should he decide to run.

His veto, which could be interpreted as an act of defiance of Dixiecrat threats is certain to widen the breach between him and the Dixie malcontents.

The President exercised a device known as "pocket veto" in preventing the measure from becoming law. If the President fails to sign a piece of legislation passed by congress within 10 days after congress adjourns, it is automatically dead.

The President allowed the deadline to slip by, then issued a memorandum explaining his failure to sign the measure.

In it he said, there is "one provision of this bill which I cannot approve. This provision would require a group of schools on federal property which are now operating successfully on an integrated basis to be segregated. It would do so by requiring federal schools on military basis and on other federal property to conform to the law of the states in which such installations are located.

"We have assumed a role of world leadership in seeking to unite people of great cultural and racial diversity for the purpose of resisting aggression, protecting their mutual security and advancing their own economic and political development. We should not impair our moral position by enacting a law that requires a discrimination based on race. Step by step we are discarding old discriminations; we must not adopt new ones."

The Sit Down Threat

The Dixiecrats, who bolted the Democratic party in the last national election, and put up their own candidate only to be soundly whipped, will not take a walk this year. They propose, instead, a silent sit-down in the 1952 Democratic National Convention. This means that they will not answer to roll calls, including those for Presidential and Vice Presidential nominations.

This is the maneuver which is said to have been suggested by South Carolina's Governor James Byrnes.

He is the same Byrnes who would like to turn the colored public schools of South Carolina over to the AME Church and do away with all public schools, if and when the Supreme Court states that segregation is illegal and all children will have to attend the same schools.

It now appears that President Truman will run again for re-election next year and he will get the nomination, if he wants it.

The President licked the Dixiecrats in 1948 when they bolted, and he will beat the daylights out of them in 1952 if they sit down.

What rlles the Democrats is the President's insistence on the civil rights platform adopted by the last Democratic National Convention and earnestly advocated by him in the last three years.

What stirred up the Dixiecrats is Senator Humphrey's recent introduction of ten civil rights bills in Congress.

Senator Humphrey, (D.-Minn.) who was one of the leaders in placing the civil rights plank in the 1948 Democratic platform, has announced that he will make an effort next year to have the convention repeat its pledge to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination in the country.

Opposition of the Dixiecrats is expected and will continue until they see that the Democratic Party and the President have no intention of backing down on the question of civil rights.

YOUNG DEMOCRATS SNUB 'DIXIECRATS'

Truman Delegation Seated at St. Louis Convention, States' Righters Are Rebuffed

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 4—Young Democrats opened their annual national convention today with a mild wrangle over what delegation represented South Carolina and finally seated a "Truman Democrat" delegation with a rebuff to an absent "Dixiecrat" delegation.

The young Democratic executive committee voted, 43 to 30, to seat the "Truman Democrats" after one of their leaders, James P. Harrelson, pleaded that he would vote for President Truman against anything the Republicans had to offer.

Some of the committee members, however, appeared to doubt his words and one called out, "Are you Dixiecrats or Democrats?" Later Mr. Harrelson told reporters he had been speaking for himself and not for the South Carolina group.

Byrnes Not Mentioned

No mention was made of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, who said recently that he would oppose Mr. Truman if he sought another term. The "Dixiecrat" delegation, headed by James Lever, publicity man for Governor Byrnes, was reported ready to fly here in a chartered airplane.

Mr. Harrelson, a Baptist minister, in asking that the "Truman Democrats" be seated, said he had lost $1,400 in annual income because he had supported Mr. Truman. He did not explain how the loss came about.

D. W. Gilmore of Benton, Mo., Young Democrats president, said neither group had been certified to the convention. Sidney Duncan, another leader of the "Truman Democrat" delegation, said the failure of the state chairman to certify either group stemmed from his reluctance to take sides in the issue of states' rights and civil rights in South Carolina.

In the convention's keynote address, Gov. Sid McMath of Arkansas declared that "try as they may, the Republicans can't parlay a mink coat and a deep-freeze into a Teapot Dome." He defended Democratic Administrations of the last nineteen years and belittled charges of corruption in the Truman Administration.

Accuses Republicans

He charged the Republicans "sought to destroy the confidence of the American people in their Government by the oldest and dirtiest of political tricks—the smearing of the reputations of honorable men."

"It may be that the greatest achievement of the Democratic party in all its long history has been its leadership of the American people away from the attitude of indifference to international affairs which we assumed after the first World War," he said.

He accused the Republicans of using obstructionist tactics during the last nineteen years and said the opposition party "clings to the same philosophies and standards of political conduct which marked its attack upon Woodrow Wilson in 1920."

The convention's 1,200 delegates will elect a new president tomorrow and hear addresses by Gov. Adlai Stevenson and Senator Warren R. Magnuson of Washington.

Halted For Cold-Patching

Horace Wilkinson, the Jehu charioteer of the Dixiecrats, has suffered a blowout. A Jefferson County court has dismissed his suit to compel the State Democratic Executive Committee to allow him, an expectant bolter, to run for presidential elector in the spring primary. He does not want to run as an independent. He wants the aid, comfort and sanctity of the Democratic label.

This is not, however, a final answer to his prayer. The court, as we read the decision, merely suggested that he return another day. The court disavowed jurisdiction *at present*, leaving the inference it might have jurisdiction *later*.

The circumstance is that Wilkinson wants to run for elector as a Democrat, but with the understanding that he and 10 more like him can throw Alabama's presidential vote to any candidate they choose.

What he anticipates is that the present State Democratic Executive Committee is going to make a rule that every candidate who runs under the Democratic label will have to pledge to support the presidential nominee in November, be he Truman, Vinson, Humphrey or Eisenhower. In short—party regularity would be compelled.

At present it is doubtful if even the chairman of the committee, Ben Ray, can say whether this regularity will be required, as it was from the 1928 bolt onward and up until the 1948 bolt.

The 72-man committee will meet here in January, as is the custom. At that time a tumult is likely to result from the issue. *A majority of the committee in 1950 was elected on the promise of loyalty to the Democratic presidential nominee, whomsoever.* The question is whether Ray, aligned with Senators Hill and Sparkman, can induce this loyalist majority to act on what he considers their mandate and restore the "members only" sign.

Their central argument is that if you aren't going to abide by the majority decision you have no business in the club—that is to say, in participating in the primary and nominating convention. It is just as logical to Ray to admit Republicans and Greenbackers to Democratic proceedings as Dixiecrats.

Contrarily, the sliverers maintain—having changed their tune since the Al Smith insurrection of 1928—that the Democratic Party of Alabama is *not an integral party* of the National Democratic Party—that it is autonomous and the similarity of the names is a coincidence or something.

That leaves unanswered the question what, if Alabama Democratic Party and those of other states are not integral parts of the national Democratic Party—just what is the National Democratic Party that has been in power for 20 years composed of?

They contend, in short, that the national party is simply an abstraction.

They allege a different identity of the "party of Jefferson and Roosevelt" and the "party of Truman."

So much for the contending views of whether the fingers are part of the body or would have the same shape and be the same if cut off. It will be settled at the committee meeting in January.

What has all elements stymied is the uncertainty over what will happen in the Democratic convention next July. In the case of Mr. Truman, the answer might be one thing; in the case of Vinson or some other offering the answer might be quite another.

What is at least possible, though we cannot say it is as yet strongly indicated, is a choice of three parties on the November ballot—Republican, Democratic, Alabama Democrats (Dixiecrats).

Strikes At Restoration Of Power To Dixiecrats

NEW YORK — Denunciation of the trend of the Democratic Party to give "recognition and power to the announced foes of human rights" was voiced this week in resolutions unanimously adopted at the forty-first annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP voiced its opposition to the selection of Sen. Ernest W McFarland (D., Ariz.) as Senate Majority Leader, assailing him as "an avowed supporter of the anti-democratic filibuster and a foe of civil rights legislation who has refused repeatedly to vote for cloture to shut off a filibuster in the Senate." The choice of Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D., Texas) as Majority Whip was similarly deplored by the Association.

As further indication that the Democratic party is attempting to appease the Dixiecrats, the NAACP cited the appointment by President Truman of former Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida as Director of Civilian Defense. Mr. Caldwell "organized the regional college plan for the specific purpose of circumventing the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on equality of educational opportunities for Negro Americans."

"This forty-first annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in session January 2, 1951, protests and condemns the above-mentioned nominations and appointments," the resolution stated, "and pledges to continue an unrelenting campaign for the enactment of civil rights legislation by the Congress and for complete equality for the Negro minority of our nation. To this end we shall use all weapons available, including political action, and we call upon our membership, friends and cooperating organizations to mark the above-described events in evaluating the 82nd Congress and the record which shall be made between now and the Presidential election of 1952."

States' Right Control Ends In Committee

Unit Votes 40 To 19 To Seat 4 Men Loyal To National Party

Two-year domination of Alabama party machinery by the States' Rights wing of the Democratic party ended Monday at a new executive committee took office.

The new state committee promptly elected a full slate of men who opposed the anti-Truman revolt in 1948 which took this state's 11 electoral votes out of the regular Democratic ranks for the first time since 1876.

It also overruled a decision by a sub-committee involving election of committee members from the Third District. The full committee voted 40 to 19 to seat four men loyal to the national Democratic party.

Brother voted against brother Monday when national party loyalists took control of Alabama's State Democratic Executive Committee.

Ben F. Ray of Birmingham, who was later elected party chairman, joined other loyalists in refusing to seat four States' Righters who had been declared elected in the Third Congressional District.

One of the States' Righters was Ray's brother, Grover, of Headland.

Grover Ray in turn had promised to vote against Brother Ben as chairman if he did get on the committee.

The four Third District seats had been in dispute since the May 2, 1950, primary. Even without them, the regular Democrats had full control of the committee.

Ben F. Ray, Birmingham, was named state committee chairman, Roy Mayhall, Jasper, was chosen vice-chairman, and H. G. Rains, Gadsden, secretary. Ray was opposed by Tom Abernethy, Talladega editor and one of the States' Rights electors who refused to vote for Mr. Truman in 1948. The vote margin in their contest was 44 to 18. Mayhall and Rains were unopposed.

Ray succeeds Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, who served as chairman for 12 years. McCorvey, a leader of the States' Rights movement, did not offer for re-election as chairman, but is a member of the new committee.

The decision on the four contested seats in the Third District was so lengthy committee members did not finish in time to witness Gov. Gordon Persons's inauguration.

Neil Davis, Jack Bridges, W. Larue Horne, and G. C. Hughes, the eventual winners on the committee vote Monday, were declared victors after the May primary.

States' Righters contested their election, alleging fraud. A subcommittee headed by H. M. Abercrombie, of Birmingham, after hearings in three of the 10 counties of the district, ruled that the actual victors were Yetta Samford, Grover C. Ray, D .C. Prather and H. Glenn Rawkins, all States' Righters.

Party loyalists took charge when the new committee met.

Mayhall presented the resolution to seat Davis, Bridges, Horne and Hughes. He said the subcommittee "heard but one shred of evidence to support its findings," and had tallied less than 10 per cent of the district's vote.

Abercrombie, defending the subcommittee action, said court action by party loyalists had prevented a full count of the vote. He added that he was "a real Democrat" who walked out of the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia in 1948 "because if that's a Democratic organization, then Joe Stalin is a Christian saint."

The Birmingham States' Righter virtually announced an appeal to the courts from Monday's committee decision. Abercrombie said, at one point, "There will be opportunity to present that in court later."

Brewer Dixon, another States' Righter, went further. He said:

"Let's get this over with. You'll all have a chance later to present evidence before the Supreme Court."

E. C. (Bud) Boswell, States' Righter, voted with the regular Democrats Monday. He said evidence given to the subcommittee investigation in the Third District did not justify any overturning of the original announced results.

Dixiecrats Capture The U. S. Senate

Exclusive

By REPRESENTATIVE ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

There will be no civil rights in this session of Congress. They will not even be considered.

There will be no progressive nor liberal legislation enacted. As far as homefront democracy is concerned the 82nd Congress is not even interested.

The Senate has been completely captured by the Dixiecrats. Senator McFarland, totally undistinguished, has been elected by 30 Solid South votes as the majority leader of the Senate, and Austin Lydon Johnson as the whip. I know Johnson of Texas. He served with me in the House. He's pretty liberal so far as a Southern member of Congress can go. Nevertheless his heart belongs to "Daddy" Russell of Georgia. This leadership was opposed by all the Northern Democrats but that was only 19.

The Senate, therefore, will not consider any pro-labor or civil rights issues of any kind.

The situation on my side of the Capitol is just as bad, though on the surface it looks better. Liberal pro-labor members are gone; Helen Douglass, John Carroll, John Lesinski, Vito Marcantonio, Tom Burke, Walter Huber, John McSweeney, Andrew Jacobs and others. To make matters worse, the Republicans have the most reactionary group of first-termers ever to come to the House. Out of fifty-one new Republican members only seven are of the stripe of Jack Javits and other liberal Republicans. The situation is as follows: 92 Dixiecrats plus 152 Republicans will run the House.

Opposing this vicious bloc will be 42 liberal Republicans and 136 Democrats. The scoreboard for the next two years will be roughly 244-179 against labor, minorities, civil rights and anything liberal.

Regardless we will fight! I have again introduced every single civil rights bill even though the Speaker of the House asked for a shelving of domestic issues. Some of my colleagues criticized me saying "Don't you know there is a war on?"

I take the position that it is during wartime more than during any other time that civil rights should be passed. In the war against Communism we are at our weakest when we fail to practice Democracy. The passage of my bill abolishing segregation in the nation's capital would be a greater and more lasting blow against world Communism than a military victory. Communism has its only chance of victory against a lip-service democracy.

In this 82nd Congress I intend to support every phase of our war program only because we are at war and this is my country right or wrong. However, against impossible odds and insurmountable barriers I intend to fight for full democracy here and now. I know that under the present setup and prevailing mood no bill offered by me or anyone else has a chance, but I will not be silent. Maybe if we thunder enough the conscience of our national legislature can be stirred to remedy the wrongs perpetrated upon my

people.

In my committee — Education and Labor—the chairman has already informed me "NO FEPC." Whereas the former chairman John Lesinski, needed my vote for liberal legislation. The new chairman, Borden of N. C. does not want it because he is anti-labor. I cannot go on strike this session and force the chairman to act on FEPC. Borden has also indicated a tough Federal aid to education bill is in the affing. If his bill is assigned to me I will conduct thorough open hearings.

What then is the future of homefront democracy during this war to make the world safe for democracy? There is no purpose unless the President acts. It is squarely up to Harry S. Truman. I await keenly the President's speech on Monday, January 8, to the joint-session of the Senate and the House. If he calls for the Congress to pass Civil Rights, he will not be honest. He knows better than I do that that 82nd Congress is anti-civil rights. Harry Truman as President and Commander-in-chief can, without Congress, issue an FEPC order, without Congress abolish segregation in the armed services, without Congress wipe out all jim crow on transportation for all our defense personnel and without Congress deal D. C. segregation a knockout blow. F. D. R. set up a wartime FEPC—Truman must not do less; he should do more.

Full-scale plan of attack—

Dixiecrats focus efforts on funds-raising

BY FRED TAYLOR
News staff writer

Dixiecrats here today centered their immediate attention on a fund-raising drive and formulation of a program to make known their objectives.

J. Clewis Trucks, chosen permanent chairman of the Jefferson County States' Rights Committee at a courthouse meeting last night, said $10.000 was mentioned as the amount likely to be needed in the 1952 presidential campaign.

Trucks, Fairfield attorney and candidate for the State Democratic Executive Committee last year, said:

"We'll draw up a full-scale plan of attack and outline of our objectives within the next two weeks."

Their main objective, of course, is election of a slate of Dixiecrat candidates for presidential electors and delegates to the Democratic National Convention next year.

No mention was made at the meeting of any tie-up of Dixiecrats with Republicans, as has been suggested by both GOP and States' Rights leaders. State Republican Chairman Claude O. Vardaman has said he would welcome the Dixiecrats or any other branch of Democrats to the GOP fold.

A QUESTION at last night's meeting from Mrs. George Mabry, Leeds, as to what the committee stands for prompted Trucks to say a statement of aims soon would be announced.

"I don't know what we're supporting," Mrs. Mabry said. "All I know is what we're against."

Keynoting the courthouse session were Hugh Locke and Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorneys, who helped shape the Dixiecrat revolt movement in 1948. Both flayed the national administration and lashed out at socialism and communism.

Wilkinson, one of Alabama's 11 anti-Truman pledged presidential electors in 1948, told the gathering:

"We can't be against, we must be for something. What we're not doing is making it clear to the people that we're for protecting this country from encroaching socialism.

"This country's been sold out and we've got to undo that."

RAPPING PRESIDENT TRUMAN, Locke asked: "Can you conceive of more chaos than we have in the White House?"



HORACE WILKINSON

CLEWIS TRUCKS

Locke emphasized the need for Dixiecrats to organize and called for local self-government to resist being swallowed up by federal government.

Wilkinson said he and the other 10 electors who supported the Thurmond-Wright presidential ticket in 1948 are ready to run again.

"Elect 11 free Democrats and Alabama's electoral vote will come out right as it did last time," declared Wilkinson. "If we can control the electoral vote, that's what counts."

Wilkinson urged a constitutional amendment blocking the nationalization of any industry in this country. This, he said, would break the back of communism in America.

Lawrence E. McNeil, who ran against Sen. Lister Hill last year, was the committee's temporary chairman.

Trucks said plans call for setting up Dixiecrat organizations in every beat in the county.

Matty Murphy, Jr., was chosen committee vice chairman, with Mrs. J. Eli Allen, secretary, and Lamar Reid, treasurer. Trucks said six other vice chairmen—three men and three women—would be selected.

COLLEGE DRAFT TO BE DELAYED UNTIL TESTS

Mon. 4-16-51

Action Will Await Tally of Scores

Washington, April 15 (AP)—Draft Director Hershey said today drafting of college men will be delayed this spring until their test scores and scholastic standings have been calculated.

Hershey also said, in a broadcast and in conversation with reporters, that he believes "the great mass of college freshmen will assemble freely next fall without interference from selective service."

Educators here said thousands of queries have been received from college men worried by the fact that their school terms—and their statutory deferment—may end before they can take the forthcoming college qualification test, or before their scholastic grades are out.

Terms End Before Tests

Students who score 70 or better in the test, or who are in the upper ranks scholastically, may be granted occupational deferment in order to resume their education next fall. However, many school terms end before the test dates—May 26, June 16, and June 30—and scholastic standings often are not determined by colleges for weeks after school is out.

Hershey said also that the Kilday amendment to the draft bill which the house passed Friday, setting out that draft boards are not to be bound by the aptitude tests, "in no way impairs our plans for giving the tests or using the scores."

The final draft law is to be worked out thru combination of senate and house versions. The house voted in the Kilday amendment after hearing arguments that the scholastic deferment plans were unfair and undemocratic—something Hershey previously has disputed.

"Expression of Anxiety"

Hershey described the amendment by Rep. Kilday [D., Tex.] as an expression of congressional anxiety lest the authority of local boards be infringed upon.

"It merely recognizes a state of affairs that already has existed—that the ultimate decision as to whether a man should or should not be drafted rests with his local board," Hershey said.

He recalled that some draft boards have deferred college students without physical examination, because of the present statutory deferment for the current school year. Other local boards have examined and classified students, and still others have gone so far as to put out orders for induction, and then to postpone the student's induction.

Vows No Discrimination

Hershey said there will be no discrimination against any student in this regard, and added:

"Speaking generally, no student will be denied permission to take the test because of his draft board status.

"He will not be ordered into service until the results of his test are known or his standing in his class is determined."

The Governor Regrets

(Sylacauga News)

Former U. S. senator, and now South Carolina's governor, James F. Byrnes, has declined an invitation by Southern Dixiecrats to become their titular head, succeeding Mr. Thurmond.

The governor's decision is understandable. In the first place he's getting old, and for him to tend the infant Dixiecrat child is baby-setting too strenuous for his advanced years. Too, little Dixiecracy is a puny child. She's undernourished, ill-fed, has no mamma or papa, no brothers or sisters, no uncle—just one old maid aunt, Aunt Democracy. So it's going to be a Herculean job just to get her through infancy. As a matter of fact, the doctors have given up hope, with only the faith-healers at her bedside.

Now, some younger man might accept such an invitation as that offered Mr. Byrnes. It's quite an honor, and who knows what his future might be. He could become a Taft, a Dewey, an O'Dwyer, a Truman, a Kefauver, a Tobey or even a Costello.

There's no telling how far the young man might go under their present banner: "Our country! May she always be in the right . . . but if not in the right—not our country."

States' Rights Lose Alabama Court Battle

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 30—States' Rights Democrats lost a court battle in Alabama today in which they sought to free presidential electors to vote for anyone other than the Democratic nominee.

A panel of two Birmingham circuit judges dismissed the suit brought several months ago by Horace Wilkinson, a Birmingham attorney and States' Rights leader.

The Alabama Democratic Executive committee, with a majority of loyalist Democrats, has announced an intention of requiring the regular party loyalty pledge of presidential electors.

During the last presidential campaign, the committee was dominated by States' Rights Democrats and Alabama's 11 presidential electors cast their ballots for State's Rights candidate J. Strum Thurmond instead of the Democratic party nominee.

34d 1951

The Confederate Daily Goes Republican!

TOM ABERNETHY, editor of *The Talladega Daily Home*, has been such a fervent and crusading Dixiecrat, both as editor and politician, that Alabama has understood when we referred to his paper as "The Confederate Daily."

That japery of ours, always in good fellowship, is now dissolved unto nothingless by Editor Abernethy.

Mr. Abernethy has hit the sawdust trail, and with a bang. He has defied the shades of his Confederate ancestors, taken his chances on such bolts as may be launched from on high—and written his own *Emancipation Proclamation*. That is, he may vote Republican in '52.

Owing to Mr. Abernethy's standing as a Dixiecrat, this proclamation of his is significant. He says:

> This newspaper here and now declares its political independence as [of] the presidential year of 1952 . . . We intend to support the best man and the best platform, and *it would not matter one whit to us if that man and that platform should happen to bear the name Republican* . . .
>
> Mind you, at this juncture we are not saying that we will enter the lists in 1952 in behalf of the Republican candidate. We are simply saying that *if* the Republican candidate happens to be the best American in the field, we will support him . . .

THAT is a mouthful for a man so saturated in Southern tradition to say. We surmise that some long and vexed meditation preceded its utterance.

But it is significant, we believe, of what *The Advertiser* has often contended. It will be the younger men, such as the Talladega editor, who will nullify the Southern eccentricity that petrifies it a one-party region.

The preceding generation, as represented by Mr. Gessner McCorvey, simply cannot surmount its Reconstruction conditioning. They are too close to it, and in a sense, one has to admire them for their inability to forget what was done to their country by the invader. Yet in the forward-looking of the likes of Mr. Abernethy lies wisdom. The face cards in the Dixiecrat deck can perform a service by making it respectable to vote Republican.

Only last summer Mr. Abernethy wrote a guest editorial for *The Advertiser* answering why he could not abandon the Dixiecrat snowdrop-in-hell, vote Republican and shame the devil—something with a future. On maturer reflection, he has decided that he can, the same as the gritty *Dothan Eagle* did in 1948.

★

THERE is a secondary emancipation in the editorial that will find a responsive chord in many an Alabamian:

> All right, if you go Republican, what are you going to do about participation in Democratic primaries here in Alabama?
>
> So far as the editor of this newspaper is concerned, he would continue to participate in those primaries as a voter and *challenge any agency to keep him from it.*
>
> *The so-called pledge at the bottom of the ballot used in Democratic primaries is no pledge at all and has no force ethically, morally or legally.*
>
> *To attempt to tell an American citizen how he must vote in a general election following a primary is an outrage which would not stand up for one minute if questioned in a court of law.*
>
> To attempt to tell an Alabamian that—if he wants to vote in the Democratic primary—he must stomach the like of Truman, would be a high-handed piece of arrogance not to be endured.

★

HERE we have a complete break between Mr. Abernethy and Mr. McCorvey. Their road forks.

Mr. McCorvey has said, even though the ghost of Jefferson be nominated on the Republican ticket, he could not vote for him. Thus, the Dixiecrats dissolved, *Mr. McCorvey is a man without a party.*

And time after time Mr. McCorvey has passionately insisted on the binding sanctity of the pledge on the ballot under the Rooster (which pledge many a voter has never noticed).

Dixiecrat

Mr. McCorvey maintains that if you vote in the spring Democratic primary, you take a pledge to vote the ticket in November regardless of what ticket is nominated after the primary. Mr. Abernethy says nuts.

NEW POLITICAL COALITION:

GOP - Dixiecrat Forces at Secret Dinner Meeting

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Evidence of a planned effort to organize a coalition of dissident Democrats and lily-white Republicans came to light last week as a majority of Republican leaders continued to denounce the attempt.

The speeches of Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota, seem to be the gospel upon which the Dixiecrats and lilywhite Republicans hope to defeat President Truman in 1952 and build a new party.

Senator Mundt is advocating a merger of the Republican party with dissident Democrats and Dixiecrats. He proposes the nomination by the two groups of the same candidates. As possible candidates he mentions Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio; Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat, of Virginia; General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, and Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia.

Suggestions Convention

After the election of a coalition ticket, Senator Mundt suggests the pooling of Congressional seniority rights, a division of committee chairmanships and Federal patronage on the basis of this pool arrangement, and the holding of a national convention "to select a name, a symbol, and a set of principles for the coalition

The Republican National Committee has set up a committee for the purpose of assisting in building an effective two-party system in the south.

A spokesman for the National ommittee insists that there is no connection whatever between its efforts in the South and the efforts of another group, known as the National Coalition Committee, with offices in Clarksdale, Miss.

The latter group held a small closed dinner meeting at the Mayflower Hotel here last March 9 and invited a number of Republican members of Congress. How many accepted is not known, but those invited included the following:

Taft, Bricker Invited

Senators Taft, Mundt, John W. Bricker of Ohio, Owen Brewster of Maine, Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, John M. Butler of Maryland, Henry Dworshak of Idaho, Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado, and Representatives Clarence Brown of Ohio, Charles A. Halleck of Indiana, Clare Hoffman of Michigan, Ralph W. Gwinn of New York and Leslie C. Arends of Illinois.

Letters inviting Republican members of Congress to attend the dinner meeting were signed by Fred V. Virkus of Chicago and were written on the letterhead of the National Coalition Commitee.

The text of the letter follows:

"As you know, Senator Mundt has put live coals under the coalition movement in two recent speeches, which have received widespread approval. This was the spark needed to crystallize the thinking of many of us who have believed that in a rapprochement between the Democrats of the South and Republicans lies the best assurance of the defeat of Truman or any successor in 1952.

"You have been informed of the organization of the National Coalition Committee by a group of responsible Southern businessmen, all lifelong Democrats, in cooperation with a similar group of life long Republicans, in a 2-day meeting at Jackson, Mississippi, December 1 and 2, 1950.

"This committee is now waging an intensive educational mail campaign throughout the Southern States and the responses leave no room for doubt but that a coalition is welcomed by Southern Democrats if the Republican party will meet them halfway.

Called Party Challenge

"This is a challenge to our party, and a real opportunity to break down the political barrier which has needlessly divided this country into two rival camps only because of lack of understanding of a bred-in-the-bone tradition and environment. Otherwise we think alike. The best interest of our country is our mutual consideration. The Republican party has everything to gain by the concilia tion, but in the event of another defeat, it may lose its existence as a party.

"The National Coalition Committee has formulated a set of principles acceptable to Jeffersonian Democrats.

"Senator Mundt has formulated a program which is the basis for a campaign organization.

"For the purpose of crystallizing our thinking, and yours, on policy, principles and program for a dynamic coalition campaign, we have arranged for a small closed dinner meeting at which we urgently request your attendance as our guest.

"This meeting will be at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, on Friday, March 9, at 6:30 p.m. Will you do us the honor to be with us to contribute the benefit of your thinking to promote a common cause?"

The letter, which came into the possession of the National Negro Press Association, was addressed to a Senator, who did not attend the dinner meeting and who declined to permit his name to be used in publishing his invitation.

Some Express Disapproval

Meanwhile, disapproval of any coalition between dissident Demo-

crats and Republicans continued to be expressed by Republican Senators who were asked for their views by NNPA.

"I am positive that those urging any coalition between Republicans and Southern Democrats speak for only a segment—and a minority segment at that—of the Republican party," declared Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican, of New York. "As you may imagine, I am violently opposed to any such proposal," he said, adding:

"In this connection I would point out that among the co-sponsors of the FEPC bill which I have introduced are Senators Capehart, Jenner, and Martin. Their co-sponsorship of this legislation would indicate to me that any attempt at the coalition mentioned would be unsuccessful, even among those who might be expected to support it."

Martin Reassures

Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr., of Massachusetts, the Minority Leader, said: "I am not aware of what our plans are for rebuilding the party in the South, but I am sure it will not be detrimental to the colored people of the north or south."

Representative Carroll Reece, of Tennessee, a former chairman of Republican National Committee, said that as a member of the committee appointed by Chairman Guy Gabrielson to assist in building an effective two-party system in the South "I do not understand the purpose of this committee to be" the forming of a merger of the Republican party with dissident Democrats and Dixiecrats.

BETWEEN THE LINES

By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK

THE DIXIECRATS HAVE THEIR DAY

In the United States we call our highest deliberative body Congress, which means a coming together. In England they call it Parliament which means a talking together. In Germany they call it the Reichstag, or the day of the Empire. The methodical Germans had something. They thought that when their highest deliberative body met, it was the day of the Empire when the supreme interests of the nation were under consideration.

We have been wont to say from ancient times that every dog has his day. So when MacArthur returned from the far East amid the acclaim of millions the ordinary observer saw the return of a long gone hero: but the more studious observers see the day of the dixiecrats. The whole stage is set for the crucifixion of one Harry Truman currently President of these United States of America.

Truman made one master blunder when he espoused civil rights for Negroes. What is even more significant the nation did in 1948 confirm and approve Truman in his civil rights stand. In spite of all opposition Harry Truman was returned as President an achievement for which the dixiecrats and their yankee abettors have never forgiven him.

There has never been in the United States history a more deliberate plan to destroy a man than the plan to destroy Truman for his naivete in espousing civil rights for Negroes. For Germans, fine: For Communists, very well, for the pinks and few-fellow travelers in high place, all to the good, but for Negroes, never!

The current democrat-republican coalition in congress was cunningly devised to destroy Truman. How well they have succeeded the approaching weeks will tell.

It is well to honor MacArthur who verily deserves honor for sacrificing the pleasure and comforts and assurances of his native land these 14 years. But is not well to destroy Harry Truman for no reason other than that he tried to abide in his decisions by the constitution of these United States.

When Cato arose in the Roman senate and cried times without number "Carthago delenda est" (Carthage must be destroyed) he was never more insistent than our current dixiecrats and their yankee abettors whose secret cry has been "Trumano delendus est" (Truman must be destroyed)

The opportunity to heroize MacArthur gives the coalition its supreme chance to humiliate Truman. And it must be borne in mind that the great clamour for MacArthur is the clamour of hate for Truman. It is not that the nation loves MacArthur much but that it hates Truman more.

And for what? For espousing civil, rights for Negroes, America's untouchables. The fact remains that for a large segment of Americans, Negro hating and Negro bating is a profession highly specialized. In all fairness it should be said that the nation at heart is becoming more and more willing to accept the Negro as the citizens that he is.

The 1948 election proved this, but our political leadership is unwilling to abide by the mandates of the American people and are intent upon sacrificing the will of the many for the whims of the few who are morally behind in the van of survival.

And so MacArthur returns to bolster the pride of the dixiecrats and their Yankee abettors. It will prove a shot in the arm for a declining cause. This is written to serve notice that the great hue and cry is not for the glory of MacArthur but for the revenge of the dixiecrats and their yankee abettors. When the mayor of Augusta, Georgia calls upon his fair city to stand in minute's silence over MacArthur's return, we can get some idea of what the clamour is all about. The mayor of Augusta knew that this would give the dixiecrats their supreme opportunity to crucify Truman and nail him to the cross.

Dixiecratic Debit

A few years ago Southern Democrats were seeking a larger voice in national party circles on the grounds of their consistent record in the electoral college. That demand was met by adoption of a rule which gives additional votes in national conventions to those states which supported the party ticket in the preceding presidential election.

But rules work both ways. The party's national committee in a week-end meeting in Denver did not allow for 1952 the bonus delegates in the cases of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, which cast their electoral votes in 1948 for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket. Alabama will be entitled to 22 delegates to the convention instead of 26. The four states will get 76 instead of 92.

Of course this was only to be expected. Dixiecrats no doubt will say they knew this back in 1948 and that their knowledge of the price they would have to pay did not stop them from a course to which they felt honor and conviction called them.

Alabama and the South as a whole have lost weight in the national Democratic Party because of a course supported by only a minority of Southern Democrats. Our voice in counsels of the party which has done the most for the South has been weakened. We have lost influence where we greatly need it.

GOP LEADERS:

Hit Republican, Dixiecrat Pact

TULSA, Okla.—Following a conference here last week, national Republican leaders issued a statement in which they called upon the Republican party to denounce in toto the proposed GOP-Dixiecrat coalition and reaffirm its belief in its "historic principles."

The statement said, in part: "We, as colored Republicans, have become, we believe, justifiably disturbed and alarmed by the persistent reports of a plan of a coalition between the Republican party and certain dissident elements of the Southern Democrats, commonly known as Dixiecrats—a plan most recently proposed and projected by Sen. Karl Mundt of South Dakota.

"We call upon the Republican National Committee, Guy Gabrielson, chairman; Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, titular leader of the party; Speaker Joseph Martin, Sens. Robert A. Taft, Kenneth Wherry and Everett Dirksen, chairman of Republican Senatorial Committee; Rep. Len Hall, chairman of Republican Congressional Committee, and all other responsible leaders to publicly denounce and disavow any connection with the proposed coalition."

States' Rights Movement Born In South 3 Years Ago Today

JACKSON, MISS., May 9—(AP)—The States' Rights movement of Southern Democrats is three years old Thursday. Its leaders are happy in the thought they have developed a pretty powerful youngster from an infant given so little chance at birth.

Though the movement has been little in the limelight in the past year, its leaders say it is still quite active with three possible lines of action open:

1—Adoption of a proposal of Sen. Mundt (D-SD) that conservative Democrats, conservative Republicans and States' Righters form a third national political party.

2—Offering to the voters next year a coalition presidential and vice-presidential ticket.

3—Working strenuously to preserve what they term "the Southern Democrat balance of power in Congress."

This is the first year of the movement's history that no meeting has been called to mark the organization's birth. That occurred May 10, 1948 when the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee met here, changed its name to the Mississippi States' Rights Democratic Committee and adopted a statement of principles. Those principles later became the party principles.

Whether the group will offer a coalition presidential ticket next year is still an open question. Talk has centered around Gen. Eisenhower and South Carolina Gov. James Byrnes. Though both have said they were not interested in running, States' Righters don't take them too seriously.

Some States' Rights leaders such as Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright, are not too enthusiastic about the prospects of a coalition. Wright has pointed to the legal difficulties encountered in getting the names of third party candidates on the ballot in some states. And he is known to feel that it's a lot easier to talk about making a coalition effective than it is to accomplish it.

War Interferred

Because of the war, no national meeting of States' Righters was planned this year. But Leander Perez, national director of the group, said in New Orleans that leaders would be active in their respective states. He said they would do all possible to win election or re-election to Congress of men who believe "in the preservation of constitutional government against the encroachments of subversive elements which now dominate the White House."

In each of their four strongold states, Perez said, the States Rights 1948 candidates — Gov. Wright for vice-president and South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for president — were put on the ticket as the regular Democratic Party candidates. Those states were Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina.

2-Party South

IT IS time for the quarterly reminder that the South isn't going to get anywhere with squirty marplot parties like the Dixiecrats, that what is needed is for Republican-minded Democrats to move it on over into the G.O.P. fold. Eventually the younger generations, who are scornful of slavish attachment to the past, will provide a two-party system in the South such as they have in the rest of the nation. But things would move faster if some of our commanding political figures would pack their prestige now and lead the way.

This quarter's injunction is based on the experience of Senator Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota Republican. Senator Mundt recognizes the heaving dissatisfaction in the South with the Democratic Party. With a presidential election coming up next year, the Republican senator seeks to win electoral votes for his party in the South.

His design is a formal coalition between the Republicans and the Dixiecrat remnant. The two would agree on a G.O.P. presidential candidate and the Dixiecrats would be allotted the vice-presidential candidate. No doubt that beguiles the lonely Dixiecrats, who were lucky to carry four states in 1948 and are now a minority in Alabama. But the Republicans don't want to be tarred with the Dixiecrat brush as is suggested by this dispatch in the *New York Herald Tribune:*

The Dewey Republicans, among the party's most progressive on labor issues, civil rights and international relations, are convinced that the Republicans will give up in advance any hope of capturing New York — and perhaps Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio also—if they formally ally themselves with the Dixiecrats. They insist the losses in electoral votes in the North would far outweigh potential gains from the Deep South.

This strikes us as a correct assumption. The Dixiecrats do not deserve the name they bear in the country, but that name is notorious and unsavory in the public mind.

A presidential candidate usually handpicks his running mate. *Can you imagine Taft or Eisenhower burdening themselves with a Dixiecrat on the ticket?* The Democrats would take that name Dixiecrat — which is in the national mind an *epithet* — and slur Republicans to a farethewell.

Southerners should either carry on their sabotage of the Democratic Party from within — as they have done to enormous effect — or renounce their former allegiance and work their passage in the Republican Party as immigrants. Their Old World ties, as it were, should be left behind them.

What an impressive rejoinder would it have been had the South voted Republican in 1948! In 1952 the presidential candidates would have campaigned in the South as though it were part of the United States.

The Difference

We have hitherto observed that the Dixiecrats were a party without pride of ancestry or hope of posterity.

But since a major national discussion is being held over the possibilities of a Republican-Dixiecrat marriage it might be said that we dealt too lightly with the potentialties of the Dixiecrats. We believe not.

The 1948 model Dixiecrat was based entirely, exclusively and altogether on a race issue. Its hoarse evangels didn't have the forthrightness to admit the obvious, which was that they were equally as concerned about federal debt, labor laws, "socialism," etc. Not until the spring of 1950 did Mr. McCorvey, for example, make a speech openly assailing Washington spending (at which time *The Advertiser* noted that he had "taken off his whiskers").

The '48 Dixiecrat was dedicated to one thing — opposition to the civil rights holy-rollers (indeed, it was widely remarked that the Dixiecrats were not a party, but a spasm, since they had *no foreign policy, farm, labor or any other kind of plank).*

All the Southern states were going to withhold their electoral vote from Mr. Truman. As a matter of fact, only four states went Dixiecrat—and of these, two (Alabama and South Carolina) booted the bolters out two years later.

What we have now is not a Dixiecrat spasm, which repelled other states and rendered the world Dixiecrat an epithet, but something more formidable.

Our guess is that it is a national decision that Mr. Truman, by now revealed as the madam of a bawdy house, must go.

The Dixiecrats are sustained by this revolt by larger forces. But they are the cog, not the machine.

No party can amount to anything on a single issue of peculiar interest to one region.

The Dixiecrats are now against Mr. Truman *in general,* whereas in '48 they let go their war whoops only on the subject of civil rights.

In '48 the Dixiecrats *couldn't get a single Southerner of national stature to go along with them.* Such men as Senator Byrd, Senator George and Senator Russell would not travel with the Dixiecrats, as Jimmy Byrnes recently refused to do. In fact, Byrd, George and Russell voted for Mr. Truman.

Now it's different. Senator Byrd, who timidly backed down in 1948, is in open revolt against the administration. The Dixiecrats have hooked on. Senator Byrd hasn't, however, said anything *The Advertiser* is aware of about opposing Mr. Truman beyond the nominating convention.

What we're hearing from now is not the Dixiecrats, but the country. And civil rights, the Dixiecrats' reason for being, *isn't the issue.*

State Righters Gather Forces For New Fight

Post Herald

Group To Try Again For 'Open Primary'

Wed 9-5-51

MONTGOMERY, Sept. 4 (AP) — Another showdown on the "open primary" issue may sound the keynote for a stormy wind-up of Alabama's legislative session Thursday.

Bunny Mann

States' Righters opposed to pledging the state's electoral votes to the national Democratic presidential nominee in 1952 appear to have the strength to get an anti-closed primary resolution out of the Senate Rules Committee.

The resolution, sponsored by Dallas County Sen. George Quarles, is almost identical to one the Senate killed last Thursday, 15-14.

It calls on the State Democratic Committee to refrain from binding candidates for elector to the national party nominee.

If the rules committee meets Thursday morning—and it's almost certain to—four of its seven members are committed to try forcing the resolution out onto the Senate floor.

Outwardly, at least, administration leaders are keeping hands off. But sources close to Gov. Gordon Persons say he is opposed to bringing the matter up in the Legislature.

The presidential elector question first arose in 1948 when Alabama's 11 votes went to the Thurmond-Wright states' rights ticket instead of to President Truman.

Last year, however, Democrats advocating loyalty to the national party won control of the new state committee. Some party spokesmen, determined to prevent repetition of the 1948 bolt, propose to make elector candidates next year promise to support the national nominee before they can run.

There was doubt in the minds of some, however, that the pledge could be enforced.

Former State Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile called attention to the fact that the Alabama Supre Court in 1948 ruled that electors are free agents with power to vote for anyone they choose.

If any action is taken by the state committee, it will come next January when the party governing body meets to fix qualifications for the 1952 primary.

Dixiecrats Block End Of D.C. Fire Dept. Bias

CIO news

10-29-51

THREE Dixiecrats have succeeded in blocking racial integration in the Washington, D. C., Fire Dept.—at least temporarily.

Washington is governed by three commissioners, appointed by the President with Senate approval. The commissioners, John Russell Young, Brig Gen. Bernard L. Robinson and F. Joseph Donohue, voted three times within 18 days to assign 14 Negro firemen to understaffed white companies.

Washington D.C.

While Donohue—outspoken foe of continued segragation—was out of the city, the commissioners finally voted to postpone the order until Congress meets again in January.

The action was taken after a letter was received from Chairman McMillan (D. S.C.) of the House District Committee, which with its Senate counterpart proposes legislation for the city.

McMillan requested postponement of the order until January on the ground that the press of business forced him to cancel a meeting of the committee scheduled to be held shortly before Congress adjourned.

McMILLAN and two other Dixiecrat members — Smith (Va.) and Davis (Ga.)—opposed ending segregation. On one occasion they criticized the commissioners for their order at a private meeting at McMillan's office.

Unfortunately Local 36 of the AFL Fire Fighters, to which some members of the Fire Dept. belong, voted 664 to 35 against the order.

In a newspaper ad the local's majority membership set forth its opposition. The ad said that during many of their long hours in the fire houses, the firemen "play games and look at television."

Upon his return to Washington, Donohue for the third time in his weekly radio broadcast discussed integration and advised the firemen:

"They could well spend their game-playing and TV time reading the Constitution on the equal rights due all Americans."

He warned that Communist propagandists will make capital of the union's vote against integration.

"Other nations," Donohue said, "have lost their liberty because they did not love liberty enough to share it with all their countrymen. The price we must pay for liberty is to recognize that Americans must get equal treatment under the law."

He added that prejudice will probably always remain in the social and business worlds, but "has no place in government."

He called postponement of the order "unfortunate but not unreasonable," but to put the order into effect would be "silly," because Congress may later approve a segregation law.

Republican Leader Denounces Donohue

A Republican leader in Washington, D. C., last week attacked moves to eliminate senseless racial discrimination in the fire department of the nation's capital.

The anti-discrimination move had been pushed by District Commissioner F. Joseph Donohue.

After it was stymied by Dixiecrats in Congress, the president of the Washington Young Republican Club, Carl L. Shipley, denounced Donohue for having "aggravated" race relations.

A Dubious 'States' Righters' Victory

The investigation by a subcommittee of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee into vote fraud changes in the Third District has ended just as most persons expected it would, including, we may suppose, State Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey. The subcommittee majority has announced through its chairman it will declare elected to the state committee four "States' Righters" in place of the four regular Democrats named on the face of the returns in last May's primary.

The subcommittee is composed of four "Dixiecrats" and only one "loyalist" Democrat. Mr. McCorvey said he had faith in the personnel of the committee. But his action in stacking the subcommittee with members on his side of a political controversy placed all subsequent action of the committee under question.

That question now is intensified by the announcement that the majority on the subcommittee, over the protest of the one regular Democrat and also one Dixiecrat, favor giving the disputed seats to the Dixiecrats. The manner in which the investigation was conducted and the way in which the report was decided upon deepen doubt and increase dissent respecting the finding.

* * *

Chairman McCorvey instructed the subcommittee to look into the voting of only three counties of the 10-county Third District. In those three counties, the regular Democrats ran strongly. In the counties where the Dixiecrats showed strength, no investigation was ordered. In one of those three counties, Coffee, the subcommittee checked about half the ballots. No ballots were checked in the other two, Lee and Russell.

If there was fraud in the election, what evidence to show it has been revealed by this examination of ballots and precinct returns? It appears that the action of the four Dixiecrats on the subcommittee is based, at the best, on unfortunate events rather than on findings of fraud.

* * *

Three Third District candidates for the state committee withdrew from the race before the election but after the ballots had been printed. This left the Dixiecrats with a full slate of eight candidates, but the regular Democrats with only six. Many voters, it seems, wishing to vote against the Dixiecrats marked their ballots for the six regulars and two of the three who had withdrawn. Some, perhaps many of these, ballots were marked in good faith by voters who did not know the candidates had withdrawn. The Dixiecrats on the subcommittee appear to have ruled invalid all ballots that were marked for any of the three withdrawn candidates. This, we take it, is the justification for declaring the Dixiecrat candidates elected. Not only were the four regular Democrats whose places were challenged eliminated but so were the other two, even though all six had received more votes than the trailing four Dixiecrats.

Possibly these disputed ballots, strictly speaking, were illegal. But the ballots were presumably cast in good faith. They do not establish fraud. Moreover, all such ballots in any county of the Third District fall into the same category. But the subcommittee looked only into those counties where the four winning Democratic candidates fared well.

The whole business is very dubious and high handed, just as have been other maneuvers of the Dixiecrat hierarchy in the State Democratic Committee that voters repudiated at the polls last Spring. Will the full committee now accept this finding? The Third District dispute in that event may be brought before the new committee, which will be controlled by regular Democrats despite the loss of the four Third District seats and which certainly will be concerned as to the right to their seats of all its members.

States Righters Are Elected—Abercrombie

4 Defeated Candidates Declared Winners By Unit Chairman

PHENIX CITY, ALA., Jan. 3—(AP)—H. A. Abercrombie, chairman of a subcommittee investigating vote fraud charges in Alabama's Third Congressional District, said Wednesday his committee will declare elected the four States' Righters defeated in the May primary for positions on the state Democratic executive committee.

The subcommittee, dominated by States' Righters, declared its investigations closed. It will submit a report to the full state Democratic committee declaring the four defeated candidates elected, Abercrombie said.

His announcement, following a visit to the Russell County seat, brought an immediate denunciation from Herbert Meighan, only party regular on the five-man committee. He said such a move was not even discussed in an executive session held by the committee here Wednesday afternoon.

Mizell Absent

Besides Abercrombie and Meighan, William E. Johnston and H. Coleman Long attended the meeting. Frank Mizell was absent.

The four States' Righters the committee will declare elected are P. C. Prather, H. Glenn Hawkins, Grover W. Ray and Yetta G. Samford. The four party regulars whose election was contested are Neil Davis, W. L. Horne, G. C. Hughes and Jack M. Bridges.

"We haven't even counted the ballots," Meighan declared when advised Abercrombie had closed the inquiry.

He pointed out that two more party regulars, M. A. Deese and Lister Brunson, polled more votes in the primary than any of the four States' Righters who now are being declared the victors. Deese and Brunson, although they didn't win seats on the state committee, ran ninth and tenth in the voting, he said. Prather, Hawkins, Ray and Samford ran eleventh to fourteenth.

Court actions in Coffee and Lee counties halted counting of ballots there by the subcommittee.

Wednesday, when the group visited Russell, the third county involved in the contest, Sheriff H. Ralph Mathews filed a suit asking Circuit Judge J. B. Hicks to decide if the committee should be given the ballots.

I. C. Wheelis, registrar of chancery, then refused to turn the ballots over to the subcommittee until the judge ruled.

The subcommittee then went into executive session.

Dixiecratic group boots Third District regulars

BY FRED TAYLOR
News staff writer

The long, bitter battle over four Third District places on Alabama's Democratic Executive Committee today was headed for a showdown fight before the full committee.

This was indicated, after a Dixiecrat-dominated subcommittee, in action branded as "extremely arbitrary," had kicked out four Democratic regulars and declared four States' Righters elected in their places.

Contests of the duly-certified election of four national party loyalists were declared ended late yesterday at Phenix City.

THIS WAS DONE after the subcommittee of four States' Righters and one Democratic old-liner had recounted only part of ballots in Coffee County and failed to check any votes cast last May in either Lee or Russell Counties. It was in these three counties, and particularly in Russell, that election irregularities had been charged by the Dixiecrat contestants.

H. M. Abercrombie, Birmingham attorney and States' Righter chairman of the subcommittee, said a majority of the group had decided to oust regular Democrats Jack M. Bridges, Neil O. Davis, W. L. Horn and G. C. Hughes. They had been certified by State Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey as duly elected last May.

ABERCROMBIE SAID the subcommittee had ruled they will be replaced on the party governing body by Dixiecrats H. Glenn Hawkins, O. C. Prather, Grover W. Ray and Yetta G. Samford.

In declaring this quartet elected, the subcommittee skipped over two regular Democrats, Lister Brunson, Elba, and M. A. Dees, Ozark, who ran ninth and 10th—ahead of the States' Righters—in the field of candidates seeking eight places on the committee from the Third.

Four other Dixiecrats had been duly certified by McCorvey as elected last May.

GADSDEN'S HERBERT Meighan, only Democratic loyalist appointed to the five-member subcommittee by McCorvey, lashed out sharply at the action taken by the "stacked Dixiecrat majority" on the group.

"Their action was extremely arbitrary," said Meighan, who added that he would file a minority report.

"This matter will be fought out before the full committee as it will be constituted when it meets for organization at Montgomery Jan. 15," declared Meighan. "The will of the people has been wholly disregarded. And that is not democracy."

Besides Abercrombie, other States Righters on the subcommittee are Coleman Long, William E. Johnston and Frank Mizzell, Jr.

But Mizzell was not present yesterday when the other three States Righter subcommittee members, without apprising Meighan of their decision until later, decided to kick out the regular Democrats and declare the Dixiecrats elected.

Meighan said the four of them had met shortly before in executive session, but no such "arbitrary" action was discussed.

Subcommittee Chairman Abercrombie said he would file a majority report with State Chairman McCorvey.

THE STATE CHAIRMAN had said earlier that the subcommittee had full authority to act in the contests and that it would not be necessary for the full committee to confirm or reject its findings.

However, Meighan insisted that in view of the "arbitrary attitude" taken by Abercrombie, Coleman and Johnson, the fight "is certain to be taken before the new state committee when it meets at Montgomery."

"The Dixiecrats were determined to win one way or another, if they could," added Meighan. "That was evident from the start, when the subcommittee was stacked four to one with Dixiecrats."

THE CONTESTS long were tied up in court in restraining proceedings filed by Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney for the regular Democrats. And declaratory judgment proceedings were filed in Circuit Court in each of the three counties to block recount of ballots.

Russell County Sheriff Ralph Mathews filed such a suit in that county. And Register in Chancery I. C. Wheelis refused to turn over the votes until Judge J. B. Hicks had ruled. Similar action had been taken in Lee.

How Dixiecrats hurt Alabama

By Doris Fleeson

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Alabama had almost forgotten the Dixiecrats who pushed her into the loser's column in the presidential race of 1948 until the Democratic National Committee reminded her by lopping off four of her delegates to the 1952 presidential convention.

The slash actually was automatic. Atty. Gen. Howard McGrath, when national chairman, inaugurated the system of awarding bonuses of convention delegates to states who had supported the party in the presidential election last time. Alabama lost her bonus; her normal representation is intact.

Since their 1948 apostasy, Democrats have returned control to the group identified with its two senators, Lister Hill and John Sparkman, both pro-administration liberals except on the civil rights issue. They have also re-elected Sen. Sparkman. Some who commented on the Denver action appear to think this constituted full public repentance and that National Chairman Boyle would have been better advised to have found a method of full public absolution.

Perhaps such suggestion was made to President Truman and he vetoed it; he is a good hater. It is, however, the kind of creative political thinking that is conspicuous by its absence around the White House.

* * *

Reconciliation is slow

THE ELEMENTS ARE PRESENT for some kind of reconciliation with the South. The principal problem before the country is war policy and the Southerners are not only standing hitched on it, they are leading the fight. Right now, Sen. Russsell, of Georgia, is the most conspicuous with his excellent conduct of the MacArthur inquiry. Sen. Connally carries the foreign-policy hod; it is reported from Texas that he may be made to suffer for it, too, with a McCarthy-style campaign against him next year. Sen. Byrd, of Virginia, was a powerful behind-the-scenes strategist in the confirmation of Mrs. Anna Rosenberg as assistant secretary of defense.

Yet the Southerners find the national committee tepid, except for the women's division where Mrs. India Edwards tries always to answer the Macedonian cries that are made to her. Mrs. Edwards thinks that the South is too much neglected, that a little effort will mend all fences below the Mason-Dixion line.

Republicans are naturally hopeful that 1948 can be repeated in some measure but they must proceed warily. National Chairman Gabrielson got his fingers burned last year with an incautious conversation with an old school friend who was a Dixiecrat; it was promptly reported.

* * *

Republicans also getting nowhere

SEN. KARL MUNDT, South Dakota Republican, has been in this state talking over his plan for a conservative party of Midwest Republicans and Southern Democrats with such Dixiecrat leaders as former Gov. Frank Dixon. Political writers say he got nowhere and cannot as matters now stand.

Sen. Mundt seems to be pressing forward without GOP sponsorship. Of course, anything he accomplishes would help his party's nominee next year.

Prior to Korea, it appeared that Sen. Taft, if nominated, would have a strong appeal to the conservative South. But he is much more isolationist, even with the concessions he has made, than it has ever been.

It is possible that the Federal Court action opening this week against South Carolina's segregated schools may start a chain reaction which would have national political repercussions. It is bound to reach the Supreme Court which conceivably could rule at a time advantageous to the administration's political enemies.

South Still Fighting States' Rights Battle 90 Years After Creation Of Confederacy

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

A reconverted South, no longer dependent on cotton for a living, is still fighting the states' rights battle that led to the creation of the Confederate States of America just 90 years ago.

The political thinking is still much the same, but the economy is vastly changed from that of the slave-holding land of agriculture that seceded from the Union to form its own government on Feb. 4, 1861.

Two months later Confederate guns fired on Fort Sumter, and civil war began.

The South of four score and ten years ago was a slow moving, mint julep and magnolia region of great personal riches acquired almost entirely from the soil. The per capita wealth exceeded that of the industrial north, but it was a one-crop economy. Cotton was the chief product of the sprawling plantations manned by slave labor. Gay New Orleans was the only metropolitan city.

Today the economy is geared to a gradually steadying balance between diversified agriculture, livestock and manufacturing industry. The mass of population has shifted to the cities, where giant plants turn out millions of dollars worth of textiles and other finished goods each year.

Coal mining, iron and steel works, shipyards and other industries employ thousands of workers at wages unheard of on the back country farms. Great cities have sprung up in every one of the once predominantly rural southern states.

Descendants of Negro slaves, once forbidden even to learn how to read and write, have made much progress too. State appropriations to Negro schools have doubled and trebled in just a few years. Some Negroes even have been admitted to white colleges.

Southern governors have set up a regional education program to sent both white and Negro students to other states for training and higher education not available at home.

But politically, the South still has a mind of its own as unyielding as the spirit of rebellion that prompted South Carolina to secede from the federal government on Dec. 20, 1860.

Other states followed, and on Feb. 4, 1861, delegates assembled at Montgomery voted to set up a provisional Confederate government. Mississippi's Jefferson Davis was inaugurated president of the Confederacy 14 days later.

Then in April, just a few short blocks from the capital where Davis took his oath of office, the order was given to fire on Fort Sumter, and the war was on. In May, the seat of government was moved to Richmond after Virginia seceded.

Four years later the fighting ended and the Confederate union broke up. Northern carpetbaggers swarmed southward and Dixie's slave economy was shattered.

The depression that followed took generations to overcome.

The war was primarily a clash of opposing interests represented by the agriculture of the South and the industry of the North and growing midwest.

Racial problems played their part because the economy of the land below the Mason-Dixon line was so closely tied to slavery. But Lincoln's emancipation proclamation ordering the slaves set free actually didn't come until two years after the fighting started.

Gradually after the carpetbaggers left the South turned from a one-crop region to a healthier and more diversified system of living. It is still changing.

Politically, the South turned to the Democratic Party to protect its concept of states' rights and its tradition of white supremacy. From 1872 to 1928, not a southern electoral vote went to the Republicans.

Herbert Hoover picked up some in the 1928 election because many southerners refused to support the Democratic presidential nominee, Al Smith. But the solid South closed ranks again and kept them closed for another 20 years.

Then in 1948, Dixie delegates to the Democratic National Convention stalked out in protest against President Truman's racial policies. They put their own candidate, J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, into the presidential race. Four states gave him their electoral votes.

Dixie Democrats in Congress showed their resentment, too, by teaming up repeatedly with northern Republicans to oppose parts of Mr. Truman's program.

The ranks of the men in gray who fought for the South in the War Between the States meanwhile have thinned out to almost nothing. A survey by the Alabama Pension Commission shows only 21 veterans still living out of an army which once numbered some 800,000 men.

To support them in their last years, Southern states pay out something like $226,800 a year in Confederate pensions. Some of the ex-soldiers get as much as $200 a month.

Eastland, Stennis Were Not Consulted On OPS Appointees

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Mississippi's two U. S. senators have announced they have had no say whatever in the appointment of personnel handling price and wage controls in their state.

Senators Eastland and Stennis, both Democrats, yesterday issued this one sentence statement:

"We want the people of Mississippi to know that we were not consulted in any way by the President, or anyone in the administration, in the setting up of the federal agencies in Mississippi that are to exercise so much power over the people under the defense production act, successor to the OPA and other World War II control agencies."

The members of congress from Mississippi have had virtually no say on appointments to federal jobs in the state since 1948 when the regular Democratic organization in the state bolted from Truman and supported the States Rights presidential ticket.

Recommendations of a pro-Truman group of Democrats in Mississippi on job-appointments have been heeded by the administration.

Top personnel for the Jackson, Miss., district office of the OPS were announced two weeks ago. William Byrd was named acting state director.

When the defense production act was enacted by congress last year, both Stennis and Senator McClellan (D-Ark.) proposed that appointments or regional and state directors be subject to confirmation by the senate. The senate approved the proposal, but it was rejected by the house.

Fourteen Mississippi postmaster appointments at present are tied up in the senate postoffice committee because of the opposition of Eastland and Stennis. The two senators have announced they will not clear any postmaster appointments not recommended by the Mississippi house members.

Coolness Toward A Rally

The high hopes that apparently had been held by some Dixiecrats toward this week's "rally" at Selma are receiving dashes of cold water. It may develop that only a few of the faithful will attend. Certainly Thursday's occasion will lack the spotlight attractions once anticipated.

The rally idea was conceived when it was announced that Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia would address a meeting of the Dallas County Farm Bureau. It was carefully pointed out that Sen. Byrd's appearance before the Farm Bureau was "non-political," although he was going to speak of federal government expenditures, but it was considered a propitious time to call a rally of "States' Righters." Presumably it was expected that Sen. Byrd would stay over for that event. Is he not an ardent advocate of states' rights, a frequent critic of President Truman, and a leading Southerner?

But Sen. Byrd has declined to attend the Dixiecrat rally. He says that illness in his family compels him to start immediately after the Farm Bureau meeting on his 500-mile journey home. He could not, he is reported to have said, extend his absence from Virginia by even a few hours. However, he may attend a private political gathering in Montgomery Wednesday night.

For other reasons, Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia cannot attend the Selma "rally." Both have been mentioned as choices to head an anti-Truman drive.

One swallow does not make a Summer, of course, and one setback does not determine the conclusion of a campaign, but we guess that the refusal of these leading Democrats to attend this Dixiecrat rally is significant. Byrd, Byrnes and Russell are astute politicians. Apparently they do not want to become identified with a schismatic Democratic group—at least not now.

States Righters Cautious In War-of-Nerves Gain; State Wonders: Who Moves Next?

By CLEM BROSSIER
The Associated Press

States Righters are showing a cautious elation as they study the national Democratic party's latest move in their war of nerves.

National Chairman W. M. Boyle's ouster of Clarence E. Hood as acting national commiteeman for Mississippi apparently caught everyone by surprise — including Hood.

It came 44 hours after he told 500 faithful at the annual Jefferson-Jackson day dinner that Sen. James Eastland's charges of federal job peddling by the pro-Truman group were "hysterical rantings."

Hood, who seized control of the pro-Truman committee 24 months ago, has been chief patronage dispenser since August, 1949. Neither he nor anyone in his organization have commented on Boyle's action

States Rights leaders, who bolted the democratic convention and ticket in 1948, are watching developments warily.

If any deal was made between the two warring camps it has not come out so far Reaction to Hood's discharge was unanimous: "He never was national committeeman anyway."

But that's as far as they go They don't want to do or say anything that will upset the applecart now.

Still fresh in mind is the unbroken string of defeats in last year's primaries.

Their presidential standard-bearer, South Carolina's Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, was defeated for the senate. They lost control of the Alabama Executive committee. Liberal Sid McMath administered a thorough trouncing to their national chairman, Ben Laney, in a contest for governor of Arkansas.

In Louisiana, one of the four states they carried in 1948, their chief supporters—W. N. "Litle Eva" Talbot and National Director Leander Perez—are in political limbo. Governor Earl Long and his nephew, Sen. Russel Long, are firmly in the saddle. Both stayed neutral in the 1948 revolution.

So, if this is a victory, they don't want to boot it away

Biggest question is: Who will replace Hood?

Boyle could turn to Mrs. John Clark, whom he recognizes as acting national committeewoman. Mrs. Clark has remained silent since she and State Rep. Phil Mullen broke with the Hood clique a year ago.

Mullen, original pro-Truman supporter and vice-chairman of the group's central committee, is thinking of calling another committee meeing and picking a successor. He believes three fourths of the original group will go along.

Mullen, an Oxford, newspaperman, refused to attend this year's party dinner. He wrote a Hood aide criticizing the "tawdry manipulations of little men claiming a connection with President Truman" and adding "I have no influence to sell except through the advertising columns."

The administration could call off the war altogether and deal with the congressional delegation and old line party leaders. They control the election machinery and state government.

This is an election year in Mississippi. And among those to be elected are precinct committeemen who ultimately decide which way Mississippi votes at national conventions.

Eastland told a newsman Monday night — just after Hood's ouster—" the whole crowd is out."

Caught in the middle are 15 acting postmasters named during Hood's reign. They haven't been confirmed and now apparently are out.

Wednesday U. S. Attorney Joe Brown of Natchez was nominated by the White House for another four year term. A former legislator, Jesse Shanks, was nominated as one of his assistants.

Both are Eastland appointees.

The old line party committee is sitting tight. Leaders still maintain former Lieutendant Governor J. B. (Billy) Snider is and always has been national committeeman.

Whether they would send him back again — he was refused his seat in August, 1949 — is open to question. Snider has been vitriolic and unrelenting in his attacks on Boyle and the administration.

His latest came after Hood was fired. "I'm surprised at Mr. Boyle," he said. "His past actions indicated he stops at nothing."

One committeeman promptly snorted: "Billy's incorrigible."

The committee could name another national commiteeman, someone able to turn the armistice into a peace treaty.

Former Representative Will M. Whitington of Greenwood—whether he knows it or not—has been mentioned. A member of congress for 26 years and chairman of the public works sub-committee much of the time, he has excellent contacts on both sides of the fence.

Just what brought about the change of pace in Washington is puzzling many.

The average chap on the street thinks it is because of charges the Hood organization was collecting $400 and up for federal jobs.

Mullen maintains Boyle just finally got around to some necessary house-cleaning. Hood's two main contacts, he says, were Assistant National Director Turner Gratz and National Committee Treasurer Acev Carraway. Both recently resigned.

But Governor Fielding L. Wright, who started the whole thing with his 1948 inaugural speech denouncing the Truman fair deal, may have stopped it.

Which isn't talking, on or off the record. But many persons now attach added significance to four trips he made to Washington in the past six months.

They were publicly announced as trips to check into prospects of increasing old age assistance payments, building a proposed four year medical school and teaching hospital, civil defense needs and to visit his son, an air force lieutenant.

Usually heads of departments concerned carry on state business in Washington.

Two weeks ago Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing was Wright's overnight guest at the executive mansion. The governor drove 200 miles to Biloxi to meet Ewing and bring him here.

Ewing, a high administration official and arch fair dealer, predicted at a press conference that night that the party breach soon would be healed. He didn't set a date.

Mississippians, although they are not too curious, are convinced the Washington about face didn't just happen. What they are wondering is—what happens next? Whose move is it?

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND *Drew Pearson Says:*

A Dixiecrat Is Welcomed To The White House

WASHINGTON—It's news when a Dixiecrat gets invited to the White House, particularly a dyed-in-the-cotton Dixiecrat like Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina, who figured prominently in the revolt against President Truman in the 1948 election.

However, Truman rolled out the welcome mat for the silver-maned South Carolinian the other day as though he were a long-separated fraternity brother. The story behind the unusual meeting is that the President wanted Rivers' support for the 18-year-old draft bill.

However, after a brief reference to the legislation, the two antagonists spent the rest of their meeting assuring each other that there were no "hard feelings" between them.

"If you are a big enough man to invite me down here, I'm big enough to accept the invitation, Mr. President," grinned Rivers. "In fact, it's a pleasure to accept."

"Some people have been saying that I don't like you and would never invite you down here, Mendel," responded Truman. "Well, it isn't so. I've never closed the door to you. I want you to know that it will be open any time you want to see me."

The President cleverly dropped only the merest hint that he was concerned about the fate of the draft bill in the Armed Services Committee, of which Rivers is a member. However, there were no commitments on either side and the two men parted after a friendly handshake.

What the People Think

Prattis' Column on Dr. DuBois Prompts Many Courier Readers to Pen Letters

To the Editor:

I want to extend words of praise to P. L. Prattis for his fine article defending that grand old warrior, Dr. DuBois.

That most of our so-called leaders have remained silent rather than rise to the challenge is a powerful indictment of the craven cowardice of their "leadership."

Dr. DuBois is without a doubt one of the most fearless crusaders of our times. All of his adult life has been spent fighting for his people. His record has been one of protest, but never disloyalty. He has never subordinated his principles and integrity in anticipation of any self-gain or in fear of reprisal.

With his peerless intelligence and education, had his course been one of self-gain, he could have been president of a leading Negro college, an ambassador, banker, wealthy and secure. Honored and revered by the white plutocrats of the world because he chose to fight for the masses of his people who, when he came upon the scene, were floundering in the mire of ignorance and abject poverty, he stands today rejected, humiliated, shamed and reviled.

Mr. Prattis is right in classifying DuBois with Douglass and Trotter, for both were stalwarts, not like our present-day leaders who are only reeds, to be shaken by the winds of public opinion. It will take fifty years to make another man of DuBois' calibre.

OTIS W. MERIWETHER, Evansville, Ind.

To the Editor:

I am a student at Lincoln and I want to thank Mr. Prattis for myself and the Negro race for the article, "Handcuffs on DuBois."

It stands as a beacon in the fearful propaganda to which we are being subjected today . . . and no one will talk out!

When we come back to look at the history of the day, Mr. Prattis, we shall remember that you kept your head when that meant so much to the terrified people of the United States.

JOHN.

To the Editor:

Hearty compliments to Mr. Prattis for his most effective article in the March 3 issue of The Courier. No writer on any staff of any paper could have composed with such dignity, and sounded the rallying call to the colored peoples to come out and be counted now and stand up to this challenge of the bigots of our land, that would jail us for daring to be a r—

The article has historical importance. I wish that you would use it every week, 'til our people can memorize and integrate its content into real life. You may not know it, but today you have stepped into the leadership of the Negroes' fight for human rights.

I know that all who have read P. L. Prattis, March 3, will take it as a call to come out of hiding and stand for something worthy, even if it means jail, handcuffs, or tears. It cannot be had without this price, so I rally to your call, please lead us, please.

I have read The Courier for years, but this is the most worthy article I have ever read in any copy, and this includes all the scribes. Mr. Prattis' picture will hang in our house.

JOSEPH M. CARTER, San Francisco, Calif.

To the Editor:

I hope Dr. DuBois does not have to go to jail for advocating principles that he believes to be right . . . that is no disgrace.

History is full of great men who were jailed for fighting for certain principles. The great Indian leader, Mr. Gandhi, was jailed several times, and there were many more.

I was in prison for over twenty-one years in the State of Illinois and there were quite a few of the Negro prisoners that I learned to respect very much.

Some of them were put in solitary confinement many times because they fought for what they knew and believed to be right and against what they knew was wrong. One Negro prisoner had been in solitary confinement for ten times. Eight of the times he was put in solitary confinement because he resented and would fight the guards when they called the colored prisoners "n——r" or refer to them as black s.o.b.'s.

To the warden, to the Parole Board and to a certain segment of our miseducated society, these fellows have had prison records and should not be released from prison or should serve extra time for such bad records.

Now I do not agree with these gentlemen and society. I think that these prisoners should receive praise for fighting against what they believe and know to be wrong, and for what they know is right.

Dr. DuBois, do not worry about going to prison. In your case it is no disgrace to go to prison or jail. It is about time for all Negroes to say damn jail, damn prison and damn the electric chair when they are fighting for equal justice for their race.

FRED POINDEXTER, Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor:

This is to thank Mr. Prattis for his recent forthright column on the shameful, portentious indictment of Dr. DuBois.

Though terror is growing in America, with particular danger to the struggle of the Negro for first-class citizenship, there is hope for the better as long as men like Mr. Prattis speak out.

EDWARD PEEKS, Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor:

As a life-long admirer of Dr. DuBois' great work, I could not help re-reading Mr. Prattis' splendid and courageous article in the issue of March 3.

Mr. Prattis' protest against the mounting "terror" is real and thought-provoking. This method of persecution is a threat to all fighters for the simple and just human rights of our people.

This article should be reprinted as a circular, and in time embodied in a petition for DuBois' release from the indictment and vindication.

CHARLES A. STEVENSON, New York City.

To the Editor:

When the shades of history are drawn on the remains of America, the land of false ideals, the people of that great nation will be labelled by the chronicleers as a great nation of "suckers."

However, there will be a few exceptions to that rule and P. L. Prattis is one of them. He proved it by the stand he took on Dr. DuBois . . . the only stand. The only trouble is, too few of us realize that we are actually a bunch of "suckers." Barnum must have been right!

WHITELAW MacBRIDE, Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editor:

Just a few words of praise about The Courier's defense of DuBois.

A. E. SHANDELING, Sausalito, Calif.

To the Editor:

Just a line in regards to Mr. Prattis' column in the March 3 edition regarding Dr. DuBois. I want to commend him on the stand he took. I was hoping that every colored paper in America would rise up and that our people would flood Washington with thousands of letters of protest. If we take this without a whimper, then what can we expect next? Mr. Prattis' words were well chosen, and I truly hope they will arouse other writers. I am unable to understand how any Negro could speak one word of condemnation against this man. It just goes to show just what we will stand.

If you can spare some more space please use it to arouse our people of this impending danger.

Mr. Prattis has said the things that have been turning over in my mind. Things that have worried me . . . such as, why are our leaders silent when now is the time to speak? I do not remember any time in the history of my time when we need to come to the front of writing that characterized the agitation that we prefer second-class citizenship in this country of the allegedly free then let us follow the was carried on by the abolitionists in the days Schuylers and Edith Sampsons who find it com- of slavery. Like Mr. Prattis, I was amazed at patible with the status of their people to openly the cowardice of so-called Negro leaders who or covertly defend current American thought have deserted DuBois in his hour of trouble. It for no better reason than the fact that they are is a sad commentary on our leadership that it natives of the United States. Douglass opposed bows its knees to the powers who control the the Mexican War and staunchly supported most affairs of this country and give these same pow- of the radical causes of his day. Lincoln also ers slavish adulation and support. But, for the opposed the Mexican War and so did Ralph Robesons, DuBoises, Trotters and Douglasses Waldo Emerson. Some of the finest spirits of our race would be devoid of self-respect. Too America, many of them the best friends of Nemany of us, especially the so-called educated groes, like Moorfield Storey, one of the found- younger generation, bow before the golden altar. ers of the NAACP, opposed the Spanish-Ameri- As a race we can never get rid of our chains can War, yet they were not indicted. if we are unwilling to support those who We are in troublous times. The land is in have the courage to stand up manfully for their the grip of hysteria. It is considered fashion- convictions. able to call every friend of freedom and peace, DuBois, more than any other man in our every champion of justice, every dissenter from time, has done most to give us clear leadership the prevailing pattern, a Communist and by that is based on lofty principles which are the very bases of justice, equality, and freedom. If that token damn him to eternal perdition. Ne-

more.

To me, Mr. Prattis is a great and courageous leader, and not the phoney kind that is afraid. I trust that the Lord will spare him with a long life and thousands will rise up and honor his name.

G. M. LOGAN. Durham. N. C.

To the Editor:

Since the close of World War II, I have bemoaned the lack of courage and principle which has characterized many Negro newspapers and the total absence of ideals in the writings of far too many of our editorial writers and columnists, so you can imagine how refreshing and encouraging it was to me (as it doubtless was to many or your readers) to read the excellent piece in the issue of March 10 by P. L. Prattis on our elder statesman, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who is under indictment as an alleged foreign agent because of his activities for peace.

Mr. Prattis' article had the ring of the kind

groes cannot afford to do this. Behind the struggle between the so-called West, meaning America and Europe, and the East, China, India, Korea, etc., is the determination of the capitalists of the white world to continue their domination of the colored peoples and exploit them and their lands for the benefit of a handful of wealthy men. DuBois knows this. Mao Tse Tung and Nehru know it, so do Nkrumah and Azikwe of West Africa. American Negro leaders, so-called, need to know this. When they do, like DuBois, they will stand for peace rather than support the effort to crush freedom from colonial lands by force of American arms. Negroes have a painful choice: Should they support their country, in which they are unjustly treated, in its efforts to enslave colored people in other parts of the world, or like DuBois and Robeson today, and like Frederick Douglass in his day, take their stand for justice and freedom? That is the question. Bouquets to Prattis, Rogers, and Cayton!

JOSE GARCIA, New York City.

To the Editor:

I must congratulate Mr. Prattis on the splendid column he did on Dr. DuBois.

My father, who passed a couple of years ago, was a very close admirer of Dr. DuBois, and also a friend, and he continually remarked he wondered when Dr. DuBois would be silenced, and that it was surprising he had been permitted to speak aloud as long as he had. Of course, it had to come, as it almost always does, through close friends and associates. He should never have left the NAACP, that was also a "tech" and not enough friends fought for him.

What can we do as "little folks"? I feel open statements by leaders would be effective so that the forces bent on destruction would learn Negroes are standing together, but who wants to be next on the guillotine?

I have been racking my brain to know where to start.

ETHEL RAY NANCE, San Francisco, Calif.

To the Editor:

Commendations for the publication of P. L. Prattis' courageous article which protested the blantantly outrageous treatment of the venerable Dr. DuBois.

Mr. Prattis correctly assesses the brutal arrest of Dr. DuBois as an attack upon the Negro people. If the Government is successful in its attempt to throttle and gag DuBois, no one stands secure in the exercise of their right of free speech.

The Government's criminal assault upon the person and rights of Dr. DuBois was calculatingly designed to intimidate and paralyze the Negro people. It was merely a device to serve notice that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, would not tolerate any criticism of it or its policies from the people. Seemingly, the government has grown wary of the people.

To single out a DuBois or a Robeson as a target for persecution is only evidence of the effectiveness of these men. Washington quakes and shakes at the thought that the Negro people will forget "their place" and go all-out for freedom as Mr. Prattis indicated.

Mr. Prattis may rest assured that Washington nor any other source can reduce the Negro people to a state of subservience that amounts to slavery. If this present recognized leadership of the Negro people falters or wavers, from the rank and file will come youthful men and women, whom nothing this side of paradise can swerve from their struggle for freedom and equality.

LEO PATTERSON. Pittsburgh, Pa.

Judge Rules Foreign Agents Act Legal In DuBois Case

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Foreign Agents Registration Act, for violation of which Dr. William E. B. DuBois and four other officers of the Peace Information Center were indicted, is constitutional, Judge Alexander Holtzoff in District Court ruled last Tuesday.

The Pace Information Center located in New York City, and its five officers were indicted for failure to register under the act. The indictment charges the Center with acting as publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, the international organization established by the Cominform to publicize the so-called "Stockholm Peace Appeal."

Indicted along with Dr. DuBois in their capacities as officers and directors of the Center were Elizabeth Moos, mother of the former wife of Williams Remington, recently convicted of perjury in denying Communist membership; Kyrtle Elkin, Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff, all of New York City.

The defendants moved to dismiss the indictment on the ground that the act is unconstitutional and the indictment is defective.

In a lengthy opinion, Judge Holtzoff declared that the statute is "valid and not subject to any constitutional infirmity." He also upheld the indictment as sufficient.

Judge Holtzoff said the statue affects agents of foreign principals who carry on certain specified activities in the United States and that this is a matter within the "inherent regulatory power of the Congress."

The second foundation for the statute, he said is found in the powers conferred on the Congress by the Constitution to legislate concerning national defense.

Judge Holtzoff pointed out that the power of the Congress to legislation concerning the national defense includes the power to declare war, raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, as well as the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution its national defense powers.

"These powers necessarily include authority to take preventive measures against activities that may cause international misunderstandings, which, in turn, may lead to war, as well as against endeavors to subvert, undermine, or overthrow the govern," Judge Holtzoff declared, adding:

"It is clearly within the ambit of powers relating to national defense to legislate concerning propaganda carried on in this country by foreign agents. History demonstrates that such activities may affect the safety and the international position of this country . . . Such propaganda may also be used to attempt to overthrow the government.

"The conclusion is inescapable that the statute in question is within the powers of the Congress."

The defendants advanced three contentions on the question of whether the statute goes beyond any limitation on the powers of Congress: (1) That it is repugnant to the guarantee of freedom of speech contained in the First Admendment; (2) that it violates the privilege against self-incrimination found in the Fifth Admendment, and (3) that it violates the due process of cause of the Fifth Amendment in that it is too indefinite and sets no ascertainable standard of guilt.

Taking up these points one by one, Judge Holtzoff said the statute neither limits nor interferes with freedom of speech. "It does not not regulate expression of ideas," he said. "Nor does it preclude the making of any utterances. It merely regulate expression of ideas," tain activities to identify themselves by filing a registration statement."

The privilege against self-incrimination is personal to the individual and may be either asserted or waived by him, Judge Holtzoff stated. It does not constitute, he added, a basis for invalidating the statute.

"Moreover," he declared, "the statute does not require the disclosure of any information except on a voluntary basis as a condition of carrying on a certain occupation or certain activities. The information called for by the statute is not incriminating on its face. If any specific item would be incriminating, then the time to assert the privilege would be when the statement is filed, if, indeed, the privilege may be invoked at all."

Judge Holtzoff pointed out that undoubtedly a criminal statute must define the crime. Otherwise, he added, it would be lacking in due process and, therefore, would be unconstitutional.

But the statute in question, he declared, is "sufficiently precise." He pointed out that is requires the filing of a registration statement. "Obviously this provision is definite," he commented.

The persons who are required to register are agents of foreign principals, he explained. Both terms "foreign principal" and "agent of a foreign principal" are defined he noted.

"True, there may be borderline cases in which a person may have some doubt whether he is within the terms of the act," Judge Holtzoff said. "This circumstance is not sufficient, however, to vitiate the law."

On the question of the validity of the indictment, he said he was satisfied that it met the tests of apprizing the defendant of the specific charge he is called upon to answer and of containing sufficient facts to enable him to plead former jeopardy if he should be later confronted with the same accusation.

Support Dr. DuBois

PHILADELPHIA — The Baptist Ministers Conference of Philadelphia and Vicinity, meeting in regular session here August 6 unanimously endorsed a resolution supporting Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in his fight for civil rights and opposing the Government's indictment of him as a so-called "foreign agent."

Peace Information Center

DuBois Too Independent for Red Tool, Say Backers

By LOIS TAYLOR

Is Dr. W. E. B. DuBois the "agent" of a foreign power?

Or is he just a stubborn man who, at the age of 83, still believes in saying and doing what he thinks, regardless of the consequences?

That is the question which thousands of citizens here and abroad are asking themselves this week as the bald-headed scholar with the little goatee goes on trial.

Hard-Headed and Stubborn

Friends of DuBois say that he is not the type to be a mouthpiece for any but his opinions.

He is too much of an independent thinker, they declared. Besides, he is hard-headed and stubborn. Once he latches onto an idea he doesn't give it up unless he has a darned good reasons for changing.

Back in the horse-and-buggy days, when Booker T. Washington was alive, DuBois launched the first big controversy withing the race by challenging Booker T.'s philosophy.

Lambasted Tuskegee's Leader

DuBois' stand wasn't wholly popular with whites or with colored, but in his writings and speeches he consistently lambasted the Tuskegee leader's policy of gradualism and conciliation. His "Souls of Black Folk," published in 1903, demanded full social and political equality as well as complete integration for us.

He organized the Niagara Movement to abolish all distinctions based on race, class, and color, and when this movement didn't work, DuBois helped found the NAACP and started the Crisis magazine.

Closed Ranks' Statement

It was while he was editor of the Crisis that DuBois touched off another big and bitter debate. He thought at that time that the race should go all out for the U.S. war effort in 1918. In his famous "Closed Ranks" statement he said':

"Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow-citizens and the allied nations who are fighting for democracy."

DuBois changed his mind about this when he went abroad in 1919 to the Pan-African Congress and found out what had happened to colored troops overseas.

New Viewpoint on War

The Crisis then published pages and pages of documentary evidence of the discriminatory treatment our soldiers had met while fighting for the U.S. and democracy in Europe.

And, when World War II came along, DuBois wasn't urging closed ranks any longer. Instead, having traveled and studied world conditions extensively, he had come to some conclusions about wars.

He saw them, not as fights to maintain and spread democracy, but as a means of protecting the greedy imperial interests of colonial powers.

Talk About Peace

It was plain to him that wars didn't benefit anyone, least of all his dark-skinned brethren, not only in the U.S., but in Africa and Asia.

So he began talking and writing about peace and became one of the leaders of the Peace Information Center.

"What has Dr. DuBois done?" the National Baptist Voice asked editorially a little while ago. "According to the Justice Department . . . he is accused of circulating a Peace Petition that originated with the 'Reds.'

Christians 'Foreign Agents'

"In the name of high heaven, if the devil circulates peace petitions or love petitions is that a crime?

"It is said that he wasn an agent for a foreign power and failed to register. On that basis every Christian preacher should be in jail, because Christianity originated with foreigners."

This statement sums up pretty well what the supporters of DuBois are saying.

Frighten and Muzzle

They see him as a great thinker who may have to go to jail because what he believes in—after 83 years of living and thinking and writing and traveling all over the world as a colored person—happens to be what a lot of other people in the world are saying at this time.

They say that the "faulure to register as a foreign agent" which the Justice Department accuses him of is a fantastic and unfounded charge.

The real purpose of the DuBois trial, they say, isn't to uphold the Foreign Registration Act, but to frighten and muzzle everyone in the U.S. who thinks and speaks differently from the way some people want all U.S. citizens to think and speak at this time.

Toward Totalitarianism?

This, the DuBois supporters contend, is contrary to the freedom of speech and other rights that are guaranteed to all Americans by our Constitution.

If DuBois and his co-defendants are convicted, they declared, a little more will be chipped off the block of democratic ideals which one founding fathers of our nation carved out for us nearly 200 years ago.

And the U.S. will be one step further down the road toward a totalitariansim that could be worse than even that of the Soviet Union.

Who Is Right?

Who is right? The DuBois supporters or the Government attorneys who are uring their arguments in Washington's U.S. District Court on Tuesday?

Sometime within the next weeks a jury of 12 citizens will come up with an answer.

Future Historians Will Tell

If DuBois and his co-defendants are freed, many people the world over will rejoice that a principle which they think is basic to the advance of the human race has been upheld. They will be glad that the stand-bearer was a distinguished leader of America's colored minority.

But if the verdict is conviction, these same people are likely to turn away in sorrow and despair from the bright banner of hope and freedom that America has waved before them, and historians of the future will point out the real offenders.

The DuBois Acquittal

The acquittal of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois is gratifying to Negroes all over the country and to darker skinned minority groups all over the world.

The issues involved in the DuBois case were too far-fetched and too complicated for the average man in the street to comprehend. All that most of us grasped was that Dr. DuBois, the stalwart founder of the N.A.A.C.P., militant editor of The Crisis during its formation years, scholar, educator and writer, was accused of associating himself with a foreign country against the best interests of his own native land. It was hard to believe that Dr. DuBois, of all people, was a foreign agent, a Communist or a traitor.

It has become the custom in these United States in recent years to brand a person as a "Communist" when he presses too hard for the rights of American citizenship for people who are entitled to them without a fight.

Dr. DuBois' interests have gone beyond that of the problems of the Negro in America. He is vitally concerned about the welfare of oppressed peoples everywhere—the natives of India, Africa and other countries dominated by colonial powers. He is also vitally interested in peace. He doesn't believe in war.

All of us in the United States and in the United Nations are supposed to be working toward peace and the elimination of war. That is what made Dr. DuBois' case so complicated and so hard to understand. The government said that he failed to register as a foreign agent. It first had to be proved that he was a foreign agent. This the government lawyers failed to do. It did not prove its case and a federal judge in Washington found Dr. DuBois and four colleagues not guilty.

Thank God for judges like Matthew F. McGuire who will rule on the side of right even if the U. S. government itself is on the other side.

The government should not embarrass and injure innocent citizens by filing charges against them which won't stick. It's a shame for Dr. DuBois or any citizen to have to go through the mental anguish and torture which is bound to accompany a government indictment.

Nevertheless, the freeing of Dr. DuBois strengthens our faith in the American system. In Nazi countries, if the government makes a charge, it sticks, no matter how innocent the citizen may be nor how strong his defense. But in America, a charge is not tantamount to conviction, even if the government is the accuser. Right will prevail as long as we have judges on the bench who are determined to uphold their oath to administer justice.



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS AND HIS RECENT BRIDE
..."I am so proud of my husband"

Mobbed by Friends

DuBois in Tears After Acquittal

Federal Judge Halts 'Foreign Agent' Case, Frees Author and Four Others

By REVELLA CLAY

WASHINGTON—"I am indeed happy" . . . "I am indeep happy." This was the four-word anthem of joy and thanksgiving a jubilant and tearful William Edward Burghard DuBois kept saying over and over again here last week following his acquittal on a U. S. Government charge of failing to register as a foreign agent.

The ugly threat of serving five years in jail had been hanging over him since last February when he and four former associates of the dissolved Peace Information Center of New York were indicted for violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Now it was suddenly and dramatically lifted, and Dr. DuBois, a calm figure of composure and restraint, cried softly and repeated his freedom anthem: "I am indeed happy."

WASHINGTON — Reports are current that Sylvia Soloff, paid secretary of the former Peace Information Center who was freed by direction in the DuBois case, may sue the U. S. Government for damages caused by her nine months of joblessness and mental torment, due to the Government's "error" in indicting her as an "official" of the center.

DIRECTED VERDICT

The threat of imprisonment was lifted when Judge Matthew F. McGuire broke up the five-and-a-half day trial of Dr. DuBois and his co-defendants by directing a verdict of acquittal.

Acting on a defense motion for a judgment of acquittal, Judge McGuire ruled that to allow the case to proceed would force "the jury to conjecture in the field of conjecture."

In freeing Dr. DuBois, and associates, Kyrle Elkin, Elizabeth Moos and Abbott Simon, Judge McGuire said:

"I don't know whether or not these individual defendants were sincere or misguided, or whether or not they deliberately set themselves up to subvert the very liberties under which they live and we live.

"But it is an old aphorism recently more or less channeled by the Supreme Court in the Dennis case to the effect that I may hate the very things you say, but I respect your right to say it.

"As Americans we have confidence in both our material strength and in the spiritual strength that is the stability and the validity of those institutions that are ours. Less than one hundred years ago in this very city when the unity of the country was shattered, it was hard to determine who was for the Union, and who was against it. Yet, the courts functioned, never once shunted their duty and continued in the just and impartial administration of law."

PURPOSE OF ACT

Judge McGuire said that the purpose of the Foreign Agents Act was to let the American people know who is "paying the freight" for foreign propagandists here.

But, he said, the law forces the Government to prove that the foreign principal has consented that the agent acts on his behalf, and is subject to his control. It must also be proved that the agents consent to this control, he said.

It was this necessary connection between agent and foreign principal which the Government failed to prove in the DuBois case. The Government had contended and hoped to show that the Peace Information Center acted as the "publicity agent of the World Congress of Defenders of the Peace" which was accused of having drawn up "the spurious propagandistic" Stockholm peace petitions urging abolition of the atomic bomb.

SECRETARY FREED

Earlier on Tuesday morning, Judge McGuire, on his own motion, freed Sylvia Soloff, a paid secretary at the Peace Information Center on the grounds that she was not on the policy level as the other defendants were.

His verdict for acquittal followed the Government's resting of its case after only ten of the twenty-eight witnesses scheduled to take the stand had testified. The twelve-member jury of eight Negroes and four whites was excused last Monday afternoon, and was out during the argument on the motion on Tuesday.

In presenting the motion for a directed verdict, Vito Marcantonio of New York, the chief DuBois defense counsel, argued that the Government had failed to show it had a case against the accused. A shrewd, cocky and colorful showman who had delighted law students sitting through the proceedings from the trial's slow opening Nov. 7 until its dramatic curtain call the former Congressman used this "Lincolnesque phrase" to describe the Government's case: "The Government's case is a weak broth boiled from the shadow of a homeopathic pigeon which died of starvation."

HAD NO FEAR

Elated over the decision which freed her husband, Mrs. DuBois said:

"I couldn't say this before, for fear I might 'prejudice' the trial. But now that it's over, I want you to know that my husband had no fear of going to jail. He told me he would rather go to jail than compromise his belief that peace is right and that to work for peace is right. I am so proud of my husband because he would not compromise his principle."

Her voice quivering with emotion, Mrs. DuBois described the long nine months that had elapsed since Dr. DuBois was indicted by the United States Government for "violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act."

MUCH SUPPORT

She told her friends that Dr. DuBois had been cheered and strengthened by the tremendous support he had received from persons throughout the country. "You don't know how kind so many people have been to us. Some took us in their homes in the face of jeopardizing themselves as we traveled over the country," Mrs. DuBois said.

She said "Dr. DuBois would have gone to jail, but the people said 'You shall not go to jail'." emphasizing that hundreds of telegrams had been sent to President Truman urging him to stop the prosecution of the famed scholar.

Mrs. DuBois never missed a minute of the five-day trial, which was dominated by bench huddles and recesses. She sat from the opening day, when she was admitted after impaneling of the jury, in a front seat. During the last two days of the trial she was joined by Mrs. Kyrle Elkin, wife of another of the defendants.

Mrs. DuBois said she wanted the world to know "how happy I am, how proud I am of my husband," and promised to make a public announcement, "even if I have to print it myself and sell my wedding ring, which I prize above all my possessions, to do it."

DuBois Had No Fear, Says Wife

By REVELLA CLAY

WASHINGTON — "Dr. DuBois would rather have spent five years in prison than compromise his belief that he was right in working for peace. He would not have backed down one inch in his conviction that his work for peace was right."

Shirley Graham DuBois, the wife of the octogenarian scholar, said this Tuesday night at a party which celebrated her husband's acquittal on charges of having failed to register as a foreign agent.

Negro Leaders Accused Of Having Red Affiliations

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Negroes in literally every field of activity last week were cited as communists or communist sympathizers by the house committee on un-American activities.

Negro religious leaders, educators, civil rights fighters, all were listed along with such expected names as Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois by this congressional group in its report, "The Communist 'Peace' Offensive".

Numerous Negroes named already have denied their affiliation with the communist party as inferred in this 166-page report.

Names often accused of being Reds in the past included on this list were such personalities as Robeson, his wife, Mrs. Eslanda Robeson; Dr. Dubois, his wife, writer Shirley Graham.

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, publisher California Eagle, Los Angeles; William L. Patterson, executive secretary, Civil Rights Congress and Winston C. Edwards, former president, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, Washington, D C.

Earl B. Dickerson, well-known nist Front" organization Robinson, 51 to 60; and Dr. DuBois and Dickerson, 11 to 20.

A large number of other Negroes, not usually publicized as "pink," also were included on this Chicago lawyer, and poet Langston Hughes also were on this list. Most the names listed were persons who in some way were connected with one of some 50 "Peace" Conferences held in this country and abroad since 1948.

Three whole pages of this report were devoted to Dr. DuBois, 82, who now is facing charges for failing to register as a "foreign agent" while serving as chairman of the Peace Information center in New York.

Hughes was listed as being identified betwen 71 and 80 "Communist.

In the field of education, the un-American Activities committee named:

Dr. Rufus E. Clements, president, Atlanta university; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk university; Dr. Warner Lawson, department of music, Howard university; Dr. Ira De A. Reid, sociology professor of Haverford College;

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president, Palmer institute, Sedalia, N. C.; Prof. E Franklin Frazier,, sociology department, Howard; Prof. J. Ellison, Virginia Union university;

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse college; Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, Cheyney Teachers college, Dr. Rayfrod W. Logan, history, Howard; the Rev. Herman H. Long, Fisk and others.

Religious leaders named inclued such personalities as:

Dr. W. H. Jernagin, president, National Baptist Sunday School congress; Bishop W. J. Walls, secretary of bishops. African Methodist Episcopal Zion church; Bishop S. L. Greene, African Methodist Episcopal church

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., AME church; Bishop A. J. Allen, AME Zion Church and the Rev. S. Brookens, editor, AME Quarterly Review.

Among the numerous public figures in American life cited were Fredi Washington, former motion picture star; Kenneth Spencer, concert singer; Mrs. Ada Bell Jackson, Interracial Assembly, Brooklyn, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, educator and civic leader; Virginia Carter Mason, attorney, New York; Charles P. Howard, attorney, Des Monies, Ia.

George B. Murphy, Jr., and Viola Scott, active in the Progressive party, New York; Mrs. Theresa, chairman, Elks' civil liberties department Duke Ellington, famed band leader; Bishop Cameron C. Allyne, Philadelphia, and others.

Judge Studies Arguments In Case Of Dr. DuBois

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The question on whether there are sufficient charges to bring the case of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and four other officials of the now defunct Peace Information Center to trial will be decided within a week, according to Judge Alexander Holtzoff.

This fact was revealed last Tuesday after the Judge had heard Attorney George E. C. Hayes present the final argument on the motion to dismiss the case on insufficient charges.

If the Judge decides in favor of the motion, the case will be dismissed but if he rejects the motion to dismiss charges against the Peace Center officials, the trial will be held on May 14.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, chairman of the Center, Kyrle Elkin, Elizabeth Moos, Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff were indicted on Feb. 9, 1951, for failing to register as agents of a foreign government.

A motion to drop the indictment was filed by defense attorneys on the ground of insufficient charges In asking that charges be dropped, Atty. Hayes stated that "it is not sufficient to allege that a defendant acts as an agent unless it is definitely stated how or in what manner he acted as a foreign agent.

The indictment merely states that between April 3, 1950 and Feb 8, 1951, this organization acted as an agent of a foreign principal and that it "unlawfully and willfully failed to file with the attorney general of the United States in the District of Columbia and within the jurisdiction of this court a registration statement as an agent of a foreign principal, the world Peace council, as required by the Act."

The defense attorneys argued that it was not clear what act the Peace Officials were indicted under.

The Judge warned the prosecuting attorneys that it must definitely state to the defense how it acted as a foreign agent and under what kind of acts the defendants are being charged.

In a prepared statement made public on the opening day of the hearings on the motion to drop the indictment, Dr. DuBois said his life span encompasses almost half of the history of this nation. "In all my work, "he continued, "I have been heir to the historic traditions represented by my great grandfather who struck a blow for the freedom of the Negro people and of the inhabitants of this land through service in the revolutionary army."

Now at the age of 83, Dr. DuBois sad he stands accused by the federal authorities of having acted as an agent of a foreign principal. The American people are searching, he said, for a sign which will tell them whether the problems of this moment will find expression in war or be resolved through peaceful negotiations.

"There can, be no greater effort today," he continued, "than for information that the peace movement is making an effort to remove the horrible threat of a third world war.

"The speed with which the Department of Justice is prosecuting this case must be compared with the historic slowness with which has prosecuted those who have done violence to Negro people."

Friends Rally to Aid DuBois

Defense Committee Formed Over Nation

Supporters of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois all over the country are rallying to his aid in the present trial of the 82-yearo-ld educator and scholar who has been accused of failing to register as a foreign agent.

Defense committees are being formed on both white and colored college campusses, among them being the University of Texas, Prairie View College and the University of Chicago. Also developing is a National Committee of Friends of Dr. DuBois, headed by Bishop R. R. Wright Jr.

Financial contributions to the cause may be sent to the National Committee to Defend Dr. DuBois and Associates in the Peace Information Center. The committee's headquarters are in Room 311, 1186 Broadway, New York City.

Treasurer of the committee is Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, wife of Dr. DuBois. Its other officers are:

Paul Robeson, singer, and Elmer Benson, former governor of Minnesota, co-chairman; Dr. Henry Fairchild, professor at Columbia University, Ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Leon Strauss, vice-chairmen and David Robeson, writer, acting secretary.

The DuBois Indictment

We have never personally met Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, but for the past thirty years we have been applauding much that he has said in defense of Americans of color. Dr. DuBois ceased his official connection with the NAACP and returned to a teaching position at Atlanta just about the time this writer became interested in the work of America's outstanding and most militant civil rights organization.

We at first agreed with Dr. DuBois in his educational fight with Booker T. Washington. We thought a quarter of a century ago Dr. DuBois was right, but as time went along we discovered the meat in the Washington concoanut and we have for many years been convinced that the Washington philosophy, so far as vocational training for Negroes is concerned, is one hundred per cent correct.

But we never have fallen out with the DuBois philosophy regarding the respect and dignity that should be accorded black manhood in this country and the world, and many are the nights we have communed with his writings and said "Amen." DuBois has hit the bull's-eye of truth many times when the remainder of the race was asleep, and he more than any other man in this country has made the race conscious of the degrading influences of segregation. There have been others who have made spectacular stabs at this infamy and are due great credit for their race pride and courage, but all of them are students of DuBois. They simply preached the doctrine the old sage taught them.

It is because of the deep and sincere regard we hold for this distinguished American we became alarmed following his indictment by the federal government, charged with being an agent of a foreign government. Never in the past, nor at the moment we write these lines, have we had the faintest thought that Dr. DuBois is an enemy of the government of the United States, or the agent of a foreign nation. There is nothing in his writings in the past forty years which has the slightest tendency in that direction. We have read we believe, with vivid interest, everything Dr. DuBois has written, from the days back yonder in 1924 when he wrote "The Gift of Black Folk." We refuse to accept suggestion in any form W. E. Burghardt DuBois is a subversive influence in our midst.

The specific charge against DuBois is that the peace group with which he is connected is a Communist front for Moscow, and that he therefore is an agent of a foreign government. Now this writer refuses to believe that peace is a foreign "ism." We have always believed like Frederick Douglass "men have in their own hands the peaceful means by which they may put all of their moral, political and economic enemies to flight." We believe that sincere concern and belief in peace is perhaps one of the distinguishing characteristics as between white and black folk. Instead of peace being "red," we believe it could properly be called "black," if one were inclined to give this phenomenon a racial tint. Negroes were singing "Ain't Gonna Study War No More" long before there was any such thing as organized communism in the world, and we feel it is a sad commentary upon our democratic form when we have people who apparently feel belief in peace is something foreign to U. S. environment. It surely should not be subversive for a black man to feel that there should be peace and tranquility in his native habitat.

We believe those who have brought about this indictment of Dr. DuBois are intellectually dishonest, in that they are unwilling to give expression to the real objective behind this charge. If Dr. DuBois had not been a world traveler and previously unidentified with universal gatherings we could perhaps see some grounds for the suspicion that some new influence had entered his life. But Dr. DuBois has for two generations been holding meetings in various sections of the world, and in none of them has he talked anything other than peace and relief from oppression through constitutional proceedures. Why would anyone assume in the twilight of his years he would suddenly embrace some strange ideology aud turn his back on all of his traditional past?

We are inclined to feel that what is wrong in this whole situation results from the unwillingness of reaction to permit exercise of free speech. In his attack on oppression Dr. DuBois has always been as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. We recall a caustic expression in one of his books to the effect that he could sit in his tower of manhood and look down through the guts of white people. It was such a graphic way in which our hero sought to tell how he could design the intentions of reaction and opposition to racial equality that we have never forgotten it. We think those who brought about the indictment of this great man seek to seal his lips and spread terror and confusion among his people. We actually believe the indictment of Dr. DuBois is a direct attack on free speech in this country. It is an attempt to paralyze independent and mature thinking on the part of black folk.

Many years ago Dr. DuBois organized the Pan-African Congress, the objectives of which we approve and feel were just as worthy as the purposes of the American state department in efforts to achieve Pan-Americanism. Both efforts are attempts to enlist definite ethnic groups under a banner of stated objectives.

In recent years, as an official of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. DuBois has been hitting telling blows at efforts of a new type of colonialism in Africa and we slyly suspect that the current attack on Dr. DuBois stems from attempt on the part of certain groups to silence his lips about brutal exploitation at present supported by American dollars in the hinterlands of the Dark Continent. This, if true, is another sidelight on the effort to suppress free speech in this country. Asia has just about freed herself from the looters of the West and Africa at this moment cries for the same and identical freedom. DuBois is a champion of these objectives and freedoms and, is unrelenting in his challenges to those who would perpetuate the old order of serfdom. Perhaps this is the subtle reason why he stands indicted as an agent of a foreign government.

Looking at the issues joined in the DuBois indictment we are disturbed at the apparent indifference of many race publications and leaders, seemingly uninterested in the predicament in which this great individual now finds himself. If we have wisely and accurately analyzed the situation in this instance the same Sword of Damoclese that hangs over the head of Dr. DuBois at this moment is a threat also to every citizen in the United States, irrespective of color, race or national origin, who considers the guarantees of the constitution gives him the right to freely express his thoughts regarding ideal human society.

The Bible says "The Truth can belch from the bowels of iniquity," and who is it to say that truth is tarnished simply because hypocrites may utter it? Those who charge that people are guilty by association in this hour of world confusion should read the 117th chapter of Psalms and the 8th verse of the 13th chapter of Galatians. When a man envisions and identifies truth he should stand by it courageously and openly, irrespective of who may give utterance to it, "for we can do nothing against truth, but for truth."

In this sad hour when the world seems again on the brink of international chaos our opinion is the most patriotic American is the citizen who thinks of peace and who openly espouses tranquility and calm. In fact, in the opening paragraph to the American constitution the forefathers stressed "tranquility" as the postulate upon which to justify establishment of the democratic process. The American constitution rests upon the cornerstone of peace and free, untrammeled interchange of thought.

It matters little whether peace is espoused in Stockholm, Moscow, heaven or hell, peace is what the world longs for, and peace is what the Black Dispatch stands for. If we had peace and tranquility in the Southland there would be no lynchings, and if we had peace in the world no son of an American mother would be fighting in Korea tonight. Every loyal American citizen should preach this gospel. It is the moral and constitutional responsibility of every patriotic American to fight for these principles for which over a half century Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois has stood.

They Found Their Story in the AFRO



Interested readers of AFRO stories on the Peace Information Center trial are these PIC defendants in the trial, all of whom were ordered acquitted by Judge Matthew F. McGuire on Tuesday. Dr. DuBois holds the copy of your favorite weekly. Others shown are, from left: front, Abbott Simon, Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, and Miss Sylvia Soloff; rear, Kryle Elkin and (not defendants) Mrs. DuBois and Mrs. Elkin, who were in the courtroom when the directed verdict was announced.

Dr. DuBois Freed, Says He's Happy

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS

WASHINGTON — The Government last Tuesday suffered a stinging defeat when Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and four other former members of the Peace Information center were acquitted of violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

The defendants were cleared after District Court Judge Matthew F. McGuire granted defense motion for acquittal on grounds that the government had failed to prove that the Center had acted as publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

Judge McGuire's ruling upheld argument by Defense Attorney Vito Marcantonio that in order to prove the Center had acted as agent for a foreign principal there would have to be evidence of some consent to act or some control or direction of the foreign principal over the agent. He ruled that the Government had failed to show such control or direction existed and that to permit the trial to proceed further would force the jury to "conjecture in the field of conjecture."

The Government charged that the Center, which disbanded last October, was acting as publicity agent for the World Congress in circulating the Stockholm Peace Appeal, and, therefore, was required to register with the Justice Department under the Foreign Agents Act. The State Department has labeled the appeal as a Communist "propaganda trick."

Marcantonio, on the other hand, contended that the Center distributed the appeal in its own behalf, independently of any other organization, and thus was not required to register under the Act.

Accused of failing to cause the Center to register were Dr. DuBois, Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, Abbott Simon, Kyrle Elkin and Mrs. Sylvia Soloff, all listed as officers of the organization.

In granting his motion for acquittal, Marcantonio, former

American Labor Party congressman, fell back on Lincoln to describe the Government's prosecution.

He said: "The Government's case is a weak broth boiled from the shadow of a homeopathic pigeon which died of starvation."

In dismissing the case which had back of it an implied Communist intent, Judge McGuire said: "I don't know whether these individual defendants are sincere or misguided, or whether or not they deliberately set themselves up to subvert the very liberties under which they live and we live.

"But, it is an old aphorism recently more or less channelled by the Supreme Court in the Dennis case to the effect that, "I may hate the very things you say, but I respect your right to say it."

In pronouncing acquittal, Judge McGuire warned against any demonstrations in the crowded court room. Several of the persons there were those long identified with organizations now listed by the Justice Department as subversive. Mrs. DuBois broke down in tears.

Commenting on the outcome of the case, Attorney Marcantonio, chief counsel for the defense, praised the "eminent fairness and courtesy" of Judge McGuire during the entire trial. He also praised the work done by Washington attorneys George E. C. Hayes, James A. Cobb and George A. Parker for helping in preparing and conducting the defense.

Apparently overwhelmed by the decision, Dr. DuBois said simply, "I'm very happy." Mrs. DuBois, however, underscored Marcantonio's praise of Judge McGuire. "He should go down as an immortal jurist of all times," she declared.

Abbott Simon said, "We are all happy and especially proud that Dr. DuBois' more than 80 years of struggle for peace for Negro people and the entire world will be unmarred by any judgement against him and any interference with his right to speak for peace and freedom."

Kryle Elkin said, "We stated at the start that the Government's position was untenable. We are loyal Americans following a line of thought entirely on our own. The interest in peace cannot be denied."

Attorney Hayes, commenting on the decision, said, "It is as it should be. I am very happy."



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

Dr. Du Bois Cries When He's Freed

By AL SWEENEY

WASHINGTON

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois broke down and cried.

That was his reaction Tuesday to Judge Matthew McGuire's directed acquittal of him and his three associates, who were being tried on charges of failing to register as "foreign agents."

The eminent sociologist and anthropologist sobbed with emotion and blurted out "no comment" as reporters crowded around him seeking his reaction on the trial that began slowly on Nov. 8 and concluded dramatically on Tuesday.

Judge McGuire in directing the acquittal, observed that the Government attorneys had failed to establish what he termed the "nexus" between the Peace Information Center with which the defendants were alleged to have been officers and the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace and its successor, the World Peace Council.

All Evidence Reviewed

After reviewing the evidence presented by the prosecution, the terms of the grand jury indictment and the history of the law under which the defendants had been indicted, Judge McGuire ruled:

"The Government has failed to support its allegations. Judgment acquittal.

"I don't know whether or not these individuals are sincere in their activities or whether or not they are intending to subvert the liberties under which they and we live.

Rights Respected

"But it is an old aphorism, recently more or less channeled by the Supreme Court in the Dennis case, to the effect that, 'I may hate the very things you say, but I respect your right to say it.'

"As Americans, we have confidence in both our material strength and in the spiritual validity of those institutions that strength that is the stability and are ours.

"Less than 100 years ago in this very city, when the unity of the country was shattered, it was hard to determine who was for the Union and who was against it. it.

"Yet, the courts functioned, never once shunted their duty, and continued in the just and imporial administration of law."

Mrs. Soloff Freed Earlier

Earlier Judge McGuire had acquitted Sylvia Soloff, who was termed secretary of the information center, because of lack of evidence. He directed that she be freed of the charges at the beginning of Tuesday morning's session.

While her husband, overcome by the sudden outcome of the case, declined to comment, Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois enthusiastically exclaimed:

"Judge McGuire is a wonderful judge. His impartial handling of this trial will surely stamp him as one of the great jurists of this country."

Protest Loyalty

Kyrle Elkin, the defendant said to be treasurer of the information center by the prosecution, asserted:

"We knew from the start that the Government's point was weak. We are loyal Americans working in the interest of peace."

George E. C. Hayes, a member of the defense counsel, said: "It is just as it should be."

Vito Marcantonio, chief defense counsel, standing near, exclaimed: "You can add amen for me. However, I want to pay tribute to the Washington members of this legal team.

"Such men as Mr. Hayes George Parker and Judge Cobb were invaluable in our case. Without them we could not have won."

Mr. Hayes, overhearing the comment, said: "That is certainly nice of you to say that."

Must Look to Courts

George Parker, a member of the defense counsel, declared:

"This is indicative of the fact that we are going to have to look to our courts for the protection of our liberties."

Former Municpal Court Jurist James A. Cobb, also a defense counsel, said, "Judge McGuire delivered a magnificent opinion."

Abbott Simon, a defendant termed a director of the center, asserted:

"I am certainly happy about the outcome of this case. Because of my temendous reverence for Dr. DuBois, it is good to know that his tremendous work for the peoples all over the world has not been marred by any judgment against him."

DuBois and Other Defendants Enter Court



Shirley Graham extreme right, shown entering District Court Building in Washington on Friday for trial on charges of failure to register as a foreign agent. With them are, co-defendants Abbott Simon and Mrs. Elizabeth Moos. The accompanying story tells how the renowned statesman was almost cited for contempt.

BECAUSE OF PRESS STATEMENT:

Judge Almost Cites DuBois for Contempt

By AL SWEENEY

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois . . . was nearly cited "for contempt of court" by Judge Alexander Holtzoff of the District Court last Friday for issuing a press statement prior to a preliminary motives hearing.

The incident, which led up to a "near contempt citation" came as supporters of Dr. DuBois, who is facing Federal charges of failing to "register as an agent of a foreign power," distributed a press statement on the case.

Marshall Informs Judge

A U.S. Marshal in Judge Holtzoff's courtroom picked up one of the statements that was on a desk used by reporters and sent it up to the judge who interrupted the routine and called Dr. DuBois to the bench.

"I understand that a mimeographed statement reportedly issued by you has been circulated about in the courtroom," he stated. "It is issued obviously with the intent to influence the jurors. It is definitely in contempt of court."

George A. Parker, one of the attorneys for Dr. Du Bois, surprised at the judge's disclosure

Simon Blamed

He said that Abbot Simon (also under indictment with Dr. DuBois) had distributed them. Judge Holtzoff then called Mr. Simon to the bench and admonished: "If this happens again, you are going to jail for 30 days for contempt of court."

Dr. DuBois and Mr. Simon are under Federal indictment as officers of the disbanded Peace Information Center of New York, which the Justice Department has branded "Red." Elizabeth Moos, Kyrle Elkin and Sylvia Soloff, all white, are co-defendants in the case.

The press releases, which created the excitement were distributed prior to the opening of the court at a special press conference. It was discovered by the AFRO that Dr. DuBois did not write the statement, but merely approved it the day before coming to Washington. None of his attorneys had any previous knowledge of it.

Denies Charge

In the statement, Dr. DuBois denied that the Peace Information Center was a foreign supported organization. He contended that he and the four co-defendants "were acting as Americans for America."

He questioned "the speed with which the Department of Justice is prosecuting this case in comparison with the historic slowness with which it has prosecuted those who have done violence to colored people."

Dr. Du Bois Goes on Trial Nov. 7

WASHINGTON

In spite of last-minute efforts to obtain a longer continuance, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, internationally known sociologist and anthropologist, will go to trial in the U. S. District Court next Wednesday, Nov. 7.

On Monday, Chief Judge Bolitha J. Laws of the District Court heard an appeal from the battery of lawyers representing Dr. DuBOIS AND ASSOCIATES IN attempt to postpone the trial until December.

Marcantonio Pleads

Vito Marcantonio, former Congressman from New York City, chief counsel for Dr. DuBois and his four associates in the Peace Information Center, pleaded that he was tied up with cases in New York until December.

He said that it would take considerable time to acquaint another lawyer with the case, therefore he sought the postponement.

Judge Laws, after reviewing a series of past continuances, ruled that the case, which was scheduled to begin on Thursday, would be heard on Nov. 7.

Indicted Last February

As it stands, Dr. DuBois, along with Kyrle Elkin, Elizabeth Moos, and Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff, all white, reportedly officials of the disbanded Peace Information Center, will definitely face trial next week.

The five defendants were indicted by a District of Columbia grand jury on Feb. 9 for failing to register as foreign agents under the Foreign Agents' Registration Act of 1948.

According to the indictment, the peace center was described as an unincorporated organization having principal headquarters in New York for the purpose of publicizing the Stockholm Peace Appeal in the United States.

'A Propaganda Trick'

The Stockholm Peace Appeal has been termed by the State Department as a "propaganda trick in the spurious 'peace offensive' of the Soviet Union."

If convicted, the defendants in next week's trial face a maximum penalty of five years in prison and $10,000 fine, or both.

Many persons interested in the Dr. DuBois case are confused about the law under which he faces conviction.

Not Under McCarran Act

It is the general impression that Dr. DuBois and associates are being tried under the McCarran Act of 1950 which requires officials of organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list to register.

However, he faces trial, Justice Department officials point out, under the McCormick Act of 1928, amended during 1942, which requires members of political organizations acting as agents of foreign powers to register.

Several Times Postponed

The case was originally scheduled to be heard on May 14. Subsequent continuations set trial dates to May 26, Oct. 2, Nov. 1 and the present Nov. 7 date.

The attorneys for Dr. DuBois and associates include George E. C. Hayes, James A. Cobb, Perry W. Howard, George A. Parker and Berrington D. Parker, of Washington; and Stanley Faulkner, Gloria Agarin, and Mr. Marcantonio, of New York.

The Justice Department legal

Advertising Case

A "National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Associates" has taken advertising space in several weekly papers in an effort to engender public opinion for the cause of Dr. DuBois and the co-defendants.

The advertisement solicits money for the trial defense and lists Shirley Graham, wife of Dr. DuBois, as treasurer.

The committee is composed of Frank Cunningham, F. Kirk Maddrix, Joseph Roney, and Harold Baker.

DuBois' Trial Near Panic

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2 Bishops' Tempers Flare

Arguments Continue This Week

WASHINGTON—A hearing on a motion to dismiss the indictment against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was temporarily panicked here Friday when a member of the Peace Information Center of New York was threatened with contempt of court and sternly reprimanded for issuing releases in the courtroom on an explosive statement made by the world-famed scholar.

The contempt threat was leveled against Abe Simon of New York, here in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia preceding arguments on the motion to dismiss the indictment which charges Dr. DuBois and four other members of the information center with failure to register as foreign agents in conformity with the McCarran Subversive Act.

The arguments are to be resumed here Tuesday.

The incident was touched off when United States marshals confiscated copies of the statement from the press table and carried a copy to Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff.

Judge Holtzoff hastily halted the case he was hearing at the time and called Dr. DuBois and the battery of defense attorneys to the bench to query them about the mimeographed statement.

Emphasizing that it is illegal to issue any statements in a courtroom, Judge Holtzoff said: "This is a very serious matter. It is contempt of court. These statements have been passed around the courtroom, obviously with intent to influence the jurors."

NOT DuBOIS MOVE

He then asked Dr. DuBois if he had distributed the statements.

The frail defendant answered "no" very quietly and was joined by his chief defense counsel, George A. Parker, who disclaimed any knowledge of who had issued the statements.

Judge Holtzoff then directed Mr. Parker to investigate the matter. His instructions sent defense attorneys for Dr. DuBois into a tight huddle in the court corridor, and when the case was called, Mr. Parker said he had learned the statements were issued as press releases for members of the press, and he identified Simon as the person who circulated the copies.

Simon told Judge Holtzoff that he gave several copies to each member of the press, and that he had intended them for press releases only. Reprimanding him sternly, Judge Holtzoff warned: "If this happens again, you'll be sentenced to thirty days in jail. I'll overlook it this time."

SUSPENSION CHARGED

Though Judge Holtzoff said he had been informed that copies of the statements had been circulated throughout the courtroom, there was no evidence of these copies lying on chairs, as the judge said they were.

The explosive statement by Dr. DuBois hit at "attempts of the Government to suppress and curtail free circulation of ideas among the peoples of the world" as "monstrous is sucessful," and attacked the inadequacy of statutes to protect the life and freedom of the Negro people of this country." It said:

"The speed with which the Department of Justice is prosecuting this case must be compared with the historic slowness with which it has prosecuted those who have done violence to the Negro people."

HEARING RECESSED

Judge Holtzoff recessed the hearing on the motion until this week "to study very seriously" a constitutional point of law raised by defense attorney Gloria Agrin of New York, who asked for dismissal of the indictment on the grounds that it violated the First Amendment to the Constitution by restraining freedom of speech.

The battery of defense attorneys also included Stanley Faulkner of New York; George E. C. Hayes, Perry Howard, former Judge James A. Cobb, Barrington D. Parker, and Harry Merican.

W. E. B. DuBois Is Acquitted On Red Charge

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Educator W. E. B. DuBois and four other officers of the Peace Information Center won directed verdicts of acquittal Tuesday on charges of failing to register the center as a foreign agent. Federal Judge Matthew F. McGuire ordered the defendants released after ruling that the government failed to prove existence of a link between the center and the world congress of defenders of peace. DuBois was represented by New York Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

JUDGE MATTHEW F. McGUIRE HAS ENTERED a judgment of acquittal against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and four co-defendants charged with violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The indictment, returned last February 9, charged that the Peace Information Center had acted as the agent for the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in circulating the so-called Stockholm peace petition. After listening to O. John Rogge, the chief prosecution witness, Victory Lasky, and an FBI agent, Judge McGuire concluded that the government had not made out a case and directed the judgment of acquittal. From the evidence offered by the prosecution it is abundantly clear that the government never had a case, or anything remotely resembling a case, against any of the defendants. One can only conclude therefore that the original indictment was intended to intimidate the defendants and thereby to discourage the circulation of the Stockholm petition. Not only was the indictment an incredible propaganda blunder, but it is further evidence that a thorough house-cleaning in the Department of Justice is long overdue.

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Report On Scholar Released

34d

20-Year Activity Covered In House Committee Finding

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Alleged Communist-front affiliations of Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, 82-year old scholar and historian, are set forth in a 166-page publication titled "Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive," released last Thursday (April 5) by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The report purports to be a summary and analysis of a world-wide campaign currently being waged by the Communists for the alleged purpose of promoting peace. The committee calls this campaign "the most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy" and charges that it is in fact 'an organic and strategic part of "a Communist drive for world conquest."

Dr. Du Bois was the chairman of the Peace Information Center, which had charge of the "peace" petition campaign. He and five officers of the center were indicted last Februray 9 by a federal grand jury here for failing to register as foreign agents.

THE INDICTMENT charges the center with acting as a publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, "the international organization established by the Cominform to publicize the so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal."

If convicted, Dr. Du Bois and his co-defendants could



DR. W. E. B. DUBOI

receive a maximum sentence of five years in jail and a fine of as much as $10,000 each.

According to the report, Dr. Du Bois has been a supporter of movements in behalf of Soviet foreign policy for over twenty years from the time he was a member of the national committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League in 1928 to the present. In 1933 he was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, the report states, and in 1946, he was a member of the New York Committee to Win the Peace.

* * *

THE REPORT ALSO asserts that Dr. Du Bois was an active sponsor of the Progressive Citizens of America in 1947, which developed in 1948 into the Progressive Party, after the Communist "peace" drive selected Henry A. Wallace as its chief exponent and the movement behind his candidacy for President became the "major concentration" of the Communist Party.

Dr. Du Bois was a member of the platform committee at the Progressive Party convention in 1948 and a member of the National Wallace for President Committee.

Although Mr. Wallace has repudiated the Progressive Party because of its anti-American stand on Korea, the report pointed out, Dr. Du Bois was the 1950 candidate for the United States Senate of the American Labor Party, which it called the "New York adjunct" of the Progressive Party.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois- "Report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive

THE WORLD PEACE Congress found in Dr. Du Bois an active supporter from the outset, the report said, adding:

"He was a sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace held at the Hotel Waldorf Astoria on March 25 to 27, 1949, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, of which Dr. Du Bois was chairman."

The report also listed him as a member of the sponsoring committee of the meeting of the World Peace Congress held in Paris April 20-23, 1949, and served as co-chairman; a sponsor of the American Continental Congress for World Peace held in Mexico City, Sept. 5-10, 1949, "under the same Communist auspices," and a special guest of the Soviet Peace Congress held in Moscow in the Fall of 1949.

* * *

DR. DU BOIS SPENT ten days in Moscow and then visited Warsaw and Prague, the report states. In February 1950, it is asserted he was a member of the welcoming committee for a delegation from the World Peace Congress visiting the United States, members of which were excluded on State Department orders because of their Communist records.

In September, 1950, he was a speaker at the International Students Congress in Prague, which cooperated with the World Peace Congress movement.

The report concedes that Dr. Du Bois never avowed membership in the Communist Party but quotes him as flatly declaring: "I am a fellow traveler with Communists insofar as they believe the great ideals of socialism." It adds, however, that he has frequently supported the Communist Party and individual Communists, and "has been the subject of numerous laudatory editorials and articles in the Communist press, a significant token of Communist esteem."

* * *

DR. DU BOIS SEEMS to be "tremendously obsessed" with **DR. DU BOIS**cmfwmmmmmm communism in the Soviet Union, the report charges. It cites that in November, 1937, he signed the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, and that he has frequently spoken and written in praise of Russia and communism. Specially, the report states:

October 5, 1950, Dr. Du Bois characterized Communist aggression in Korea as "a civil dispute for which the United States and especially South Korea were principally responsible."

Sept. 20, 1948, he evaluated the Marshall plan as an attempt "to scare the people into conformity by threat of starvation."

* * *

OCTOBER 11, 1947, he wrote and forwarded "An Appeal to the UN for Redress" regarding an alleged "Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America," which, the report asserts, provoked bitter opposition in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sept. 17, 1949, he appealed to the UN again in behalf of the Ingram family, proteges of the Civil Rights Congress.

May 10, 1950, he sent another statement to the UN in behalf of the eleven Communist leaders convicted of conspiring to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the federal government.

* * *

DISCOUNTING Dr. Du BOIS as "really representative" of the great mass of colored people, the report points out that he was dropped as research director of the NAACP on the ground of "violating confidences of the association."

The report also points out that Dr. Du Bois "protested against the appointment as UN consultant of Walter White, outstanding leader of the NAACP, claiming that the NAACP would thus be tied to the 'foreign policy of the present administration.'"

34d 1951

DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS

Peace Information Center

Stern Warning Handed

Afro-American Sat 11-17-51 Baltimore, Md.

Dr. DuBois's Trial Jury

WASHINGTON

A predominantly colored jury, whose selection consumed most of the opening day, on Tuesday will begin hearing testimony in the trial of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his four white co-defendants in the criminal division of the District Court.

Before he excused the eight colored and four white jurors on Thursday afternoon, Judge Matthew F. McGuire cautioned them against discussing the case during the recess.

He further admonished them to report immediately to him anything said to them about the case by anyone.

No More Motions

The likelihood of further delay in the much-postponed trial was dispelled by Judge McGuire when Vito Marcantonio, chief defense counsel, attempted to make some preliminary motions.

Judge McGuire ruled that all preliminary matters had been disposed of, and the case sent to him by Chief Justice Bolitha Laws for trial.

Following a brief conference at the bench, the jury was excused until 10 a.m. Tuesday, with the announcement that the Government will then make its opening statement.

Mrs. DuBois Crowded Out

The noted scholar's wife, Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, along with several members of the weekly press, were crowded out of the court room during the Thursday morning session because the 150 prospective jurors on the panel took up all available seats.

F. Kirk Maddrix, a special assistant to the Attorney General, outlined to the panel the two-count indictment against the defendants.

Charges Outlined

The first count charges that the Peace Information Center was the publicity agent for foreign principals, and that as such, failed to register as a foreign agent as required by the Foreign Agents' Registration Act of 1938.

The second count charges that the individual defendants, as officers of the center, were under an obligation to see to it that the center registered.

22 Gov't. Witnesses

The Government expects to call twenty-two witnesses, including several special agents of the FBI and O. John Rogge, who formerly was active in the Communist "peace" offensive.

Selection of the jury began at 10:15 a.m. and was not completed until 2:06 p.m.

George E. C. Hayes, one of the eight defense lawyers, questioned the prospective jury panel for the defense.

Klansman Excused

In response to a question of whether any of the prospective jurors were members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan, one prospective juror, Jane Hagen, said she was a member of the Klan.

Justice McGuire excused her from the panel.

Robert E. Taylor, another prospective juror, replied to a question asked by Government counsel that he was acquainted with Mr. Hayes.

When Judge McGuire asked him whether his mere acquaintance with Mr. Hayes would prevent his giving an impartial verdict based solely upon the evidence in the case, he replied there was a possibility.

Judge McGuire excused him permanently from jury duty.

Marcantonio Delayed

The cancellation of a New York to Washington flight transporting Vito Marcantonio, chief counsel for Dr. DuBois and associates, caused a one-day postponement of the trial on Wednesday.

Dr. DuBois, attired in a black-and-gray striped suit, entered the court building about 9:30 Wednesday morning accompanied by his wife, the former Shirley Graham, noted author, followed by about 15 well-wishers from New York, Connecticut, District of Columbia and Ohio.

Among the Dr. DuBois supporters were Dr. R. A. Simmons, of Boston; Mrs. Pauline Taylor, of Youngstown, Ohio and Emmett Scott of Washington.

Meet With Judge

In the absence of Mr. Marcantonio, George E. C. Hayes, George Parker, Barrington Parker, Gloria Agrin, Bernard Jaffe and Stanley Faulkner were closeted with Justice Department attorneys in Judge McGuire's chambers for pre-trial instructions.

Defense Committee Active

Meanwhile, the National Committee to Defend Dr. DuBois and Associates has been attempting to stage last-ditch efforts to prevent the Federal prosecution of the 83-year-old sociologist.

Insisting that "Peace is not a foreign idea," the committee declared on the eve of the trial date that "it is a monstrous miscarriage of justice to punish free Americans for doing their duty and exercising their legal right."

Affiliation Cited

Dr. DuBois, along with Elizabeth Moos, Sylvia Soloff, Abbott Simon and Kyrle Elkin, all white, are alleged to have been officers of the Peace Information Center, which the Federal Government contends was advocating a foreign principle.

In the indictment handed down by a District Federal grand jury on Feb. 9, the Justice Department charged that the information center: (1) "acted as;" and "held itself out to be a publicity agent for," (2) "reported information to," and (3) "acted at the request of, the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace and its successor, the World Peace Council."

The Indictment Contends

The indictment contended that the defendants failed to register as "foreign agents" with Attorney General of the United States as required by the Foreign Registration Act of 1938, sometimes referred to as McCormick Act.

Their Answer

The committee to defend Dr. DuBois and Associates answered the indictment with the statement:

"The Constitution of the United States guarantees the right to advocate peace by word and act. The fact that other foreign persons, organizations and governments agree in this fight against a third world war is no proof that Americans who engage in such a struggle are their agents."

On Monday of this week, a statement on behalf of Dr. DuBois, signed by 74 citizens was sent to President Truman and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

Their Statement

The statement read:

"We, the undersigned colored Americans, do not believe that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois is or ever was a 'foreign agent'; and we fear that his prosecution for alleged violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act is designed to intimidate into silence other leaders of our people who speak out boldly for full democratic rights for colored citizens.

"When Dr. DuBois denies the 'foreign agent' charge and declares that he and his associates in their work for peace through this (Peace Information) center were acting as Americans for America and that the work was supported by funds raised solely in the United States, we accept this statement as completely valid.

"Ingegrity Established"

"The integrity and loyalty of Dr. DuBois have been firmly established during his more than half-century of public life. However we may differ with some of his opinions, we do not and cannot question his honesty and loyalty.

"We have long been proud of Dr. DuBois as an able leader of the colored people and as a scholar with few peers in our country.

"Moreover, we admire his courage and defend his right, now at the age of 83, to continue to speak out for the democratic rights of oppressed people and for world peace as he has been doing for many decades.

Called Unjust Prosecution

"It is our considered opinion that the indictment and prosecutions of Dr. DuBois under the Foreign Registration Act constitute unjust and cruel persecution of one of the very best citizens and one of the greatest scholars the United States has produced.

"We, therefore, respectfully petition you to drop the 'foreign agent' indictment against Dr. DuBois and to call off the unwarranted trial scheduled for Nov. 1.

"This action by our Government, especially at this time, would do much to uphold the requirements of justice and the democratic traditions of our country."

The list of signers was headed by Dr. William H. Gray Jr., also among the signers were:

Mrs. Minta A. Alvis, Springfield, Mo., president, Woman's Musical and Literary Club; Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry, Tacoma, Wash.; Augustine A. Austin, New York; Arthur S. Bailey, Philadelphia; Forrest H. Battis, MD, Philadelphia; Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, New York, N.Y., Rector, St. Philip's P.E. Church; Robert C. Black, Winston-Salem, N.C.; Joseph A. Beavers, D.C., Business Agent, Local 209, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, AF of L; Leon Beverley, Chicago; Dr. Aaron Brown Albany, Ga., president, Albany State College; George W. Brown, Philadelphia, Mr. and Mrs. James Brunswick, New Haven, Co..n; Theodore Cable, New York; Dr. Ullysses Campbell, Orange, N.J.; John E. T. Camper, MD, Baltimore; Rev. Samuel M. Carter, Phila, Pa.; Mrs. Frances G. Chappell, Danville, Va.; Mrs. Alice Childress, New York; Charles A. Collins, New York;

W. M. Collins, Tillotson College, Austin, Texas; Rev. E. Luther Cunningham, Philadelphia, Pa.; Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago; president, National Lawyers Guild;

DuBois Jurors Include 7 Government Workers

The following jurors were selected Thursday to hear the case against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his four white Peace Information Center associates:

Carlton H. Brooks, 328 K St., SE., Bureau of Standards employee

Lena S. Davis, 3009 11th St., NW., Bureau of Engraving and Printing employee

Ephram Harris, 729 Princeton Pl., NW., Senate sergeant of arms

Thomas J. Davis, 232 V St., NW., Potomac Electric Power Co., messenger

Beulah Synder, 2815 N St., NW., Bureau of Standards employee

Carter Jenkins, 1145 42nd St., NE., Government Services Administration employee

Margaret I. Johnson, 616 Orleans Pl., NE., Bureau of Engraving and Printing employee

Hattie J. Hill, 650 F St. NE.

White Members

Almonda H. Nosella, 918 C St., NE., Veterans Administration employee

Louis L. Hall, 1802 35th St., NW., laboratory inspector

James A. Fowler, 5049 Eighth St., NE., baker

John F. O'Lone, 3483 23rd St., SE., meat cutter.

MISSING LINK QUESTION:

'Fair Trial' Angle Saved by U. S. in the DuBois Case

By AL SWEENEY

WASHINGTON

"Can the Federal Government provide the "missing link?"

This is the question that courtroom observers are asking as the Justice Department attorneys wind up their case against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his four associates of the disbanded Peace Information Center, this week.

The information center of which the five defendants were purportedly officials, was affiliated with the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, and its successor, the World Peace Council, the Government is charging.

Should Have Registered

The Government is contending that the information center acted as a publicity agent for the world organization and abecause of this should have registered as a "foreign agent" under the "Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938."

Three days of testimony by prosecution witnesses established that the information center was instrumental in the distribution of the Stockholm Peace Appeal petitions throughout the United States.

The petitions, it has been brought out in court testimony, were drawn up in Stockholm during March, 1950, and were circulated throughout the world by the world congress.

Called Red Propaganda

The Government's concern in the whole matter stems from the State Department's brandng of the peace appeal as "a propaganda trick in the 'spurious peace offensive' of the Soviet Union."

Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in denouncing the peace petition on July 12, 1950, said that the peace petition "was adopted last March at the Stockholm session of the Partisans of Peace, an international organization established by the Communists, and the campaign for signatures in the United States is being actively promoted by the Communist Party."

The Prosecution's "Trump Card"

It was quite apparent from the outset of the trial that the prosecution's "trump card" in its effort to convict the five defendants was to ring in the Soviet Union's in-

ferred role in the distribution of the 'Peace appeal."

O. John Rogge, the Government's star witness, as a a vice-president of the World Peace Congress as well as an advisor to the information center, testified that the nature and character of the world organization was to work for peace in the world.

"Actually," Mr. Rogge added in his testimony last Tuesday, "it identified itself and became an agent of the Soviet Union...."

Testimony Withdrawn

The door was closed to this line of testimony on Wednesday when Judge McGuire instructed the jury to ignore that portion of Mr. Rogge's testimony.

He went on to caution the Government attorneys that "the foreign policies of Soviet Russia, the State Department or any other foreign country were not on trial."

He admonished them to stick to issues of the indictment which in no way mentioned the Soviet Union.

The defense claims that Mr. Rogge's testimony was more damaging to the prosecution because he was forced to admit that he was registered as a "foreign agent" as an attorney for the Yugoslav Government.

Damaging Testimony

It was brought out under cross examination by Mr. Marcantonio that, in registering as a "foreign agent," he had declared in his sworn statement that he did not regard the world peace organization as a "foreign principal."

The association of the defendants with the information center has been brought out by the parade of Government witnesses. These have included:

Will Lissner and Alexander Fein-Times; Antonio Adessi, an emberg, reporters of the New York ployee of the New York City Welfare Department;

Arthur J. Taylor, manager of the building in which the information center had its offices; Victor Lasky, former reporter of the New York World Telegram and author; and John J. Kearney, special agent of the FBI.

Proved Something

Their testimony is assumed to have established that the information center distributed the peace appeal petitions, and had on hand copies of "In Defense of Peace," a monthly publication of the world organization, published in Paris.

The defense has not denied, as yet, that the information center distributed the petitions or had copies of the magazine. The predicted contention is that the center "worked for peace" through the distribution of the peace appeal, which did not necessarily make it an affiliate of the world congress.

One Defendant an "Employee"

The defense is contending that Sylvia Soloff was an employee of the organization, but has not denied that the four other defendants were officials of the center.

As the trial moves slowly to its conclusion, the Government is still attempting to provide a convincing link between the center and the world peace organiation with headquarters in Paris.

Many courtroom observers have expressed amazement that this case, which has caused such international interest, was ever brought to trial, pointing out that it would not help the cause of the State Department in its propaganda offensive abroad to have the loss of such a case publicized.

The answer might lie in the comment of a rabid DuBois follower, who asserted after Judge Matthews cautioned the Justice Department attorneys to "stick the issues":

"I think the judge is being surprisingly fair."

"Fair Trial"

Probably this statement would make far better propaganda than anything else that could come out of the United States at this time.

It seems to be a fact that: "Dr. DuBois is getting a fair trial."

In the face of information coming to this country concerning trials of Americans behind the "iron curtain," and of cries in the so-called "Red press" that Dr. DuBois was about to be persecuted, this might make potent propaganda material

Dr. DuBois Hopes for Acquittal

By REVELLA CLAY

WASHINGTON — A calm but visibly haggard William Edward B. DuBois, the 83-year-old scholar who "stood on Mount Olympus in the fields of sociology and anthropology" as early as 1900, Thursday went on trial in the United States District Court on charges of "failure to register as a foreign agent."

Admittedly "resigned to fate" but hopeful of an acquittal on the charges which carry a maximum five-year jail sentence and/or a $10,000 fine, the world-famed DuBois was a study of composure as he heard his fate placed in the hands of a twelve-member jury heavily loaded with eight Negroes and Government employes.

Selected after a three-hour elimination contest from a prospective jury pool of 180 who filled the courtroom to capacity, the jury was dismissed until Tuesday of this week when the interest-steeped and five-times-delayed trial was scheduled to resume.

Overcrowding of the courtroom with prospective jurors took up all available seats and filled the corridor outside with a nervous band of DuBois associates, including the author's wife, the former Shirley Graham. Mrs. DuBois paced the corridor anxiously from the time the case got under way at 10 A. M. until she was admitted along with approximately seventy-five others at 2:02 P. M. when the jury was sworn in.

A mild stir was caused when a white housewife admitted that she had belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. She was disqualified as a juror. She was identified as "June Hagan."

On trial along with Dr. DuBois for alleged violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act are Elizabeth Moos, Sylvia Soloff, Abbott Simon and Kyrle Elkin, all white.

All five defendants, as well as the Peace Information Center, were indicted on a two-count charge of acting as agents for the Stockholm Peace Conference, a movement which has been labeled by the State Department as a "propaganda trick in the peace offensive of the Soviet Union."

Representing the Government are Kirk Maddrix, Joseph Roney and Frank Cunningham, all special assistants of the Attorney General, and Frederick Smithson, assistant United States Attorney.

The DuBois battery includes Judge James A. Cobb and Attorney Hayes of the Washington, D. C., firm of Cobb, Howard and Hayes; George A. Parker and Barrington D. Parker of the D. C. firm of Parker and Parker; Congressman Marcantonio of New York, Gloria Agrin, Bernard Jaffee and Stanley Faulkner of New York City.

New Political Parties Forming

We changed our politics from Republican to Democrat during the administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, because we saw then what many are beginning to see now. Roosevelt, a wise man, early discovered he could do nothing with the terrible depression of the "thirties" unless the central government set up uniform systems of control covering the entire United States. He at once noted the weakness of state government to control national disasters such as we faced when he went into the presidency. One of the first acts passed by congress to cure fright and terrorism in our economic system during the Roosevelt era was legislation to provide federal security on bank deposits.

Under state laws thousands of banks authorized by local self government, had been over night swept out of existance, and with them all of the savings of their depositers. People at the time when Roosevelt ascended to the presidency were just about ready for revolution in this country and it was only by his keen vision to recognize and diagnose the cause of America's trouble Roosevelt was able to avert war. Today, our federal bank deposit laws guaranteeing the little fellow, who daily carries his money to financial institutions, the return he has a right to except when he calls for his savings, is just about the only federal action that salvaged the United States from revolution twenty years ago. Keep in mind, no state had the economic strength to under-write such a stupendous financial proposition, and any one with a grain of sense, and without prejudice should see the good reason for central control in this instance.

We sat in the convention that nominated Herbert Hoover in Kansas City and heard speaker after speaker tell of the plight of the American farmer. It was a dismal picture, and during the Hoover regime the plight of the farming interests sank deeper into the ruts of ruin than ever before. It was because of this and the additional burdens brought on by the depression that Roosevelt brought into being the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which saved the roof over the heads of many Americans who live upon the soil, but this legislation along with the Fair Labor Standards Act and the National Labor Relations act were all declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as then constituted. It was then Roosevelt launched an effort to change the personnel of the high court, which, despite the cry of "court packing" he was able to do during the long tenure of his authority. The old court argued that these concentrations of power in the central government were violations of state rights, regardless of the obvious benefit they were to the suffering masses. State rights must be preserved, observed the reactionary court, in preference to human rights, as enunciated in the first ten amendments and the welfare clauses of the federal charter.

Way back in 1820, when transportation on rivers was far more important than it is today, Andrew Jackson, considered one of the greatest democrats, rebelled against state rights, and openly declared he could not develop the railroads, canal systems and rivers as they should be unless some system was provided to bypass state government seeking to operate all transportation systems solely in the interest of the states, losing sight entirely of the over-all picture embracing a net work of transportation lines linking the nation together. It seems to this writer the dullest thinker, from the time the thirteen colonies sought to set up trade barriers against each other, should have realized the assininity of such an economic arrangement, but always and ever the south who became jealous and suspicious about state rights provision, because of the slave trade, insisted then, and until this day, that certain ridiculous and at some times almost laughable recognition be given to state rights.

The Inter-state commerce act was created because of conflicting commonwealth laws. Unreasonable regulations, rebates, pooling and perferences of all kinds had developed under state regulation and it was only following the functioning of the inter-state commerce commission, provided for in the legislation of 1887 the states were actually able to transact business between one another in a sane and justifiable way. The truth is America has made much further advance in its adjustment of economic relationships than it has in human or social relations. That is the reason a hog can ride across Mississippi and Georgia in more comfort than a citizen whose face happens to be black.

Roosevelt made numerous discoveries at the time he took the presidency and during his sixteen-year tenure in office, and it was because of necessary and forced changes he made in centralizing controls to halt the depression the Republicans decided they should attack him on constitutional grounds. As every informed man knows the constitution was formulated, written and signed by colonists who believed in preserving all of the authority and power they had at that moment. They wanted only a slight string of central government linking them together for the purpose of halting foreign aggression, but as to domestic affairs, they wanted to retain every scintilla of power formerly possessed.

So of course from a constitutional standpoint the Republicans had the best of the argument when they met at Springfield, Illinois, following Roosevelt's first term and announced belief in "constitutionalism" which was another way of offering allegiance to state rights. This was when this writer perked his nose up, and when he had completed reading the conclusions reached at Springfield we joined the Roosevelt-led wing of the Democratic party. We knew then as we know now that the only salvation for minority groups in this country is in centralized authority with uniformity of laws. We can talk all we want too about civil rights and democracy, but this sort of domestic policy will never become a reality in this country until America adopts the British idea of democracy. England has no forty-eight conflicting units of government. The law of England is the same for the highest and the lowest citizens in the remotest section of the realm.

State rights prevents a Negro from having standardized services in all of the states, social, economic and political. The real reason why the South today in fighting federal aid to education is because Dixiecrats do not want education standardized. Federal control means the ultimate elimination of the biased, dictated courses provided for the blacks below the Ohio River, and they cling tenaciously to the old moorings because they know for the Negro the same kind of authority and uniformity of laws.

It is with this thought in mind we are looking towards what he discovers the South's concept of local self government disrupting the welfare of the nation. During world war one and two we noted disruptions in our federal program of war work due to "state rights". At one time the government of several southern states openly rebelled against agents of the federal employment service coming into their state and taking out half-famished citizens to work profitably and patriotically for the government across state lines in defense industry, and right at the present time the conditions we have permitted to fester and spawn down in Dixie under the principle of state rights is causing international complications among all of the dark people of the world.

We call it propaganda, but this publication calls it the truth, that is being circulated around the globe today causing many nations peopled by dark human beings, and especially in Asia, to look askance at the United States. No such unfortunate situation would exist if we had centralization

There is hardly a direction in which one can turn but the 1952 election
we have a situation wherein reaction in both the Republican and Democratic party seems determined to form a political party based upon the pivot of state rights, while those in the Roosevelt-Truman concept of democracy determined to march under the banner of central is the most challenging moment that has come eighty years to the American Negro, and all to love genuine democracy and freedom.

Some time ago Senator Carl Mundt delivered an address in which he suggested coalition between reactionary Republicans and Democrats, and to show Black Dispatch readers how this idea is willingly accepted by Southerners we reprint here an editorial recently appearing in the Texarkana, U. S. A., Gazette. It follows:

THE WAY OUT

Looking forward to 1952, a great mass of the people of the United States find themselves in the position of having no confidence in either the Democrat or the Republican Parties as they are now constituted.

Many people who can't stomach the Fair Dealism or the leadership of the Democratic Party similarly have no stomach for the reactionary Republicans who want a few to have everything and the masses of the people nothing.

Surely there is a sound middle ground somewhere and we believe it lies in a coalition of true constitutional Democrats and true constitutional Republicans. A third party, made up of enemies of privilege and champions of State's rights and sound American government, seems to be the only way out inasmuch as demagoguery has become firmly entrenched in the leadership of the two major parties.

Such a third party, however, can be nothing but a glorious dream until individual citizens declare to themselves that they must abandon sectionalism, inheritance, or blind loyalty in their political thinking. It was unfortunate that the forces which broke away from the Democratic Party in the last general election were tagged with the name Dixiecrats. That name made it appear that the South was all alone in standing up for State's rights and constitutional government, whereas such principles are being demanded by people in every State—north, east, south, or west.

The New Orleans States, in a recent editorial, says the great obstacle to a breaking away from the established, unsound custom of voting Democratic or Republican merely because your father or grandfather so voted, is the present electoral unit rule in the presidential election machinery. Under that rule, the entire electoral vote of each State goes to the party winning a bare plurality in the State.

Hung up in a Senate committee is the Lodge-Gossett proposal for a constitutional change which would wipe out the unit rule. Instead, the electoral vote would be made to reflect directly the popular vote. Minority parties in traditional one-party States would then have an incentive to get out a maximum vote.

The first step then in the way out would seem to entail the jarring loose of the Lodge-Gossett proposal. Meanwhile, all American citizens who believe in constitutional government, should begin getting together to make their plans for 1952.

Southern Demos, GOP run Congress

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—(AP)—A coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats was firmly entrenched in control of the 82nd Congress today, biding its time to smack down many of President Truman's "Fair Deal" proposals.

Its leaders promised clear sailing, however, for anything the coalition considers vital to national defense.

The tight hold the anti-Truman group has on the new House was demonstrated clearly on the opening day yesterday.

There was no comparable show of strength as the Senate held a routine 38-minute organization session. But the party division there—49 Democrats and 47 Republicans—plus the fact that administration Democrats had previously been unable to elect an all-out Truman supporter as a majority leader, indicated rough going for the president there.

* * *

A SIMILAR INFORMAL GOP-Dixie coalition bottled up or rejected much of Mr. Truman's domestice program in the last Congress. Because of increased Republican strength in the new Congress, it promised to be even more potent in the next two critical years.

This was pointed up in the House when the coalition, by a lopsided 244 to 179 vote, again vested in the rules committee a virtual stranglehold on the legislative program.

The rules commiittee is dominated by a coalition of four Republicans and four Southern Democrats, the minority actually being four Northern Democrats. It is the rules committee's function to decide when—if ever—bills are to be acted upon in the House.

To clip the group's wings, Democrats two years ago changed the House code to permit by-passing the rules committee 21 days after a bill's approval by other regular committees.

It was that change which the coalition erased yesterday.

* * *

VOTING TO return to the old system, which Democratic Leader McCormack of Massachusetts claimed gave "dictatorial" power to the coalition, were 152 Republicans and 92 Democrats. Against it were 136 Democrats, 42 Republicans and one independent.

Advocates of the change claimed it was necessary to prevent action on undesirable and costly non-defense bills. Opponents argued that a majority of the rules group should not be allowed to tell the House what it can consider.

The surprising thing was the size of the vote the coalition polled. Most observers had expected the rule to be changed, but not by such a big margin.

The rule change will make it extremely difficult for the House even to consider such "Fair Deal" measures as federal health insurance, labor law revisions and other social proposals.

* * *

EXCEPT FOR THIS House squabble, the opening session was fairly harmonious and more than usually colorful, thanks to the newly-redecorated Senate and House chambers. Galleries were filled.

The House reelected Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, for a sixth term. He defeated the GOP candidate, Rep. Joe Martin of Massachusetts, as everyone knew he would.

After the brief Senate session, GOP senators reelected their top leaders and then got into a discussion about who will get some choice committee assignments resulting from their increased ranks. No decision was reached.

The Senate session brought a tart criticism of Mr. Truman from Sen. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the GOP policy committee.

Dixie Demo-GOP Coalition Returns Reins To Rules Unit

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3—(AP)—A Republican-Southern Democrat coalition, strengthened by GOP election gains, grabbed the reins in the new House Wednesday by giving back to the rules committee its old power to bottle up legislation.

The vote by which that was accomplished—244 to 179—indicated that much of the Truman "fair deal" program will have slim chances in the 82nd Congress which opened Wednesday.

Between them, the GOP and Dixie Democrat groups which pushed through the rules change have voting control in the rules committee. Thus, on issues on which they see eye to eye, they now can prevent legislation from even getting to the floor for debate.

The issue was over the so-called "21-day rule" which, when the Democrats took top heavy control in the House two years ago. Under that section the chairmen of legislative committees could bring up committee-approved bills without clearance from the rules group if the rules committee sat on them for 21 days.

Wednesday's vote knocked out that provision. Now, as was the case before the 1949 amendment, the only way to get a bill put up for consideration is to persuade the rules committee to put it on the House's order of business, or get a petition signed by a majority—218—of the House.

Alabama's nine House members voted unanimously to give the Rules Committee tighter control over what legislation will be considered by the House.

With 199 Republicans on the new House roster, and Southern Democrats numbering nearly 100 more, administration Democrats can't get 218 signatures without help from that source.

For Wednesday's shift back to a rules committee stranglehold on the calendar, the coalition mustered 92 Democrats and 152 Republicans. Against it were 136 Democrats, 42 Republicans and one independent.

The rules committee is composed of eight Democrats and four Republicans. Four of the Democrats are Southerners. While there have been times when one or more of the Dixie members have voted with the administration, the GOP-Southern team has been in almost constant control. With full committee attendance it takes seven votes on the rules committee for approval of a bill.

Rep. Eugene E. Cox, Georgia Democrat, led the fight for a reversion to rules committee control. He is a committee member and one of the most active Democratic opponents of President Truman's civil rights program and much of the "fair deal" economic and welfare proposals.

The Republican-Southern Democratic performance in double harness is, of course, no new thing. The unofficial partnership now strengthened in numbers has been working for several years to block many Roosevelt and Truman projects.

In the debate Wednesday Democratic Leader McCormack of Massachusetts told the Republicans they were "on trial" on the rules change proposal. The Republican Party, he chided, "is the tail of the kite of certain Democratic members."

The 1949-50 rule, he said, was adopted in order to "unshackle the dictatorial power of six men over the House."

Back in the Saddle Again

The unholy alliance of die-hard Republicans and unreconstructed Dixiecrats, which formed such an evil force in the 80th Congress, is back in the saddle again.

Already these reactionaries are itching to ride herd over all legislation designed to make America the world's shining light of democracy which it professes to be.

They never learn, making the same mistakes over and over again. Scarcely had members of the 82nd Congress taken their seats, before one, Eugene Cox, of Georgia, was sounding off gleefully:

"The advocates of fair employment legislation, better housing, improved schools, compulsory health insurance . . . may just as well realize that they are going to get nowhere in this Congress. We are not going to waste money on this kind of 'fair deal' legislation while this country faces the threatening Communist danger."

All of which leads us to ask how stupid can you get?

Certainly Joe Stalin is as happy as Dixiecrat Cox over the fact that no measures will be passed by the new Congress to strengthen democracy in America.

For he knows, even if Mr. Cox fails to realize it, that Communism's strongest foe, comes not in the form of guns, tanks and airplanes.

The greatest enemy of Communism is a dynamic, vibrant, strong democracy; democracy in which there is no second-class citizenship, unequal justice and denial of opportunity because of race, color or creed.

We hope that the GOP congressmen realize this solemn truth before it is too late. But we doubt that they will.

If Republicans join directly or indirectly with Dixiecrats again in defeating Civil Rights legislation they can give up any hope of a Republican victory in 1952.

Significant Political Gains Made In South

SIGNIFICANT political gains were registered in the South last week when South Carolina discarded the poll tax requirements for voting in general elections and Tennessee did as much. The poll tax still remains as to state primaries and local elections.

In the first mentioned state the levy was killed outright when the General Assembly ratified a constitutional amendment previously approved by the people.

The action on Tennessee was less direct, but would prove equally as effective. In this case the House passed a bill which in its operation, would automatically exempt all persons from payment of the tax except those who were of voting age in 1871, the year after the constitution was adopted. To be non-exempt, a voter would have to be 101 years of age, or older at present, or whenever he makes application to register for voting.

With South Carolina and Tennessee joining the other 41 free-election states, there remain only five which still exact a levy upon the right to exercise the franchise. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas and Virginia.

Virginians read the list with chagrin. In this state the anti-poll tax sentiment is unmistakably predominant, save among a group of powerful politicians.

Unquestionably, if and when the electorate shall be presented a clear-cut opportunity to vote on the question, Virginia will join the other 43 states which place no charge upon the inherent right of casting the ballot in political elections.

However, the opportunity must come in a form more satisfactory to the people than what was contained in the late and ambiguous Campbell amendment, soundly rejected at the polls in November, 1949.

This politically and ingeniously conceived legislation would have replaced the tax with voting requirements capable of more effectively hampering free elections than the tax itself. It remains a credit to the intelligence of the voters of this state that they overwhelmingly disapproved it.

Nonetheless, the issue will not die in Virginia until it is settled in accord with the dictates of democracy.

Negroes Expect Spot on Ticket

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Philadelphia's Negro Democratic leaders are confident that their party will indorse a member of that racial group for either Recorder of Deeds or County Commissioner in the July primary election. According to sources close to the overall leader-

ship the Democrats will also support Negroes for two seats in the newly established City Council.

Rev. E. Luther Cunningham, pastor of the St. Paul Baptist Church, 10th and Wallace sts., and a close associate of City Treasurer Richardson Dilworth, is expected to be the Democratic candidate for Recorder of Deeds. The widely-known churchman had been discussed, it was reported, for County Commissioner, but Democratic circles have indicated that the indorsement will not be for that post.

ALEXANDER MENTIONED

Raymond Pace Alexander, whose name has been mentioned as a possible diplomatic appointee, is expected to get the councilmanic nod in his district. The widely-known attorney, a former Republican, has indicated that he would accept regular indorsement for the position, but would not run against the party's slate.

Countering what is known to be a pending Republican move, Democratic leaders have also indicated that a Negro candidate would be slated for one of the at-large councilmanic posts. And while final selection of a leading figure is reportedly still incomplete, informed sources have indicated that Robert N. C. Nix, a local attorney, may be given the indorsement.

On the Republican side, the independent leadership has indicated that a Negro would be offered as a candidate for City Council in one of the at-large spots. Theodore Spaulding, newly-elected leader of that wing of the Republican activity among Negroes, has declined to run. A distinguished lawyer and civic worker, Spaulding told leaders that he preferred to give his energies to the "establishment of a strong Negro segment" of the party, as against any candidacy.

MAY SUGGEST JERRICK

Meanwhile, it is reported that the Republican Citizens Committee, which has been steering independent action within the Republican Party, might offer the name of Dr. Walter F. Jerrick as a possible nominee for the councilmanic post. A widely-known physician and fraternal leader, Dr. Jerrick is a founder and former president of the influential Pyramid Club and has been, for more than 20 years, regarded as the "father" of the strong Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

A 30th Ward voter, Dr. Jerrick lives at 1843 Christian st. The physician was educated at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania and has been active on the staffs of private hospitals. Recognized as a Republican of long standing, Dr. Jerrick has not sought public office before.

Strong Republican support in independent circles is also shaping behind Dr. William A. Gray, Jr., former president of the Florida A. and M. College, at Tallahassee. A native Philadelphian, Dr. Gray received two graduate degrees, including a Doctor of Philosophy, at the University of Pennsylvania.

ACTIVE FOR CHARTER

Active in the recent charter move, the former college president is regarded as perhaps the most formidable campaigner available to either party if he can be persuaded to stand for political office. Dr. Gray was the youngest Negro to head a major educational institution when he was chosen president of Florida Normal School at St. Augustine, where he served prior to his tenure at Tallahassee.

Militant as regards the integration of Negroes into the scheme of general life, Dr. Gray is an ordained minister and pastor of the Bright Hope Baptist Church, 12th and Oxford sts., where he succeeded his father. As a student, Dr. Gray was active in collegiate sports and journalism. He now serves also as an executive of a weekly newspaper here.

The crystallization of strength behind Dr. Gray is thought to be in the nature of a political "anchor to windward," since he would, in all probability, be an independent Republican choice if that party sought to counter the rumored Democratic move of slating a Negro for one of the major elective offices. Both Dr. Gray and Mr. Cunningham are pastors of churches in the heart of North Philadelphia, where the Negro population is thought to have already passed 80,000.

MRS. BYRD TO RUN

Negro Republican sources, both independent and organization, have indicated that no candidate now looms in opposition to the renomination of Mrs. Hannah Byrd for magistrate. Mrs. Byrd, who became the first Negro woman in the country to hold such a post, succeeded her late husband by appointment. A 30th Ward resident, Magistrate Byrd is thought to have the support of strong organization factions.

The Democrats, meanwhile, will offer Charles Baker, a 52d Ward figure, for the magistracy. Reliable sources within that party hold that little or no primary opposition will be evinced, since Baker has been bypassed for a number of posts to which his supporters felt him entitled. A regular Democrat and a committeeman in his ward, the probable nominee was not publicly active in support of the recently adopted city charter.

Negroes Will Not Split

Commentators are already predicting, as Arthur Krock did recently in The New York Times, that President Truman faces a "Southern Split In '52." If Truman is the Democratic candidate in 1952, others in the South may split away from him, but it is almost certain that Negroes will not split. To split away from the President under such circumstances would be for Negroes to go against the boldest champion of civil rights in modern times. But that is not all. The split away from the President in such a situation would be to rally to the support of those whose avowed objectives and policies are to prevent Negroes from getting full and first-class citizenship and from enjoying the civil rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States. Negroes will not be that dumb or foolish.

He gives new clues—

'Republocrat alliance' held like '77 deal

BALTIMORE, May 17—(AP)—A high-powered political deal of 74 years ago—full of railroad barons, reconstructionists and such — is believed by a Johns Hopkins University professor to be the likely granddaddy of the "present Republican and Dixiecrat alliance."

Prof. C. Vann Woodward feels the history of the compromise of 1877, which put Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House, needs revision in the light of his discoveries.

Woodward, in a new book, "Reunion and Reaction" (Little, Brown & Co.), brings out hitherto undisclosed details of the horse trading and lobbying which produced the 1877 alliance.

Existence of the old coalition has been known to historians all along. But not so the delicate, secret maneuvering which brought it into being.

SELDOM has there been such a national split as in the presidential election of 1876. Democrat Samuel J. Tilden, of New York apparently was elected on the basis of the first complete reports.

But Republican forces, by various counting methods, swung Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida into the Republican column. Hayes then led, 185 electoral votes to 184.

Democrats yelled fraud. There was talk that National Guard troops controlled by Democratic governors would march on Washington to compel Tilden's inauguration. The Republican Senate and Democratic House couldn't agree on a method of counting the electoral votes.

The deadlock held until the last week of President U. S. Grant's administration. Official account of the break in the deadlock—accepted until now—was:

Republicans agreed to abandon the two remaining Republican governments in the South—Louisiana and South Carolina—in favor of Democratic claimants. In return, the Southerners promised to assist in completing the electoral count and see that Hayes was inaugurated peacefully.

* * *

WOODWARD SAYS that was only part of it. Actually, the Democratic votes already had been won in this manner:

The Republicans promised the South liberal appropriations for internal improvements — something they would not be likely to get from their economy-minded Democratic brethren of the North.

Further, there was promised what amounted to a subsidy for the Texas Pacific Railroad. This would give the South a direct route to the Pacific Ocean. Many Southerners set great economic store by this.

In this phase of negotiations the Hayes negotiators had the support of Thomas A. Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Texas Pacific. They were at first opposed and then supported by Collis P. Huntington, California railroad baron.

The "purely political" part of the deal promised Southern Democrats a place in the Hayes cabinet and control of their own state governments.

The Southerners agreed to insure Hayes' inauguration, allow the Republicans to organize the House, and guaranteed political rights for Negroes.

* * *

ALL THIS TOOK TIME and was done in greatest secrecy. **The final terms were never announced. The principals invented the Louisiana-South Carolina settlement as a cover for the real bargain.**

Woodward reports that uncovering the truth involved an historical detective game which extended from 1940 to 1950.

He got his first clue while reading Hayes papers in working on another book. Other bits of evidence accumulated over years, but the author did not find the pattern until he read the papers of Collis P. Huntington.

How did the deal finally turn out?

Neither side could live up entirely to commitments. The Southerners couldn't swing Republican organization of the House.

The Texas Pacific never got its subsidy, although Huntington pushed the Southern Pacific Railway from the West Coast to the South on his own.

And the Southern Democrats never came into the Republican Party as Hayes had hoped.

But the 1877 compromise did return to the South control of its affairs and the right of Negroes to vote was recognized, at least in principle.

"IT IS MY BELIEF," Woodward says, "that the compromise of 1877 is as essential to an understanding of subsequent American history as the Victorian Compromise is to a grasp of English history in the late 19th century. . . .

"Very definitely I believe that here is the origin of present Republican-Dixiecrat alliance, or rather Republocrat."

'The Widening Split'

A major fact of American politics today is the like-mindedness and cooperation of Republicans and Southern Democrats. Their business is defeating the Democratic Party. This circumstance is being discussed throughout the country. For example, *The Wall Street Journal* is saying:

The widening split in Congress between the Truman Administration and Southern Democrats is raising Republican hopes for winning the White House in 1952.

Key legislators in the G.O.P. are certain that the strife in the Democratic Party, if it can be kept stirred up until election time, will mean defeat for the Democratic presidential candidate.

So much for the immediate effects of this like-mindedness of Southern Democrats and Republicans. The large fact of the situation is that a two-party system is needed in the South.

The Republican Party must become a respectable habitation for Southerners of conservative bent.

The statute of limitations should be invoked against the ancient prejudice of the South against the Grand Old Party.

The emotional attachment to the Democratic label simply preserves the political eccentricity of the South, a region where a campaigning Republican candidate never stumps because, no matter what his qualifications and the appeal of his philosophy, he cannot punch through the prejudice of Southerners.

It has always seemed to us that Montgomery County, for example, is soundly Republican in its leanings. We hazard the speculation that, but for Civil War memories, Montgomery County would be as Republican as Vermont.

Our concern here is not whether the South votes Democratic or Republican, but that it votes *like it is inclined.*

The one good thing that would likely come from Mr. Truman's renomination would be a revulsion so great that the South might vote Republican. That would go far towards establishing its independence. It would win for the South a respect instead of the contempt in which the Dixiecrat dodge was and is held.

SURVEY SAYS SOUTH HOLDS '52 BALANCE

Committee Finds Republicans Could Not Win Without Affirmative Support

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9 — The Committee to Explore Political Realignment, reporting on a ten-week study, declared today that the Republicans would need affirmative help from Southern Democrats to insure defeat of the Fair Deal in the 1952 national election.

In two of a dozen major findings, the committee, claiming bipartisanship though founded under Republican auspices, stated:

"A victory for the Republican party in 1952, for President, Senate and House, may be difficult without effective Southern support.

"A victory for the Fair Deal Democrats in 1952 would not necessarily be prevented by mere withdrawal of Southern Democratic support, even on a much larger scale than was seen in 1948."

In its conclusions the committee, originally set up Sept. 17, held that that the informal alliance between Republicans and "traditional Democrats," now in effect in Congress, could be translated into a broader nation-wide alliance but that it could not be accomplished before the major party conventions next July.

It said that public opinion "may be expected to support a permanent committee to forward political realignment subsequent to these conventions," but that the present committee "having completed its limited task of explorations, should be dissolved as of Dec. 31, 1951." It was created through the efforts of Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota.

Civil Rights a Difficulty

One of the difficulties in the way of the recommended realignment was emphasized today in a statement by Senator A. Willis Robertson, Democrat of Virginia, who is usually counted among the Southern foes of the Fair Deal. He predicted that the Senate Democrats would pigeonhole, at the forthcoming session of Congress, any proposals President Truman may advance toward enactment of a so-called civil rights program.

"Practical politicians know only too well," Mr. Robertson said, "that there are twenty Southern Senators who will fight to the last ditch against having rammed down their throats for purposes of political expediency a legislative program that is both unconstitutional and economically and socially unsound."

Since the Republican members of any coalition of the kind envisaged by the committee would, presumably, be obliged by their party platform to back "civil rights" legislation in all forms, Senator Robertson's statement was taken as an argument against the practicability of the proposed political arrangement.

British Results Cited

The committee based its findings and conclusions on a detailed study of the voting down to the county level in the last four Presidential votings, balloting in Congress back to 1936, Federal and state electoral laws, and the British general elections of 1950 and 1951.

Asserting that the two-party system and states rights must be maintained under any political realignment, the committee found further proof of "the theoretical importance of the two-party system" in the British voting.

"In 1950 when the Liberals were an effective third party," it said "the Socialists won. In 1951, when the Liberals predominantly voted Conservative, the latter won. The balance of power, first exercised for and later against British Socialists by Liberals there, is similarly in the hands of our Southern Democrats."

Personnel of Committee

Co-chairmen of the committee that made the study were Albert W. Hawkes, former Republican Senator from New Jersey, and Edward A. O'Neal, Alabama Democrat who deaded the American Farm Bureau Federation for sixteen years.

Other members were Edward R. Burke, former Democratic Senator from Nebraska; Dr. Donald J. Cowling, Minneapolis Republican who is president emeritus of Carleton College; Charles Edison, former Democratic Governor of New Jersey; Horace A. Hildreth, former Republican Governor of Maine; Felix Morley, author and educator, and Donald R. Richberg, head of the National Recovery Administration under the late President Roosevelt.

The committee reported, supporters of Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio for the Republican Presidential nomination prepared to fight a bid by the New York State Republican organization for four extra votes at the party's national convention next year.

The New York request, which would give the state delegation 100 votes, probably will be put before the Republican National Committee at its meeting in San Francisco next month.

In pressing the bid, William L. Pfeiffer, Republican State Chairman, has contended that New York's representation at the national convention, at which about 1,200 votes will be cast, should not be cut back, as the Republican National Committee has done, because of the loss of two seats in the House of Representatives under redistricting. He maintained New York will not lost these seats in the House until the Eighty-third Congress convenes in January, 1953.

With Governor Dewey of New York pressing for the nomination of General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Taft forces are trying to make inroads in the New York delegation.

A prediction that Iowa's twenty-six delegates to the Republican National Convention will be unpledged was made here today by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa. Taft forces have been hopeful of obtaining a commitment for their candidate.

34d 1951

Dixie Demo-GOP Alliance Urged

Bi-Partisan Group Maps Socialism Fight

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9 (UP)—A formal political alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats to halt a trend toward "socialism" in the United States was recommended today by an eight-member bi-partisan committee.

The group said a 10-week study convinced it that the informal GOP-Dixie Democrat coalition now operating in Congress should join forces in next year's presidential election.

It urged Southern Democrats to vote for Republican candidates to prevent re-election of President Truman or another Democrat with his "Fair Deal" views. The committee added that it would be "difficult" for the Republicans to win the White House and Congress without "effective Southern support.'

Possibility Seen

It saw the possibility of a "Fair Deal" Democrat winning the election if the Southerners merely throw their votes to a third party ticket, as four states did in 1948, even if this occurs on a larger scale next year.

The report was issued by a Committee to Explore Political Realignment. It was composed of four Republicans and four Democrats who never have approved the Truman administration's domestic policies.

The Democrats are Edward A. O'Neal, former president of the American Farm Bureau Federation; former Sen. Edward R. Burke of Nebraska; former Gov. Charles Edison of New Jersey, and Donald R. Richberg, chairman of the old NRA under the late President Roosevelt.

The Republicans are former Sen. Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey; Donald R. Cowling, president emeritus of Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; Felix Morley, author and educator, and former Gov. Horace A. Hildreth of Maine.

Bases Of Sendings

Their findings, they said, were based on:

"A detailed study of voting by states and counties in the last four presidential elections.

"An examination of voting in both Houses of Congress since 1936.

"A survey of the election laws of the various states.

"An objective of the election laws of the various states.

"An objective appraisal of current political sentiment, as far as ascertainable.

"Analysis of the British general elections of 1950 and 1951.

"Consideration of political trends apparent at the opening of the presidential campaign year."

Recognizing that an informal alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats already exists in Congress, the group advocated its adoption on a formal basis that would "improve the effectiveness and restore the vitality" of the two-party system."

"The possibility and desirability of this development will be much more apparent after the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions . . ." the report said.

"As the case for political realignment is better understood, and as the next election approaches, the demand for effective action will undoubtedly become vigorous."

Beliefs Expressed

Frankly approving the way that the congressional coalition has joined to block most of President Truman's domestic proposals, the group declared that regardless of party affiliations, most Americans believe in state's rights and local self-government.

"Under its present national leadership, the Democratic Party has deserted these principles," it charged.

As an argument for a Republican-Southern Democratic alliance instead of a third party, the group cited the example of the last two British general elections.

"In 1950, when the liberals were an effective third party, the Socialists won," they said. "In 1951, when the Liberals predominantly voted Conservative, the latter won.

"There is a direct parallel between the British and American political pictures, to the extent that in both countries socialism triumphed through the failure of non-Socialists to join forces at the polls."

GOP-Dixiecrat League Is Advocated After '52

A bipartisan committee concluded yesterday that political alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats was desirable and theoretically possible, but could not be arranged before the 1952 nominating conventions.

The "Committee to Explore Political Realignment so reported in a statement after a 10-week study with the aim of "clarifying the issues between conservatives and socialists."

Co-chairmen of the temporary committee, now being dissolved, were Albert W. Hawkes, former Republican Senator from New Jersey, and Edward A. O'Neal, Alabama Democrat who for 16 years was president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The committee asserted that an informal alliance of Republicans and "traditional Democrats" already was functioning at Congressional level, and "a general acceptance of the alliance principle would improve the effectiveness and restore the vitality of the two-party system in the United States."

"The possibility and desirability of this development will be much more apparent after the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions," it said, which appeared to be a way of saying it depended on nominees and platforms.

The group proposed establishment of a permanent committee to forward such a realignment, after the conventions.

"Regardless of party affiliation," the statement said, "Americans continue to believe in the constitutional guarantees of states' rights and local self-government. Under its present national leadership the Democratic party has deserted these principles."

GOP-DIXIE ALLIANCE TO THWART SOCIALISM URGED BY COMMITTEE

Bipartisan Group Recommends Tieup After Long Study Of Political Picture

'FAIR DEAL' ATTACKED

Truman Or His Candidate May Win Unless Coalition At Polls Occurs In South, Eight Researchers Report

By JOHN L. CUTTER
United Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—A formal political alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats to halt a trend toward "socialism" in the United States was recommended Sunday by an eight-emember bipartisan committee.

The group said a 10-week study convinced it the informal GOP-Dixie Democrat coalition now operating in Congress should join forces in next year's presidential election.

Urged to Vote Republican

It urged Southern Democrats to vote for Republican candidates to prevent re-election of President Truman or another Democrat with his "Fair Deal" views. The committee added it would be "difficult" for the Republicans to win the White House and Congress without "effective Southern support."

It saw the possibility of a "Fair Deal" Democrat winning the election if Southerners merely throw their votes to a third party ticket, as four states did in 1948, even if this occurs on a larger scale next year.

The report was issued by a committee to explore political realignment. It was composed of four Republicans and four Democrats who never have approved the Truman Administration's domestic policies.

The Democrats are Edward A. O'Neal, former president of the American Farm Bureau Federation; former Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska; former Gov. Charles Edison of New Jersey, and Donald R. Richberg, chairman of the old NRA under the late President Roosevelt.

GOP Members Named

The Republicans are former Senator Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey; Donald R. Cowling, president emeritus of Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; Felix Morley, author and educator, and former Gov. Horace A. Hildreth of Maine.

Recognizing that an informal alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats already exists in Congress, the group advocated its adoption on a formal basis that would "improve the effectiveness and restore the vitality" of the two-party system."

"The possibility and desirability of this development will be much more apparent after the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions . . ." the report said.

Frankly approving the way that the congressional coalition has joined to block most of President Truman's domestic proposals, the group declared regardless of party affiliations, most Americans believe in states' rights and local self-government.

Desertion Charged

"Under its present national leadership, the Democratic Party has deserted these principles," it charged.

As an argument for a Republican-Southern Democratic alliance, instead of a third party, the group cited the example of the last two British general elections.

"In 1950, when the Liberals were an effective third party, the Socialists won," they said. "In 1951, when the Liberals predominantly voted Conservative, the latter won."

Names in House Group's Files

4 More Prominent Figures Added to Schools' Blacklist

By Elsie Carper
Post Reporter

Four more nationally prominent persons have been added to the list of those who cannot speak in District schools because of references to them in the "unevaluated" files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Three of the four are residents of Washington. All were asked informally whether they would be available to address the centennial celebation of Miner Teachers College in March.

Later the four were told by officials of the college that the original program would not be carried out "due to matters beyond our control."

Committee Counsel Frank S. Tavenner, jr., said the committee turned over to School Superintendent Hobart M. Lorning a "mechanical" report on the contents of committee filed without evaluation.

Appraisal of the material is the responsibility of the Federal or District agency requesting it, in this case Dr. Corning or authorized school officials, Tavenner said.

Another committee staff member said the committee checks hundreds of names for the D. C. public schols, noot only speakers but prospective employes.

Dr. Corning said he made no attempt to appraise committee file data—the schols have no facilities for investigation and do not wish to constitute themselves a loyaly board.

One of the rejected speakers has been told by the committee he is listed in the files as belonging to "two or three organizations which the House committee says are subversive." He said that until he inquired he never heard of the organizations.

Another rejected speaker was told by the committee he was lasted in 1946 as a signer of a newspaper adveritsement protesting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. The advertisement was sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, an oganization since carried on the Attorney General's list as Communist.

The individual explained it was the only connection he ever had with the organization. Since then, he has participated in Governmental activites for whch he believes he received FBI clearance.

The file of the third rejected speaker at the House committee contains four clippings from communist newspapers—clippings in which his name is name is mentioned.

"The stories do not directly or indirectly assert or imply that I have pro-Communist sympathies," the man said.

Along with Mrs. Roosevelt "Strangely the attacks on me that have appeared in these same papers are not in the files."

The fourth rejected speaker was not surprised that he is noted in the House files.

"When Martin Dies was chairman of the committee he read a long attack on me into the congressional Record.

"He had me down as listed on the letterhead of front organizations—nearly as many as Mrs. Roosevelt.

"I would be greatly surprised if I were not in the select company."

Tavenner said this committee in no case "clears" material in the files. He said the committee merely makes a mechanical check and furnishes the schools with listed citations on request.

Citations Possibly Meaningless

He pointed out the citatons may or may not mean a thing. Material fro mthe files is furnished all Government and District egencies in this fashion.

Tavenner said the committee refuses to make public information in the files, but an individual may get a list of his citations f he requests it.

Dr. Corning refused to comment vesterday on why invitations to the four speakers had been withdrawn.

In a prepared statement he said that "arranging for speakers in the schools, involving as it may an inquiry into their record, is a matter of relationship within the school system and is strictly confidential."

In a separate statement, he said "it is true that we receive reports from the Un-American Activities Committee. We do not attempt to evaluate them.

Instructions Ignored—Corning

"We have no investigative procedure to do so. It would require the services of people expert in this field to evaluate the record. It is our practice, therefore, to omit invitations to persons whose records are not clear.

"All of which would be handled without publicity if the instructions of the superintendent to the field were followed by the schools, which is to secure the permission of the superintendent and the officers concerned before such invitations are extended to outside speakers.

"If we were to assume responsibility for evaluating the record we would then me constituting ourselves as a loyalty board which certainly is not our function."

When Pulitzer Prize Winning Author Pearl S. Buck last week was banned from speaking at Cardozo High School, Dr. Corning said it was because her record was "not clear."

Denied Writing Articles

Material in her file included notations that during the period 1937 to 1942 articles by her appeared in Communist publications. Mrs. Buck denied writing for these magazines. She also has denied Congress of Soviet-American Friendship, another allegation.

The file also noted that Mrs. Buck was speaker at a meeting of the Council on African Affairs. Mrs. Buck admitted speaking before the group but said it was before the council was recognized and before it was declared subversive.

Last September when a group of educators invited here to speak at a teacher training institute were dropped because of listings in the the House file, Dr. Corning said.

"I wouldn't run the risk of employing anyone about whom there is any question at all."

Prompted by 1947 Incident

School board records show that Dr. Corning asked fo rthe power of clearing spekers. Prior to 1947 school principals had the responsibility of selection.

In May, 1947, Russian-born Mrs. Alexandra Lewis, speaking at an assembly in Western High School, compared the United States unfavorably with the Soviet Union. Four students walked out of the assembly, creating an incident that had repercusions in Congress.

Dr. Corning then ordered all principals to submit names of outside speaksrs for advance approval.

School Board Vive President Adelbert W. Lee said that the board never has ordered Dr. Corning to clear speakers with the House but that is is the "board's implied wish" that he do so.

Pearl Buck Ban Deplored By Minister

The minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church yesterday criticized School Superintendent Hobart M. Corning for "prohibiting" Pearl Buck from making a Cardoza High School address.

The Rev. L. Maynard Catchings charged in a sermon that "a glaring example of the failure of some people to consider the best interest of the people and the democratic idea. . . ."

"This action," Mr. Catchings said, "cannot be motivated by the desire to discredit Mrs. Buck, for she is clearly established as one of the great women of our times. . . . Nor can this action be considered as an attempt to strengthen democracy or the anti-Communist forces of the world.

"It is either motivated by a petty legalism—the fact that those who invited Mrs. Buck did not first consult the superintendent—or is motivated by the desire to keep away from Negro children the voices of those who stand against racial discrimination and segregation in the United States and throughout the world, and who seek to lift the vision of the people."

Mrs. Buck's invitation to speak at midyear graduation exercises at the Negro high school was withdrawn, according to Corning, because school officials found "not clear" House Un-American Activities Committee references agains ther. Mrs. Buck has called these references false.

She charged that "all this is a trumped-up excuse and that the real reason the engagement was broken is because of my private, public and steadfast stand against racial discrimination in the Nations Capital . . ."

A workshop held at Howard University Saturday under the sponsorship of the Womens Action Committee of the Consolidated Parents Group also attacked the action by school officials.

A resolution protested the "censorship action as appearing to reflect the hysteria of our times which threatens our democratic institutions, especially the public schools, which are the guardians of our democratic freedoms.

The workshop's topic was, "Planning for Schools in the Nation's Capital."

Negroes Assail Listing of Leaders as Red Syr zers

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

The listing of Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Cheyney State Teachers College; Dr. Benjamin Mays, a former vice president of the Federal Council of Churches; three bishops of African Methodist denominations and a Baptist Sunday School executive, as possible Communist sympathizers by the House Un-American Activities Committee has been termed a "new low in general slander of the Negro race" by organizations which have registered protests in many circles of the Federal Government.

The committee's new listings cited A.M.E. Bishops R.R. Wright Jr., long a resident here, and Sherman L. Greene, of Georgia, together with Bishop C.C. Alleyne, of the A.M.E. Zion denomination. Bishop Alleyne's official residence is Philadelphia.

OTHERS ON LIST

In addition, the committee listed Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, at Nashville; Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago attorney and former member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices; Ira deA. Reid, of Haverford College; Paul and Mrs. Robeson; Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, former editor of the Crisis and NAACP research director; Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president of Palmer Institute, at Sedalia, N. C.; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and Dr. Rayford W. Logan, of Howard University, in Washington.

The Congressional listings reportedly grew out of a "wholesale writing down" of names of individuals who have been either supporters, or board members of organizations which have "come under the eye" of the Department of Justice. In many instances, a study of these organizations shows, the individuals cited have long since severed connection with the units in question. In addition, a major portion of the organizations from whose one-time memberships the committee obviously took names, no longer function with appreciability in the Negro scheme of things.

OPEN FOE OF REDS

The citing of Dr. Hill, long regarded as one of the foremost conservatives in the United States and an open foe of Communism among Negroes, has served, it is believed, to arouse that racial group's ire to a new point. Also, the three Negro bishops listed are among the least active in protest circles. Bishop Wright, a vice president of the Citizens and Southern Bank here, has been associated with peace movements for 25 years, while Bishop Greene has served most of his tenure as an A.M.E. prelate in Southern territories.

Negro women have been incensed, according to figures active in club circles here, by the listing of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Head of the country's only "finishing" school for Negro students at the high school level, Dr. Brown was educated in New England and is looked upon as perhaps her racial group's foremost authority in the field of social etiquette.

Dr. Clement, the son of a deceased bishop of the A.M.E. Zion denomination and himself an ordained minister in that church, has long been regarded as one of the "gradualists" in the field of race relations. Indicative of his conservative position is the fact that he has been under considerable criticism by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as being favorably disposed to a plan of regional education, which was allegedly proposed by Governors of a group of Southern States in an effort to thwart integration of Negroes into white universities.

ASSOCIATED WITH FRIENDS

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University's first Negro president, has been active for more than 25 years in social research. His strongest professional connections, as well as his educational background, have been closely associated with the American Friends, whose influence is dominant in the affairs of the Nashville school. The Fisk president was active some years ago in the Emergency Peace Campaign, an effort staged by Quaker sources to avoid the last World War.

The citing of Negro leaders, concerning whom there could scarcely be doubt as regards their national loyalty, is expected to serve to "bring to a head" what is known to be a deep and smouldering resentment on the part of that racial group regarding the tendency to "brand as a Communist every person, white or Negro, who battles against racial discrimination." The NAACP, according to reliable sources, will demand that the committee call these leaders for a public hearing, a move which the unit has sidestepped, even in the case of Paul Robeson, whose friendship for the Soviet has not been veiled.

NEARLY 5 MILLION

The numerically strong African Methodists and Baptists, whose Sunday School head, Dr. W. H. Jernagin, was listed, will also demand that the committee "take the stigma" from its leaders. The combined memberships of the two denominations approaches 5,000,000, and while the organizations, as such, do not countenance political activity their influence could be decisive in many pivotal voting areas.

The protests of these groups also will be lodged with President Truman, according to highly placed spokesmen for the church groups. The President will be asked to "speak out against this villification," leaders active here have declared.

'Peace Center,' And 5 Officials Indicted Here

Wm. Remington's Ex-Mother-in-Law Among Those Named

By Joseph Paull
Post Reporter

The Peace Information Center, which handled American publicity for the Stockholm Peace Appeal, was indicted here yesterday on charges of failing to register as a foreign agent.

The center, with headquarters in New York City, is named along with five of its officers in a two-count indictment returned in District Court. The officers indicted are:

William Edward B. DuBois, prominent Negro educator, anthropologist and author; Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, mother of William Remington's former wife; Kyrle Elkin, Abbott Simon, and Sylvia Soloff, all of New York City.

The center, the grand jury charged, is the publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, the organization established by the Cominform to publicize the Stockholm Peace Appeal. The appeal which sought to outlaw atomic weapons, has be branded a "propaganda trick" of the Soviet Union, by Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

The grand jury found that the Defenders of Peace Committee was a "foreign principal" but did not name the country which controlled it. That group has now been superseded by the World Peace Council.

The grand jury said that the Peace Information Center has been a foreign agent from April 3, 1950 to date. It has acted within the United States as a publicity agent, has reported information to and acted at the request of the Defenders of Peace group and the World Peace Council.

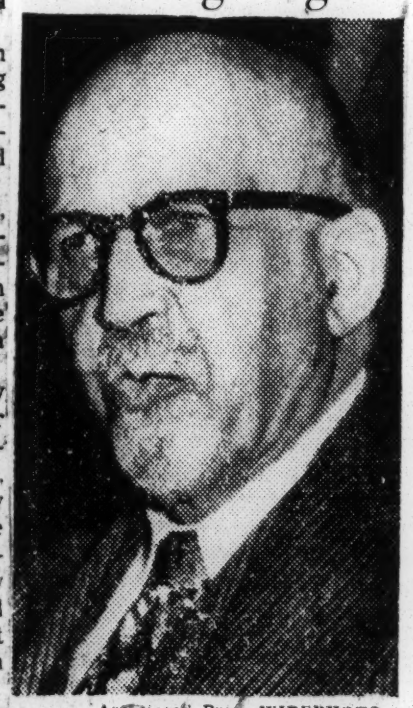
Because of this work, the indictment says, the Peace Information Center was required to file with the Attorney General a registration statement under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The individual officers were indicted because it was their duty to cause the center to register, according to the true bill. The failure to register was unlawful and wilful, the grand jury said.

Under the law, the maximum penalty for not registering is five years in prison and a $10,000 fine. The defendants are to be arraigned in District Court on February 16.

Mrs. Moos, whose former son-in-law, Remington, was convicted of perjury Wednesday for denying he was ever a Communist, is believed to be behind the Iron Curtain.

Author Indicted As Foreign Agent



Associated Press WIREPHOTO

WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS, author and official of the "Peace Information Center" in New York, yesterday was indicted here for failing to register with the Justice Department as an agent of a foreign government.

DU BOIS IS 'SHOCKED'

Educator Denies Charge, Says Group Has Disbanded

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Negro anthropologist and educator who will be 83 years old on Feb. 23, voiced "a deep sense of shock" at the indictments returned in Washington.

In a statement issued last night at his office here, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, he said that he and his "colleagues" felt that their "activities for peace" did not fall within the purview of the Foreign Agents' Registration Act.

"There is no basis, in fact or fancy, for the charge that the Peace Information Center was in any way a representative of a foreign principal," Dr. Du Bois said. "As chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence, I can state categorically that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent a third World War."

Dr. Du Bois said the organization had disbanded "several months ago."

Inquiry at 799 Broadway, where the Peace Information Center had its offices, disclosed that the rent of $135 a month had been paid through January. The "Center" did not move out until Jan. 30. It left no forwarding address but its telephone number was changed to that of the New York Labor Conference for Peace.

Conference Disavows Center

This office, at 80 East Eleventh Street, which is another address for the same building, disavowed any connection with the Center.

The Labor Conference for Peace is headed by Marcel Sherer, cited by the House un-American Committee for contempt. He was a coordinator of the riotous "peace" meeting broken up in Union Square by police last Aug. 2.

Among other "labor" organizations that have offices in the building is the Labor Research Association. This is headed by Grace Hutchins, several times a candidate for State offices on the Communist party ticket, and Robert Dunn, treasurer of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress, which put up $260,000 bond for the eleven convicted Communist leaders.

The Peace Information Center was organized following a meeting of the Permanent Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in Stockholm last March. Dr. Du Bois was one of fifteen Americans elected to the presidium of the new council at the Second World Congress whose sessions in Warsaw were concluded last Nov. 22. He was prevented from attending when he was refused a passport by the State Department.

Abbott Simon was legislative director of the American Youth Congress a decade ago. Kyrle Elkin was said to be treasurer of the Peace Information Center, and Sylvia Soloff was described as manager of the office.

Court Indicts Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— Dr W. E. B. DuBois, 82-year-old educator, anthropologist, author and lecturer, was indicted in District Court last Friday, along with four other officers of the Peace Information center, for failing to register as a foreign agent.

The Peace Information center, with headquarters in New York, is alleged to have handled American publicity for the Stockholm Peace Appeal. The grand jury charge the center with being a publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, an organization established by the communist to publicize the Stockholm Peace Appeal. This appeal sought to outlaw atomic weapons, and therefore has been branded by Secretary of State Dean Acheson as a propaganda trick of the Soviet Union.

Since the Peace committee was a "foreign principal" stated the grand jury, and since the information center has acted within th United States as the committee's publicity agent, it was required to file a registration statement with the attorney general in compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The officers of the center were indicted because the grand jury said it was their duty to cause the center to register, according to the true bill, and their failure to do so was unlawful and unwilful.

The defendants are to appear before District Court on February 16. The maximum penalty under the law for not registering is five years in prison and $10,000.

The others indicted along with Dr. DuBois were Elizabeth Moos, Kyrle Elkin, Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff, all of New York City.

Following his indictment, Dr. DuBois made the following statement:

"I can state categorically that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace to prevent a third world war."

He related that there was no basis in "fact or fancy" for the charge that the center was in any way representing a foreign principal

Mrs. Moos Quits Prague

PRAGUE, March 13 (AP).—Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, former mother-in-law of William Remington, has left for New York to face charges of failing to register as a foreign agent, the newspaper 'Lidove Noviny' said today. Mrs. Moos is an officer of the Peace Information Center of New York, indicted as a foreign agent.

Teachers Blast Indictment Of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (ANP) - World-wide opinion is expressing deep shock at the indictment of Dr. W. E. DuBois for refusing to register as the "foreign agent" of a principal abroad for bringing to the American people information about peace movements all over the world.

In a communication to President Truman the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, representing and one half million members, Mr. Henri Wallon, president and secretary Paul Delanoue declared: "It is unthinkable that the American government actually intends to try this world-renowned scholar and writer, this champion of equal rights for Negroes, this fighter for peace, and his associates, unless, as he said the American government wants to proclaim to the world that it "considers peace alien, and its advocacy criminal."

The Information Bulletin issued by the World Federation of Teachers' Unions in giving great prominence to the indictment against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois stated: "Seeking a way to stop these activities (Peace), the U. S. government ordered Dr. DuBois to register as a "foreign agent," shamelessly applying to this organization (Peace Information Center) established by American citizens and acting in the interests of peace and of the American people a law which requires the registration of progagandists for foreign principals."

The noted barrister, D. N. Pritt of London, England expressed his shock on learning of the indictment of Dr. DuBois whom he has long admired. In a statement to the National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Associates in the former Peace Information Center he voiced the opinion that "it is tragic that a great country long famed for its devotion to peace and to freedom of speech should be presently engaged in persecuting one of its eminent citizens for his devotion to peace and for his exercise of his right to speak freely in the service of peace."

Dr. Du Bois, 3 Others Win Freedom On $1,000 Bonds

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Dr W. E. B. DuBois and three of the other persons associated with him at the Peace Information center in New York were placed under $1,000 bond each after pleading "not guilty" before the U. S. Criminal court last Friday.

The little court room was crowded to capacity and the press-box was running over, when the dignified scholar with the distinguishing goatee, nattily dressed in a navy blue business suit, stood before Judge F. Dickerson Letts at the so-called "bar of justice" surrounded by his associates and a battery of lawyers, and in a quiet, cultured voice proclaimed his innocence of the crime for which he was charged.

Dr. DuBois, Kyrle Elkin, Sylvia Soloff, Abbott Simon and Elizabeth Moos were indicted two weeks earlier for failing to register as foreign agents. Since Mrs. Moos was out of the country, only Dr. DuBois and the other three were arraigned before Judge Letts.

After the arraignment they were herded down the "criminal chute" like common criminals in spite of the protest of one of the attorneys, Perry W. Howard.

The court room quickly emptied as the reporters and spectators swarmed in the hall to watch the unusual proceedings.

Dr. DuBois' fiancee, Miss Shirley Graham, burst into tears when the 83-year-old gentleman was locked behind iron bars and frisk before being finger printed.

After the regular routine, hand cuffs were about to be placed on Dr. DuBois to lead him to the Marshal's office on the floor above while bond was being arraigned. Again Perry Howard protested, and this time his protest brought results and the peace advocators were led up the steps without handcuffs.

In a prepared statement handed to the press before the arraignment, Dr. DuBois thought it a "curious thing" that he be called upon to defend himself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want — Peace.

For 83 years, he said, he had worked and studied hoping that in some way he might help his fellowmen to a better way of life, free of poverty and injustice. He couldn't understand how a criminal offense could be imposed upon an individual for advocating peace and friendship between the American people and the peoples of the world.

"Can it be criminal to hope and work for peace," he asked, when the world has barely emerged from the horrors of the second world war and is now trembling on the brink of an atomic catastrophe.

Dr. DuBois proclaimed that his interest in world affairs has been of long standing. He studied in the University of Berlin and traveled in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and France from 1892 to 1894. He attended the World Races congress in London in 1911; organized the Pan-African congress in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919 1921 and 1923; was consultant with the founders of the League of Nations in 1919 and 1921; attended the first League assembly in Geneva; and served as special minister from the United States to Liberia in 1928.

In 1936 he spent five months in Germany visiting China, Japan, Manchuria and Russia; was appointed special consultant and attended the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945 and later in the same year attended the Pan African congress in London.

Beside Mr. Howard, other defense attorneys in the case are Judge James A. Cobb, George E. C. Hayes, George A. Parker, Sr., Geo. Parker Jr., and Gloria Herin.

Government counsel is Nathan Lenbin, special assistant to the attorney general, and Harold H. Bacon, assistant U. S. attorney. Trial was set for April.

DuBois Indictment May Cost Votes

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

The Federal grand jury indictment of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the country's foremost Negro scholar, may figure largely in next year's national elections, according to sources highly placed in the Democratic Party. Dr. DuBois, a former director of publications for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was accused of not having registered with the State Department the Peace Information Center, of which he was head.

Negro supporters of President Truman became restive regarding the DuBois case following a Harlem birthday celebration in the scholar's honor which was attended by approximately 1000 persons. The incident followed closely the Government's announcement of Dr. DuBois' indictment.

ONE OF NAACP FOUNDERS

Among the first Negroes to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree, Dr. DuBois was graduated from Harvard University in 1890, receiving two graduate degrees in subsequent years. Early in his career he went to teach at Atlanta University, leaving to become one of the founders of the NAACP.

As director of the NAACP publications, Dr. DuBois distinguished himself as editor of the Crisis, the official organ of the organization. Speaking for the NAACP, which was so feared, in its early years, by white Southerners that Negroes living in that section were ordered not to join, the Crisis fought lynching and poll tax and crusaded for the passage of Federal laws banning both.

FOE OF SEGREGATION

The early years of Dr. DuBois' career were also marked by a sharp clash between himself and Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute. Washington, whose education had been wholly in the South, supported the theory that Negroes and white persons might well be kept apart "in things social." Dr. DuBois held that this added up to racial segregation and fought the Washington thesis relentlessly.

Now 83, the well-known author returned to public life approximately eight years ago following a second tenure at Atlanta University. He broke with Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, over broad policy governing the association and turned to interest in the adjustment of African affairs.

In the years immediately following World War II, Dr. DuBois turned his attention to international affairs and the effects they have upon the position of the Negro in the United States. His philosophy followed what many close to him regard as a conviction that the "problems of peoples of color are the same throughout the world."

ANSWERS CRITICISMS

Dr. DuBois has not been openly accused of Communism, but he has addressed a number of meetings and organizations some of which have been sharply questioned by the U. S. Department of Justice. In answer to criticisms on this point Dr. DuBois has held that he is interested in "world peace and nothing else."

The Truman Administration's Negro supporters are known to have decried the fact that the distinguished scholar, when arraigned, was handcuffed. These supporters have also told highly placed executives that the task of "making the label of Communist stick" to the former NAACP leader may be a costly undertaking.

Democratic politicians, who admit that the President's position, as regards that group, is now at an all-time low, fear that any strenuous prosecution of Dr. DuBois may produce a case of racial martyrdom. In that event, many believe that the 1952 elections would be totally lost to the President as far as Negro votes are concerned.

Nmandi Azikewe Sends Message To President

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — One of the most outstanding African leaders, Nmandi Azikeye of Nigeria, last week joined other noted personalities who hace appealed to President Harry S. Truman to use his influence to save Dr. W. E. B. DuBois from being convicted for failing to register as a foreign agent while serving as head of the Peace Information Center in New York.

Dr. DuBois originally was scheduled to be tried Nov. 1; however, his attorneys succeeded in having it rescheduled for Nov. 7.

Dr. Azikewe, president of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, a publisher of half a dozen dailies in Nigeria and a graduate of Lincoln university (Pa.) with a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania, in a four page cablegram to the President, pleaded for consideration for Dr. DuBois.

The Peace Information Center is a member of a world peace movement reportedly run by Communists. Because of this left wing association, the U. S. A. attorney general branded it subversive, and under the influence of a foreign government. Therefore, it decided that all members of the Peace Information center should have registered as foreign agents. This DuBois did not do.

Among other things, Azikewe's cablegram asked:

"On behalf of millions of Africans who support our struggle for freedom from colonial bondage we respectfully implore you to temper justice with mercy as Dr. W. E. B. DuBois stands trial.

"We appreciate subject nature of his case and the need for reign of law and order in any civilized community but we wish with due deference to make it clear that Dr. DuBois is held in high esteem and veneration in this part of the world and we regard him as a fellow crusader for human rights.

"We, the millions of oppressed black humanity, regard the trial of Dr. DuBois as American Democracy on trial. May God guide you and your counsellors to dispense justice tempered with mercy and with due regard for humanitarian sentiments and respects for widespread feeling of sympathy for aged Dr. DuBois."

Dr. DuBois, a noted educator and writer, was one of the founders of the NAACP, and for many years was editor of the Crisis, official publication of the organization.

The NAACP, many leading newspapers, and various organizations have protested the indictment of Dr. DuBois.

'NOT GUILTY!'



DuBois Meets Challenge—Dr. W. E. B. DuBois came to Washington last Friday to answer charges of failure to register as an agent for a foreign principal. With three of the four others indicted by the U.S. with him, he stands before the U. S. District courthouse where the hearing was held and trial set for April 2. Left to right: Kyle Elkin, Sylvia Soloff, Dr. DuBois, Miss Shirley Graham, authoress-fiancee of Dr. DuBois, and Abbott Simon.—Cabell Photo.

Tense Drama Unfolds

Dr. DuBois' Bride-to-Be Sobs in Court

By STANLEY ROBERTS

Woven into the intellectual and ideological pattern of men and women defending and standing by Dr. DuBois was a strange mixture.

On one side, as part of his battery of legal counsel were Negro attorneys, friends and admirers of his great work through the years, the venerable Judge James A. Cobb, former Republican-appointed jurist in the District of Columbia courts; Atty. Perry W. Howard, National Republican committeeman from Mississippi, and Atty. George E. C. Hayes, retired Washington Board of Education member, now prominently mentioned as a possibility for the federal bench. Also Washington attys. George Parker and son, the very successful firm of Parker and Parker.

From New York appeared the famous labor lawyer, Miss Gloria Agrin and her associates. Miss Agrin made preliminary arrangements for the defense but was unable to secure a thirty-day time limit on motion filing.

PROGRESSIVES ACTIVE

Active outside of the courtroom and for several days preceding the arraignment here were officials and members of the Progressive party who conferred with newspapermen, passed out advance statements in behalf of DuBois and his associates. Active in the defendants and in general busied themselves with public relations work on behalf of Dr. DuBois and his associates. Also several Communists well-known to reporters covering the Washington beat.

Speculation is already in motion concerning whether these ideologically different personalities can smoothly work together in Dr. DuBois' defense. The Cobb, Agrin and Parker associates are known to be conservative in their political views.

Judge Letts set April 2 as the trial date, stipulated that all preliminary motions be filed within ten days and required each defendant to post a $1,000 bond.

WASHINGTON—Dr. W. E. B. DuBois seemed composed . . . his well known dignity and distinguished poise were apparently unruffled when he said "Not guilty," in a clear and resonant voice in a crowded and emotionally tense Federal Court here Friday morning at 10:30, but when Miss Shirley Graham, bride-to-be of the brilliant 83-year-old scholar and NAACP founder, saw him led into an adjoining chamber for fingerprinting, frisking and rogues-gallery picture-taking—while handcuffed to a United States marshal—she broke into uncontrollable, tearful sobs that clearly echoed through the usually quiet corridors of the Government courthouse.

Miss Graham's crying sobered those who observed the scene and caused quick recapitulation of a fast-moving drama that had just unfolded before the eyes.

Arraigned in front of U.S. District Judge Dickinson Letts, Dr. DuBois, chairman of the now disbanded Peace Information Center of New York, along with three other officials, Kyrle Elkin, Sylvia Soloff and Abbott Simon, all white, pleaded not guilty to a

Howard, Hayes firm, as well as the Parkers, will undoubtedly attempt to proceed on the points of law involved; the Progressive party crowd is already busy with techniques designed to use the coutroom as a forum and platform for propaganda.

TALKS TO REPORTERS

Dr. DuBois, before he entered court Friday, accompanied by Miss Graham, told reporters that "It is a curious thing that today I am called upon to defend myself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want—peace."

He said that the indictments were "a shameful proclamation to the world that our Government considers peace alien, and its advocacy criminal."

Dr. DuBois contended that while the Peace Information Center was in existence it was an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent World War III.

He said it was "revealing" that the Justice Department could find no statute which "provides for the protection of the Negro people from such outrages as the execution of the "Martinsville Seven," yet displays great ingenuity in distorting legislation to make it apply to advocates of peace.

The white defendants said that "the treatment of Dr. DuBois is a savage attempt to suppress the struggle of the Negro people for freedom by silencing the voice of one of their greatest leaders.

CITES CAREER

Dr. DuBois cited his life-long interest in world affairs as being consistently a crusade for peace. He said he studied at the University of Berlin and travelled in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and France in 1892 to 1894; attended the World Races Congress in 1911 in London; organized Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921 and 1923; was in consultation with the founders of the League of Nations in 1919 and 1921.

He attended the first meeting of the League Assembly in Geneva and met with the Directors of the Commission on Mandates and the International Labor Organization; served as Special Minister from the United States to Liberia in 1928; spent five months in 1936 and then went on to China, Japan, Manchuria and Russia and finally was appointed special consultant and attended the founding conference in San Francisco of the United Nations.

Said Dr. DuBois: "I cite these facts simply to indicate that my personal concern and activities for peace these last few years are fully consonant with my entire life interest in the cause of promoting peace through understanding among peoples of the world."

A fifth defendant, Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, did not appear in court. She is reportedly out of the country and the Government will decide later what procedure it will take to assure her presence at a future date.

TO HOLD TESTIMONIAL

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, chairman of a committee sponsoring a testimonial dinner for Dr. DuBois scheduled for Feb. 23, issued a statement last week to the effect that the indictment of Dr. DuBois would not interfere with the dinner, which will go on as scheduled. It had been planned for some time prior to the U. S. action against Dr. DuBois.

The Case of Dr. DuBois

The shocking indictment of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for failing to register as a foreign agent shows to what alarming and absurd lengths hysteria-ridden Department of Justice officials will go.

If convicted, Dr. DuBois, who this week will be honored at a testimonial birthday dinner recognizing his 50 years of struggle for liberty and equality throughout the world, faces a possible fine up to $10,000 and a maximum prison sentence of five years. On February 23, he will be 83.

Dr. DuBois, the Government claims, by serving as chairman of the now defunct Peace Information Center of New York and by circulating petitions seeking world peace was actually serving the ends of Soviet Russia.

This we simply refuse to believe. Does the Government seek to argue that Americans do not desire peace; that the hatred of war and all of its kindred evils are the exclusive privilege of aliens?

We believe Dr. DuBois speaks the truth when he insists that in circulating the petitions he was acting only as an American citizen "whose sole object was to secure peace and prevent a third World War."

The aging scholar may be simply as bitter as are many people over the evils of jim crow in the United States, the hypocrisy of its professions about democracy, and the slow speed with which the President and Congress proceed with adoption of the civil rights program.

The vim and vigor with which Dr. DuBois for more than a half century has attacked racial prejudice and segregation cannot be regarded of itself as evidence of collaboration or collusion with a foreign power.

He is saying no more about our government than the abolitionists said when Congress and the President prior to 1860 refused to free the slaves.

It is indeed a shameful period in American history when the government feels it necessary to imprison a patriotic and loyal citizen like Dr. DuBois simply because he boldly speaks out for world peace and human brotherhood.

The Strange Case Of Dr. DuBois

NEVER in American history has the issue of the loyalty of individual citizens presented such a complex of problems to the government as it does today. Our traditional and cherished freedoms are being scrutinized in a new light because of the tactics and strategy of an enemy that seeks to use ideas as weapons and is trying to take advantage of our freedoms to advance their own ends.

Our predicament today has been highlighted by the recent indictment of the aged Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for failing to have the so-called Peace Information Center in New York registered as a tool of a foreign power as requested by the Department of Justice. This office in New York circulated the Stockholm peace petition which was widely denounced as pure Communist propaganda.

The Department of Justice will seek to prove in court that this center was an instrumentality of the communists and that Dr DuBois, among others, willfully failed to have it registered as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

We do not believe that this case can or should be tried in the press. Nevertheless, the indictment and arrest of such an eminent figure as Dr. DuBois has stirred up a public controversy and produced a great deal more heat than light.

Throughout his long service in the battle for first-class citizenship Dr. DuBois has earned many honors and it is a supreme tragedy that he should become embroiled in activities that have been exposed as subversive in the twilight off his years.

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Trial Postponed



Trial of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 83, on charges of failing to register as a foreign agent, scheduled to open in Washington Monday, has been postponed pending argument April 20 on a motion to dismiss the charges. If the motion is denied, the trial will probably be held around May 15.

Report Says Communists Use Peace Drive As Smoke-Screen and 'Hoax'

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois Cited Again For 'Red' Activities

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Alleged Communist-front affiliations of Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, 82-year-old scholar and historian, are set forth in a 166-page publication titled "Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive," released Thursday, April 5, by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The report purports to be a summary and analysis of a world-wide campaign currently being waged by the Communists for the alleged purpose of promoting peace. The committee calls this campaign "the most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy" and charges that it is in fact "an organic and strategic part" of "a Communist drive for world conquest."

Dr. Du Bois was the chairman of the Peace Information Center, which had charge of the "peace" petition campaign. He and five officers of the center were indicted last February 9 by a Federal grand jury here for failing to register as foreign agents.

The indictment charges the center with acting as a publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, "The international organization established by the Cominform to publicize the so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal."

If convicted, Dr. Du Bois and his co-defendants could receive a maximum sentence of five years in jail and a fine of as much as $10,000 each.

According to the report, Dr. Du Bois has been a supporter of movements in behalf of Soviet foreign policy for over twenty years from the time he was a member of the national committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League in 1928 to the present. In 1933 he was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, the report states, and in 1946, he was a member of the New York Committee to Win the Peace.

The report also asserts that Dr. Du Bois was an active sponsor of the Progressive Citizens of America in 1947, which developed in 1948 into the Progressive party, after the Communist "peace" drive selected Henry A. Wallace as its chief exponent and the movement behind his candidacy for President became the "major concentration" of the Communist party.

Dr. Du Bois was a member of the platform committee at the Progressive party convention in 1948 and a member of the National Wallace for President Committee.

Although Mr. Wallace has repudiated the Progressive party because of its anti-American stand on Korea, the report pointed out, Dr. Du Bois was the 1950 candidate for the United States Senate of the American Labor party, which it called the "New York adjunct" of the Progressive party.

The World Peace Congress found in Dr. Du Bois an active supporter from the outset, the report said, adding:

"He was a sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace held at the Hotel Waldorf Astoria on March 25 to 27, 1949, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, of which Dr. Du Bois was chairman."

Dr. DuBois Warned To Avoid Contempt

Court Acts on Peace Center Press Release

WASHINGTON, April 27 (UP).—Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff threatened today to jail an official of the defunct Peace Information Center, of New York, for handing out a press release at the courthouse where officers of the organization may go on trial.

The statement bore the name of Dr. William E. B. DuBois, New York educator. Copies were distributed just before Judge Holtzoff was scheduled to hear motions to dismiss an indictment charging five officials of the center with failure to register as foreign agents.

Judge Holtzoff summoned Dr. DuBois to the bench after he was shown a copy of the statement by a United States marshal.

"You're handing out a statement of your case," Judge Holtzoff exclaimed. "That's contempt of court."

Dr. DuBois replied that he did not circulate the copies. When Judge Holtzoff demanded to know who did, Abbott Simon, another defendant, told the court he wrote and handed out the press release.

"If this happens again," Judge Holtzoff warned, "you will get thirty days in jail forthwith. I will overlook it this time."

The judge noted that the copies far outnumbered the reporters and said it was a serious offense to try to influence persons at the courthouse, including prospective jurors.

Judge Holtzoff refused to dismiss the indictments.

'Red' Testimony Ruled Out

U.S. Case Against Dr. DuBois Wobbling

Courier Dat. 11-24-51

By REVELLA CLAY

WASHINGTON—Attorneys for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his four Peace Information Center associates being tried in U. S. District Court on an indictment charging failure to register as foreign agents, said Thursday they will move for dismissal early this week on the grounds that the United States Government has failed to "show it has a case."

A surprise break came abruptly Thursday at noon when Judge Matthew F. McGuire dismissed the jury until Monday of this week.

Judge McGuire gave no reason for the unexpected recess, but it was widely rumored in some quarters that the Government had "run out of witnesses."

Since the case resumed Tuesday until recess time, the prosecution had presented only seven of the twenty-eight witnesses scheduled to testify against the 83-year-old DuBois and other associates of the now-dissolved Peace Information Center of New York.

Meanwhile, there was a general feeling that the Government's case to date has been shabby and punctured with holes, and that considerable rallying is needed if the prosecution seeks conviction on the charges which carry a maximum five-year jail sentence and/or a $10,000 fine.

Thus far, the trial has produced these major developments:

1. Judge McGuire Wednesday routed communism from the trial when he ruled that no testimony linking the defendants to the Soviet Union would be heard. He said: "The Soviet Union is not on trial in this case. No foreign political party or government any place in the world is on trial." He limited the "foreign principal" to the "World Congress of Defenders of the Peace," which had headquarters in Paris and which the Government charges circulated the Stockholm Peace Appeals urging abolition of the atomic bomb. The Justice stuck to his ruling despite a protest from Frank Cunningham, Government prosecutor, who argued that some testimony might infer that the Peace Information Center acted as a lauder of the Soviet Union when it called for peace. Defense attorneys hailed Judge McGuire's ruling as a decisive victory because of the frequent hysteria aroused by communism.

2. The Government's case appeared to wobble again badly on Wednesday when Defense Attorney Marcantonio, during cross-examination, drew these admissions from O. John Rogge, the former special assistant to the Attorney General and first Government witness to take the stand: (a) Rogge admitted that he served on the Advisory Council of the Peace Information Center from May 3 to June, 1950, and that he was associated "in a general way" with the peace group until the latter part of November, 1950; (b) he conceded that he signed a $10,000-a-year contract to represent the Yugoslavian Government; (c) Rogge conceded also that he told the Justice Department when he registered as a foreign agent on March 8, 1950, that he did not consider the Peace Center "a foreign agent."

3. Six other witnesses testified for the Government. Two were New York Times reporters, Will Lissner and Alexander Feinberg, who said they had interviewed Abbott Simon, one of the defendants, to get information for stories about the Peace Center and the Stockholm Peace Petitions. Another, Angelo Addesi of the New York Welfare Department, said he had interviewed Kyrle Elkin and Sylvia Soloff, two other defendants, relative to their request for a license to collect funds for the center. The three other witnesses were Arthur T. Taylor, manager of the building at 794 Broadway, New York, where the center had offices; Victor Lasky, co-author of "Seeds of Treason," who said he interviewed Simon about the Stockholm Peace Appeals, though he did not write a story on the information he obtained, and John K. Kearney, FBI agent in New York, who said he had attended a meeting of the center in New York in which funds were collected "to win this country to peace."

'Not Guilty' - DuBois

Fiancee With DuBois as He Enters Court



Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who faces a Federal charge of failing to register as a foreign agent, is shown with his fiancee, Miss Shirley Graham and Kyrle Elkin, and Sylvia Soloff about to enter District Court in Washington for arraignment in Judge F. Dickson Lett's courtroom, Friday. Dr. DuBois, Messrs. Elkin and Simon, and Miss Soloff were officials of Peace Information Center that has been labeled "Red" by the Justice Department.—(Kay Dee Photo)

Famed Scholar Treated Like Common Felon

Technical Custody Plea Is Denied

TAKEN BY MARSHAL

Court Allows Only 10 Days; $1000 Bond

WSHINGTON

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 82, who is internationally known as one of America's elder statesmen, will go on trial here April 2, on the Federal charge of failing to register as a foreign agent, Judge F. Dickinson Letts of the District Court, ruled Friday.

The man who has spent a lifetime fighting for civil rights and is the most distinguished writer of this generation, was treated like a common criminal when Judge Letts, obviously hostile, refused pleas of his defense counsel to allow Dr. DuBois to remain in technical custody while posting $1,000 bond.

Treated Like Criminal

The request was denied following the arraignment hearing and Dr. DuBois was trotted into the U.S. Marshal's office like the rest of the accused persons who normally appear at the Friday arraignment hearings.

Judge Letts also denied the pleadings of a battery of lawyers to delay the hearing in the case until an adequate defense could be prepared. He gave defense counsel only 10 days in which to prepare motions upon which he could rule either to postpone or dismiss the case.

Dr. DuBois, along with four other persons, was indicted by a Federal grand jury on February 9 because of his affiliation with the disbanded Peace Information Center of New York City, which has been branded "Red" by the Justice Department.

Former Center Director

The eminent scholar, according to the indictment, was former director of the Peace Information Center. The center was accused of acting in the United States for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, the international organization established by the Cominform to publicize the so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Three of the other four officers of center, according the Justice Department, appeared with Dr. DuBois at the arraignment proceedings Friday. They included Kyrle Elkin, Abbot Simon and Sylvia Soloff, all white.

In a statement to the AFRO prior to the hearing Friday, Dr. DuBois claimed that "It is a curious thing that I am called upon to defend myself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want—Peace."

Attired in a blue serge suit, navy blue overcoat, red tie and a black homburg hat, the soon-to-be 83 year old scholar continued in a soft-spoken, even tone: "For 53 years I have worked and studied, hoping that in some way I might help my people and my fellowmen to a better way of life, free of poverty and injustice."

Tracing his interest in world affairs, Dr. DuBois continued: "For two years, from 1892 to 1894, I studied at the University of Berlin and travelled in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and France.

"I attended the World Races Congress in 1911 in London. I organized Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921, and 1923. I was in consultation in 1919 and 1921 with the founders of the League of Nations.

At First Peace Meet

"I attended the first meeting of the League Assembly in Geneva and met with the directors of the commission on mandates and the International Labor Organization.

"In 1928 I had the honor of serving as special minister from the United States to Liberia. In 1936, as a Fellow of the Carl Schurz Foundation, I spent five months in Germany and then went to China, Japan, Manchuria and Russia.

"Later, in 1945, I attended the Pan-African Congress in London. I cite these facts simply to indicate that my personal concern and activity for peace is not new.

Wedding Plans Same; 'Wonderful'—Shirley

Marriage plans of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Miss Shirley Graham have not been changed because of his indictment by the Federal government.

The wedding which will unite the 82-year-old statesman often called the most distingushed writer of this generation with the 48-year-old brilliant and prize winning author of historical novels, will take place at her St. Albans, L. I. home on February 27.

Miss Graham told the AFRO her husband-to-be is kept busy every minute by demands on him for speaking engagements. "He's really very wonderful" she added.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who faces Federal charges of being a foreign agent, has singlehandedly influenced present day leadership more strongly than any other single person.

It was Dr. DuBois who took the leadership in preventing the nation from adopting, without protest, the segregation program of Booker T. Washington.

An organizer of the NAACP, founder of the NAACP publications, the Crisis, Dr. DuBois has planned and developed civil rights programs for over two decades.

No other person since Frederick Douglass has been more respected by white Americans, more followed by colored Americans, nor has any other American leader left a larger imprint upon race relations in this generation, said Carl Murphy, president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers.

DuBois Organized NAACP; Founded Crisis; Fought JC

tivities for peace these last few years are fully consonant with my entire life interest in the cause of promoting peace through understanding among the peoples of the world."

"No Crime"

Dr. DuBois contended that "It is a sad commentary that we must enter a courtroom today to plead not guilty to something that can not be a crime—advocating peace and friendship between the American people and the peoples of the world."

The learned scholar stated "As chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence, I can categorically state that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective as Americans was to secure peace and prevent a third World War."

Miss Shirley Graham, noted author, fiancee of Dr. DuBois, accompanied him to the arraignment. She told the AFRO that the date of their marriage has been set for Feb. 27.

Banquet Feb. 23

Dr. DuBois's 83rd birthday will be celebrated with a banquet to be held in the Essex House in New York City on Feb. 23. An impressive list of prominent persons including Albert Einstein, Dr. Charles Johnson, president of Fisk University; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, of Howard University; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of the National Council of Negro Women; and J. Finley Wilson, head of the Elks are among the sponsors of the affair.

Miss Graham's son, Davin McCanns, was also on hand for the hearing.

The lawyers for the four defendants under indictment include E. C. Hayes, Perry W. Howard, GOP national committeeman from Mississippi, Judge James A. Cobb, George Parker, Barrington Parker and Gloria Herin.

Noted Scholar Denies Charges

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Dr. William E. B. DuBois, noted 83-year-old educator, anthropologist and author, was indicted by a Federal grand jury here Friday, along with four other officials of the "Peace Information Center," principle advocate of the "Stockholm Peace Appeal," for failure to register as foreign agents.

The center, with headquarters in New York City, is named along with its officers in a two-count indictment returned in District Court.

Indicted with Dr. DuBois were Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, mother of



DR. DuBOIS

the former wife of William W. Remington, convicted last week of perjury in denying Communist membership; Kyrle Elkin, Abbot Simon and Sylvia Soloff, all of New York City.

The defendants are charged with "failing to cause" the Peace Center to file a registration statement with the Justice Deparment in keeping with the requirements of the 12-year-old Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Failure to comply may be punished by five years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine. The failure to register "was unlawful and wilful," the grand jury said. The five defendants will be arraigned in District Court on February 16.

In New York where a group of distinguished sponsors are planning a dinner in honor of his 83rd birthday on February 23, Dr. DuBois expressed his "shock" at the indictment.

In a prepared statement he said: "My colleagues and I feel there is no basis in fact or fancy for the charge that the peace information center is in any way a representative of a foreign principal."

Continuing, Dr. DuBois claimed that "as chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence, I can categorically say that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent a third war."

Dr. DuBois said the organization was disbanded "several months ago."

The grand jury, on the other hand, charges that the center is the publicity agent for the committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, an organization established by the cominform to publicize the Stockholm Peace appeal.

The appeal, which sought to outlaw atomic weapons, has been branded a "propaganda trick" for the Soviet Union by Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

The grand jury said that the Peace Information Center has been a foreign agent from April 3, 1950 to date. It has acted within the United States as a publicity agent, has reported information to and acted at the request of the defenders of the peace group and the World Peace Council.

The Peace Information Center was organized following a meeting of the permanent committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in Stockholm last March.

Dr. DuBois was one of 15 Americans elected to the presidium of the new council at the second World Congress whose sessions in Warsaw were concluded last November 22. He was prevented from attending when the State Department refused him a passport.

A former consultant to the United Nations, Dr. DuBois was research director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which he helped found in 1909. Before that he edited the NAACP's monthly "The Crisis."

DuBois Denies Charges In Federal Indictment

NEW YORK—(NNPA)—Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, one of five officers indicted along with the Peace Information Center in Washington, last Friday expressed "shock" at the indictment.

He said "arrangements have been made with the Department of Justice for the arraignment and my colleagues and I will be in Washington Feb. 16 on this matter.

Dr. DuBois again called the center "entirely American" and said that he made "repeated efforts" to arrange an interviek with the Justice Department concerning the registration order received from the State Department, "but this request was ignored." He added that the center was disbanded "several months ago."

* * *

THE PEACE Information Center, with headquarters here, was named along with five of its officers in a two-count indictment returned in District Court in Washington last Friday.

In addition to Dr. Du Bois, the officers indicted are Mrs. Elizabeth Moss, mother of William Remington's former wife; Kyrle Elkin, Abbott Simon, and Sylva Soloff, all of New York City.

The center, the grand jury charged, is the publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, the organization established by the Cominform to publicize the Stockholm Peace Appeal. The petition, which sought to outlaw atomic weapons, has been branded a "propaganda trick" of the Soviet Union by Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

* * *

UNDER THE Foreign Agents Registration Act, all persons or organizations acting in this country for a foreign principal are required to register with the Justice Department. Failure to do so carries a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

The Washington grand jury said the Peace Information Center has been a foreign agent from April 3, 1950, to date. It has acted within the United States as a publicity agent, has reported information to and acted at the request of the Defenders of Peace group and the World Peace Council, the indictment alleges.

Because of this work, the indictment states, the center was required to file with the Attorney General a registration statement under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

* * *

THE INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS were indicted because it was their duty to cause the center to register, according to the indictment. The failure to register was unlawful and willful, the indictment said.

Mr. Simon, executive director of the center, reported in August that the center had obtained more than 1,000,000,000 signatures on the petition throughout the country and that 273,000,000, 86 per cent of whom live in the Soviet Union or its satellite countries, signed the document.

In August Mr. Simon reported that he had received a letter dated August 11 from William E. Foley, chief of the State Department's foreign agents' registration section, ordering the officers of the center to register.

THE LETTER REMINDED the officers of the section of the registration act "which states in substance that any persons who acts within the United States, whether or not pursuant to contractual relationship, as a publicity agent for a foreign principal falls within the purview of the registration requirements of the act."

At that time Dr. Du Bois called the order a "fantastic absurdity" and described the center as an "entirely American organization whose sole objective is to secure peace and to prevent a third world war."

In his statement issued last Friday night, Dr. Du Bois said: "There is no basis, in fact or fancy, for the charge that the Peace Information Center was in any way a representative of a foreign principal.

"As chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence I can state categorically that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and **prevent a third world war."**

DuBois Says Indictment is Attempt To Silence Group

NEW YORK.— (INS) — William E. DuBois declared Saturday that the federal indictment of himself and other officials of the Peace Information Center is an attempt by the Justice department "to frighten into silence the tremendous feeling for peace now being expressed throughout our country."

The peace information center of New York and five of its officers were indicted by a federal grand jury in Washington Friday for failure to register under the Foreign Agents Registration act. The center was the principal advocate in this country of the so-called "Stockholm Peace Appeal."

DuBois, in a statement said "There is no basis, in fact or fancy, for the charge that the peace information center was in any way a representative of a foreign principal."

He said he and his associates have arranged to appear in Washington Friday. for arraignment.

Named in the indictment with DuBois, American Labor party candidate for senator from New York in last fall's elections, were four others including Elizabeth Moos, the former mother-in-law of convicted perjurer William Remington.

The Peace Information Center which has its principal headquarters in New York, was created to publicize the Stockholm appeal—which Secretary of State Acheson described as "a propaganda trick in the spurious peace offensive of the Soviet Union"—in this country.

Acheson said the communist-controlled partisans of peace, which originated the appeal, had the two-fold purpose of promoting Soviet proposals concerning atomic energy and centering attention on the use of atomic agents.

The indictment specifically charges the Peace Information Center with failing to file the required registration statement under Foreign Agents Registration act.

Maximum penalty under the charge is five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Peace Center Branded 'Red' by Uncle Sam

4 Other Officers Cited by U.S. Jury

SCHOLAR SHOCKED

Smear 'Can't Stem Peace Tide,' He Says

WASHINGTON

The disbanded "Peace Information Center" of NYC, and its former chairman, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, internationally known scholar and author, were indicted last Friday by a Federal grand jury on a charge of failing to register as a foreign agent.

Failure to register is punishable by a fine up to $10,000 and five years imprisonment.

4 Others Indicted

Four other persons, all New Yorkers, described as officers of the Center, were indicted along with Dr. DuBois.

They are: Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, the mother of the former wife of William W. Remington, ex-Government official, who was convicted in New York last week of perjury concerning his alleged Communist affiliation; Kyrle Elkin, Abott Simon and Sylvia Soloff.

The indictment accuses the Center of acting in the United States "For the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, the international organization established by the Cominform to publicize the so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal."

Also in This Story:

- **DuBois said 3 million signers will defend their right to speak**
- **Arraignment set for Friday, Feb. 16 in Washington**
- **Accused see indictment as attempt to silence peace talk**

Dr. DuBois Statement

Concerning the indictment, Dr. DuBois said:

"It is with a deep sense of shock that I learn that I and several of my colleagues in the Peace Information Center have been indicted for an alleged violation of a statute known as the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

"This charge was first brought to our attention on August of last year.

Denied Interview by Acheson

"We felt then, and feel now, that our activities for peace, and in particular to outlaw atomic warfare, could not conceivably fall within the purview of such a statute.

"This position was made known to the Department of Justice in correspondence. Repeated efforts were made by me to secure an interview with officials of the Department of Justice, but this request was ignored.

"This was the way the matter stood on Feb. 8. Yet on Feb. 9, despite efforts made in good faith by us to make our position clear, we find ourselves confronted with an indictment."

Center Entirely American

Dr. DuBois answered the Communist smear in this manner:

"My colleagues and I feel there is no basis, in fact or fancy, for the charge that the Peace Information Center, was in any way a representative of a foreign principal.

"As chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence, I can state categorically, that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent a third World War.

Group Disbanded

"Since the organization has disbanded several months ago, I must assume that the Department's action is an effort to frighten into silence the trememdous feeling for peace now being expressed throughout our country.

"The desire for peace cannot be made an "alien sentiment when the fathers and mothers of America's children read daily of the impending atomic devastation, and see on the front pages the high price paid for military adventures abroad.

Cant Stop Peace Tide

"Attempting to brand those who work for peace as 'foreign agents' will not stem the tide of peace in America. We are confident that on this issue we can trust the sense of justice of the American people.

"Arrangements have been made with the Department of Justice for the arraignment, and my collegues and I will be in Washington next Friday, Feb. 16, on this matter.

"I am sure that every American who desires peace, colored and white, Catholic, Jew or Protestant, the 3,000,000 signers of the World Peace Appeal and tens of millions more, will join us in defense of the right to speak and to work for peace."

SQUEEZE IT

When Fate hands you a lemon, squeeze it and start a lemonade stand.

U.S. Indicts Dr. DuBois, 4 Others



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
. . . to fight indictment

NEW YORK—Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, former director of the now-disbanded Peace Information Center, 799 Broadway, told The Courier Sunday that he and his colleagues would appear before a United States court in Washington, Friday, Feb. 16, and fight the charges in their indictment as "agents of a foreign power"—presumably Russia.

The soon-to-be-83-year-old intellectual leader and four other officers of the center—all white—were charged last Friday by a Federal grand jury with failure to register as agents for a foreign power. Their indictments had been ordered by the House Un-American Activities Committee, which charged that they had failed to comply with the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

FIVE-YEAR TERM

Conviction carries a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine. The act requires all persons or organizations acting in this country for a foreign principal to register with the Justice Department.

Specifically, the bill of indictment charged the Peace Information Center with being the publicity afgent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of the Peace, described as an organization established in Moscow to publicize the Stockholm Peace Appeal. This was done last year through nation wide petitions circulated by the center. The indictment did not specifically name Russia as the "foreign principal" involved, despite the implications.

WILLFUL FAILURE

Because of the work connected with publicizing the appeal, the grand jury said the center should have registered under the Act of 1938. The individuals are named, the grand jury said, because "it was their duty to register and they did not do so." The indictment says the failure to register "was unlawful and willful." The defendants must appear before a court in Washington on Feb. 16 to answer the indictment.

Dr. DuBois, who ran for the U. S. Senate last year on the ALP ticket in New York, denied the charges, in a statement to The Courier. He declared that he had made repeated efforts "to secure and interview with officials of the Justice Department, but this request was ignored."

DUBOIS' DENIAL

He declared that "we felt then, and feel now, that our activities for peace and in particular outlaw atomic warfare, could not conceivably fall within the purview of such a statute. This position was made known to the Department of Justice. We were Indicted with him were Mrs. an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent a third world war."

Dr. DuBois said it had dsibanded several months ago Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, mother of the divorced wife of William V. Remington; Kyrely Elkin, Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff.

The Peace Information Center closed its offices here on Jan. 30, when its rental period had ex-

Dubois Group Pleads Not Guilty To US Indictment

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA)—Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, and three other officers of the Peace Information Center of New York pleaded not guilty last Friday to an indictment charging failure to rigister as foreign agents as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

Judge F. Dickinson Letters in District Court here tentative set the trial date for Apr. 2, and let the four officials remain free on $1,000 bond.

In a two - count indictment, the federal grand jury here charged that the center is the publicity agent for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, an organization established by the Cominform to publicize the Stockholm peace petition.

* * *

THE FOREIGN AGENTS Registration Act requires all persons or organizations acting in this country for a foreign principal to register with the Justice Department. Failure to do so carries a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

The federal grand jury here charged that the Peace Information Center has been a foreign agent from April 3, 1950, until recently.

The individual defendants are in addition to Dr. DuBois, author and educator; Kyrle Elkin, Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff, all of New York. Dr. Du Bois told the court the center no longer is in existence.

* * *

A FIFTH DEFENDANT, Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, did not appear in court last Friday. She is the mother of the divorced wife of William Remington, convicted perjurer.

Assistant United States Attorney Harold Bacon said she is "out of the country" but the Government expects her to appear later for arraignment. Defense attorneys said she was in Europe.

Dr. Du Bois has denied the charges, calling the center "entirely American." He said he made repeated efforts to arrange an interview with Justice Department officials concerning a registration order received from the State Department, but his requests were ignored.

* * *

IN A LETTER to Mr. Simon, who was executive director of the center, William E. Foley, chief of the State Department's foreign agents' registration section, on August 11 ordered the officers of the center to register.

At that time Dr. Du Bois called the order a "fantastic absurdity" and described the center as an "entirely American organization whose sole objective is to secure peace and to prevent a third world war."

In a telegram last Thursday, C. B. Baldwin, secretary of the Progressive Party, urged President Truman to order the indictments to be dropped.

* * *

"NO MORE SHAMEFUL act has been performed by your Administration," Mr. Baldwin charged, than the indictment of Dr. Du Bois and his associates." Calling the charges that they were foreign agents "absurd," Mr. Baldwin said:

"Dr. Du Bois has given his great talents to the strengthening of democracy, the ending of segregation and racial discrimination, the outlawing of colonial exploitation, and the fight for peace.

"It is significant that you chose the outstanding Negro scholar of our generation in an attempt to frighten the great mass of the American people. This ridiculous and unconstitutional action is a clear indication to the world of your intention to use every device to suppress the actions and voices of the growing peace forces in the United States."

Dr. Dubois Involved In Red Activities

IT IS a matter of deep regret to many persons among his legion of admirers that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has become involved in Communist front activities to the extent of bringing upon himself a criminal indictment.

For many years the scholarly DuBois has been a recognized and respected leader in the highest councils of Negro and white welfare movements. Moreover, his extraordinary stature carried his influence across race lines throughout the world.

His indictment by a federal grand jury, along with four other officers of the *Peace Information Center* does not come with surprise to informed persons who are familiar with the devious ways employed by the Soviet Union to carry its program over in America. At his prime no one woud have taken Dr. DuBois to be susceptible to Communist intrigue. He is now 82 years old, but he still enjoys a remarkable degree of physical and mental vigor. Lending himself to the purposes of the so-called world - wide peace petition movement engineered by the Soviets, or in their interest, was an indication that he had either become greatly embittered in the late afternoon of his life, or he had slipped a cog in his usually sound thinking apparatus.

It will be recalled that at the outset of World War I, Dr. DuBois, who was then editor of *The Crisis,* wrote an editorial calling upon his fellow countrymen to "close ranks and win the war."

This article was widely discussed and quoted, and from the more radical elements it brought him considerable criticism. But he stuck to his guns, and all through the war he was a great influence upon the national morale.

No doubt Dr. DuBois was disappointed that out of that war, purportedly fought "to save the world for democracy" came results so wide of the mark here at home. No doubt his disappointment was even greater when World War II, fought for similar principles, failed democracy and human rights so dismally. These experiences may have given him some belief that a petition, signed by millions of peoples in domocratic countries, calling upon them to disarm, or to insist upon disarmament, would prevent another war.

As a matter of fact such a movement would help no nation but Russia, whose designs are to capture a weakened world.

Not Guilty Is Plea Of Dr. DuBois Given Only Ten Days Before Hearing

WASHINGTON — Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, brilliant scholar and historian, pleaded not guilty when arraigned before Judge F. Dickinson Letts of the District Court last Friday morning.

Dr. DuBois has been charged, along with four other persons, members of the "Peace Information Center" in New York as having failed to register as agents of a foreign country.

The center has been openly branded by the U. S. Justice Department as being "Red".

Dr. DuBois was indicted on February 9.

He was charged in the indictment as a former director of the Peace Information Center. The center was accused of acting in the United States for the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, the international organization established by the Cominform to publicize the so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Judge Lett denied counsel for the noted statesman the right to keep DuBois in protective custody while posting $1000 bond.

The Judge likewise dismissed a a plea by defense counsel to grant time to prepare a defense. He gave only ten days in which to prepare motions upon which he would rule either to postpone or dismiss the case.

Dr. DuBois accompanied into court by his fiancee, Miss Shirley Graham, authoress, to whom he is to be wed this spring. Miss Graham, in tears, said she would stand by the indicted historian.

'UTTER FAILURE,' SENATORS TOLD

Progressive Party Official Attacks Anti-Russia Policy

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20 (AP).—Calvin B. Baldwin, secretary of the left-wing Progressive party, said Tuesday the administration's policy toward Russia is an "utter failure" and is leading this country to war.

Baldwin's statement at a Senate hearing drew a sharp rebuke from Sen. Theodore F. Greene (Dem.) of Rhode Island, who accused him of following the propaganda line laid down by Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin against the United States.

Undaunted, Baldwin reported:

"I'm shocked at you of all people, Senator Green, that you would have this little lapse into McCartheyism."

Baldwin aired his views at a joint session of the Senate foreign relations and armed services committees during a continuing examination of the troops-for-Europe issue.

The witness was campaign manager for Henry A. Wallace when Wallace ran for President on the Progressive party ticket in 1948. Wallace later split with the party over its foreign policy.

Urging a negotiated peace with Russia, Baldwin told the Senators:

"The policy of containment is an utter failure. Our future policy must be based on coexistence. I therefore propose that you call upon the President to convene a 5-power conference to settle these (capitalist-socialist) differences."

As the hearings continued, Sen. Robert A. Taft (Rep.) of Ohio served notice that he will press for a congressional limitation on the number of American troops sent to Europe to serve under the Supreme Allied Command of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Taft took issue with a proposal by Sen. Tom Connally (Dem.) of Texas that President Truman simply notify Congress to pass on the issue of sending additional troops to Europe," Taft told newsmen. "It certainly isn't satisfactory to me."

On the other side of Capitol Hill, Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (Rep.) of Wisconsin proposed tightening up the congressional purse strings to block the dispatch of further American GI's overseas.

Smith and about 120 other Republican House members last week issued a declaration of policy calling for a powerful defense system in this hemisphere and opposing further aid to Western Europe until convinced Europe "is carrying its full share of the burden."

"We are going to examine very closely every appropriation bill that provides funds for foreign aid and for military purposes," Smith told reporters.

At Tuesday's Senate hearing, Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukranian Congress Committee of America, urged Congress to pass a resolution in which "resounding approval be boldly registered" for the dispatch of more ground troops to Europe.

Dobriansky, a Georgetown University professor, testified that underground workers behind the Iron Curtain have caused "deep-rooted internal weakness" in Russia. He said the underground has infiltrated the Soviet army, and declared that Russia's reputed invincibility in land warfare is "a myth."

Dobriansky also attacked a resolution by Sen. Kenneth Wherry (Rep.) of Nebraska, Senate GOP floor leader, opposing the dispatch of more United States troops to Western Europe until Congress has passed on the policy.

The witness said Wherry's resolution was "permeated with an indiscriminate fear of mass Soviet power" and "conceived in cringing timidity."

Dr. Ruth Bleier, of Baltimore, Md., chairman of the Maryland Committee for Peace, told the Senators her organization wants a "negotiated settlement" of differences with Russia.

Elmer W. Henderson, Negro director of the American Council on Human Rights, centered his testimony on a plea against racial segregation in the Army.

EXPELLED STUDENT JAILED

Must Serve Disorderly Conduct Sentence for Street Speech

SYRACUSE, Feb. 17 (AP)—Still protesting his innocence, Irving J. Feiner, expelled Syracuse University student whose disorderly conduct conviction was upheld last month by the United States Supreme Court, today began serving the remaining twenty-five days of his thirty-day sentence.

Mr. Feiner, a resident of the Bronx, was arrested March 8, 1949, while making a political speech on a street corner here under the auspices of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. Feiner's prosecutors said the crowd at the street corner was "in an evidently bad mood" when he "made a plea to the colored people to rise in arms and fight for their rights."

He was sentenced to thirty days in jail, but was released on bail pending appeals. The Supreme Court last Jan. 15 upheld the conviction.

Progressives Pick Robeson for 1952

No. 1 Choice for President, Singer Insists on White Running-Mate

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff

Paul Robeson, who says American Negroes will refuse to fight in any war with the Soviet Union, is currently No. 1 choice to head the Progressive party ticket in the 1952 Presidential race.

Although roundly repudiated by spokesmen for his own race, the Negro Communist, it is expected, will be able to cut a swath in the deep South, known to the Communists as the Black Belt.

From the Progressive party point of view, he's eminently qualified. He educated his son Paul Jr. in the USSR. And last June he met secretly with Jacob A. Malik, Russian delegate to the United Nations Security Council and then its president. At that session the baritone delivered a statement denouncing America's "war preparations" and thanking Russia for its outstanding role in fostering world peace.

Wants White Partner

Ordinarily, this might be something of a handicap in American political life. Not to the Commies, of course; or to the balmy ex-Wallaceites, who think Russia offers the only road to peace.

As of this moment, Mr. Robeson's holding out. He insists on a suitable running mate, white, from the West or Midwest.

If the Robeson deal falls through, there's always former Rep. Vito Marcantonio as a handy standard bearer. Vito, however, would rather try for Congress again. He'd have at least a chance to be elected.

Red China Posts a New Piece of Propaganda.

From Dr. Alonzo F. Myers, chairman of the department of higher education, New York University, comes an interesting communique.

It's a form letter from Communist China, airmailed via Paris and addressed "To the Educational Workers of the Universities in the United States."

The letter had been signed by 85 Red China professors, including Wu Yu-tchang, president of the Peoples University of China; Lu Chi-wei, president of the University of Yenching, and Chen Yuan, president of the University of Fu Yen. It was transmitted "to their American colleagues" by Paul Delanoue, general secretary of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, a branch of the Commie-controlled World Federation of Trades Unions.

U.S. Is Attacked.

For dozens of centuries, the teaching profession was the most respected in China. This letter, if nothing else, shows how deeply higher education in present-day China has become enmeshed in the web of world Communist propaganda.

Such, however, was not the object. Throughout the letter excoriates the United States as seeking to "invade China" and "extend the flames of war to all Asia"; as "preparing for a new war" and as endangering "the very interests of the peoples throughout the world."

Further, it says, "the American government . . . is brewing more evils."

Readers of the Daily Worker will readily recognize the phrasing. But, coming from a land where (pre-Mao Tse-tung) the military caste was always held in the lowest esteem, it sounds a peculiarly bellicose warning: "The liberated Chinese people will never tolerate such aggression and are powerful enough to repulse it."

The letter ends thus: "We pledge to unite with you in the common struggle against the intrigues of the American government which are endangering the world and all mankind."

Sent to Thousands.

Prof. Myers, in an accompanying note, wrote:

"About the letter, I have no doubt that it went to thousands of American educators.

"It appears to me to be part of an organized propaganda drive . . . against support of the war in Korea. Most recipients who would recognize it for what it is would throw it in the waste basket, which is what I almost did.

"I am concerned about the others—people who rarely receive letters from abroad and who would not know that the statement almost surely was prepared by American Communists. I would like to see this propaganda drive exposed."

The Confederate Flag Gets the Red Treatment.

The Commies at last are coming to grips with reality. This time they've got their teeth in the real thing. Orders have gone out to party sections and down to the wee-most party cells to expose and resist that recent fad, displaying the Confederate flag.

It is, according to the CP, a conspiracy to advocate the subversion and overthrow of the government of the United States, a crime of which dozens of ranking Communists have been falsely accused. Already the anti-Confederacy directive has been handsomely implemented.

The Daily Worker moved fearlessly with a series of smashing exposes. In one, the DW reproduced a department store ad offering, at $1.98 apiece, blue "Union Jack" caps or gray "Johnny Reb" caps. To reassure readers who aren't so smart, it added this footnote: "Saks-34th St. attempts to cover up the dirty business of selling 'Johnny Reb' caps in the advertisement at the right by also selling 'Union Jack' caps."

Ex-CIO Union in the Act.

Next, District 65 of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union (thrown out of CIO) put the heat on Lerner Shops, the nationwide clothing chain, threatening to have its members refuse to sell the flag.

Finally Vito Marcantonio, state chairman of the American Labor party, responded with a novel idea of his own. He called upon Gov. Thomas E. Dewey to "see to it" that district attorneys throughout the state institute criminal proceedings against anyone who displays the Stars and Bars.

The challenge has been met. The North will yet be saved.

Hendley Poses Problem For Teachers Union.

In its tussles with the Board of Education over Commie teachers in the schools, the Teachers Union maintains loftily that it's standing for civil rights and academic freedom. Surely not for communism. And TU officials get riled when anybody says the union is Commie-run.

Which brings up the point at issue. In the recent cover-up reorganization of the CP's Daily Worker, one of the new owners was Charles J. Hendley, former TU president. That gives Mr. Hendley two newspaper connections. He's also secretary of the TU's bulletin, New York Teachers News.

Wherein will Mr. Hendley's first loyalties lie?



PAUL ROBESON and VITO MARCANTONIO.
Whose hat will be in what ring?

Negroes to Take Oath As Poll Tax Salesmen

Morning News
Wed, 12-5-51

Sixteen members of the Negro Progressive Voters League of Dallas County will be sworn in as deputy poll-tax salesmen at 8 p.m. Wednesday at the Moorland Branch YMCA. Dallas, Texas

Pearce Scott, league board chairman, said thirty Negro men and women have already been deputized but thirty-five more volunteers are needed. The sales drive is sponsored by the Dallas County Poll Tax Committee.

Paul Robeson Is White Folks' Baby

Afro-American Balt. Dat. 12-1-51 p.8.

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK—A white friend of mine asked me at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel: "Hicks, what are we going to do about colored people like Paul Robeson?"

I asked him what he meant by "we" and he answered, "We Americans—you and I."

I said to my friend: "As far as I'm concerned, Paul Robeson doesn't represent any problem, and if he's a problem to you, you'll have to solve it for yourself. He's your baby!"

Calls Spade a Spade

In the United States today, many white people are asking this same question over and over again. Here is my answer in detail:

Paul Robeson is a problem to white people because Paul Robeson insists on taking white people's dirty linen and hanging it out on the clothesline so the world can see what kind of housekeeper the white man is.

The white man's problem is to get Robeson to wash the clothes in the basement and let them dry down there where they will not be seen by anyone except those who live in the house.

How can it be my problem? Let's look at it another way:

Suppose I visit the house of my white friend and during the course of my visit my white friend's baby gets down on the floor and rolls back the rug to show me where his mother has been sweeping dirt under it.

Sure it would be embarassing. But whose problem is it? Its not MY problem! I didn't sweep the dirt under the rug and its not my baby. Whose problem is it then? If there IS a problem it belongs to my friend and its up to him to solve it in his house.

Chastisement Won't Help

After I'm gone, he can whale the daylights out of the baby and it might help to avoid him embarassment the next time, but if his wife continues to sweep dirt under the rug the chance of being embarassed is always there.

Now let's get back to Robeson. Robeson is the naughty child who turns back the rug each time my white friend has guests and shows the guests the dirt which has been swept beneath the rug. Whose problem is he then? Well he certainly isn't my problem because he's not turning back my rug!

Sometimes when Robeson finds an especially filthy spot of dirt beneath the rug, I admit that I'm a bit embarrassed along with my white friend, but my embarassment is caused mainly by the fact that I know some of my friends are trying to keep their homes clean.

The fact that I'm embarassed, however, does not in any way remove one speck of the dirt which is under the rug.

End Filthy Habits

The only thing that I can do for my friend in his embarassment is to suggest to him to stop sweeping the dirt under the rug. That would end his problem. If he ignores my suggestion, then it is up to him to find another way to keep his baby from exposing him.

Now in the above analogy, if one substitutes racial discrimination and segregation for the dirt under my white friend's rug, it's pretty plain to see that Paul Robeson is the white man's baby.

The racial segregation and discrimination of this country is the dirty linen which Robeson insists on washing in the eyes of the world. It's not colored people's linen because they don't attempt to segregate or discriminate against white people.

If it were left to me, I'd abolish segregation and discrimination today and Paul Robeson would be forced to go back to singing, for he then would not have anything to talk about.

Actions Not Criminal

If Robeson commits a crime against my country, I'll be one of the first to condemn him. But up to this day no one in America, to my knowledge, has charged Robeson with committing any crime.

Certainly no law enforcement officer of the nation has come forward with any charges.

The main unofficial charge against Robeson seems to be that he embarasses a lot of my white friends in the eyes of the world by telling the rest of the world what kind of people they really are.

Are colored people treated unfairly in America? Are they segregated? Are they discriminated against? Are they lynched? Are they the last to be hired and the first to be fired? Are they held back economically and culturally solely because of their color?

Robeson says they are and millions of colored people in this country can honestly answer "yes" to every one of the questions above.

What's all the fuss about then? Why is Robeson a problem. Don't some of our best and most distinguished newspapers report these same facts every day.

The answer seems to be that Robeson isn't careful about where he tells these things or to whom he tells them. We admit it to each other and our papers print it for us to read; but we don't want India or France or Russia to know about it.

We guarantee Americans the right of free speech, but we don't like it when they talk loud enough for the neighbors to hear. It's like ma stopping in the middle of an argument with pa and saying: "Stop hollering; all the neighbors will know we're fighting."

Well, as far as I am concerned, as long as Robeson is not talking about my dirty linen, he can whoop and holler about my white friend's dirty wash all he wants to.

Because if my friend is as good an American as I am, he would clean his soul so that it would be as white as mine, and Robeson would be forced to shut up because then everybody would know he was lying.

But I'm not worried about Paul. Paul is my white friend's baby!

IN BRIEF

White so-called friends of colored people are perplexed at Paul Robeson's stubborn persistence in attacking political, social and economic inequalities in the United States because of race, charging that Paul is an ingrate because he has enjoyed the best there is in the nation's life.

Some of these "friends" have asked Jimmy Hicks what to do about such people; and Hicks gives them a straight answer: In order to stop those attacks against racial inequalities, end the inequalities—then there will be no basis for criticism, and Robeson will go back to singing and stop talking.

Robeson Asks 'Freedom' To Present Anti-Negro Genocide Petition To UN

New York Daily Worker p. 3 12-15-51

New York, N. Y.—Paul Robeson, noted Negro singer and American peace leader, has applied to the State Department for a special passport to Paris to "present and argue before the General Assembly of the United Nations" a petition charging government in the United States with a policy of genocide against American Negroes, the Civil Rights Congress announced yesterday.

The petition charging genocide against American Negroes is divided into five parts — The Opening Statement, the Law and the Indictment, The Evidence, The Summary and Prayer, and the Appendix. It contains fifty pages of hundreds of cases in which innocent Negroes have been killed or assaulted since 1945 because of their race.

It also includes a survey of all racist laws on the books of the various states. It describes the role of Big Business, the Supreme Court, the Congress, and the Executive Branch of the National Government in the oppression of the Negro people. It describes race discrimination in the armed forces, in federal employment, in the Panama Canal Zone, in Washington, D. C.—all areas in which the Federal Government is directly responsible for discrimination.

The petition also recites government statistics revealing that because of denial of work and equal pay, denial of decent housing, education, hospital and medical facilities, conditions are created which result in the deaths each year of some 30,000 Negroes who would not have died if they had been white.

Deny Robeson Passport for China Visit

Noted Singer, Wife Get Semi-Official Government Bids

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK—The Chinese Peoples Committee for World Peace, said to be a semi-official agency of the Chinese Red Government, has invited singer Paul Robeson and his wife to come to China for the second anniversary of the founding of the Red China Government, but the U.S. State Department has again denied him a passport.

Mr. Robeson made these facts known Thursday night in an interview with this writer in the Harlem apartment of his son, Paul Jr., who, along with his white wife, served refreshments during the interview.

A source close to Mr. Robeson reported that the State Department has received another cable from the Chinese Government, itself, in which the Red Government has asked the U.S. Government to facilitate Mr. Robeson's appearance at its anniversary "in the deepest interest of friendship and world peace."

The report could not be immediately confirmed.

The baritone singer produced a telegram dated Sept. 1 at Peking, China, and sent to him via the Globe Wireless Service, which read as follows:

Text of Telegram

"Dear Mr. and Mrs. Robeson: Oct. 1, 1951, being the second anniversary of the founding of the Peoples Republic of China, the committee heartily extends its invitation to you partisans of peace, respected and beloved by the peoples of China and the world, to attend this occasion.

"The committee would feel extremely honoured if it would be convenient for you to arrive in Peking between Sept. 23 and 29. Earnestly awaiting your reply."

The telegram was signed by Kuo Mo-Jo, chairman of the Chinese Peoples Committee for World Peace.

Mr. Robeson said that upon receipt of the telegraphic invitation, he went to Washington last week and again applied for a passport to leave the country. He said although he "went through all the motions" to get the document, he was again turned down by the State Department.

Says He'll Apply Again

He said he had applied for the passport in spite of the legal suit which he already has pending against Secretary of State Dean Acheson in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia because the State Department invalidated his passport on August 4, 1950.

Despite the pending suit, he said, he will make a new application for a passport each time he receives an invitation to leave the country.

In the suit against Mr. Acheson, Mr. Robeson charges that the Secretary of State has denied him his constitutional rights by forbidding and preventing him from traveling abroad because he is colored and because the Secretary of State disagrees with his political views, opinions and associations.

Right to Work Denied

The suit charges that Mr. Robeson is being deprived of his rights under the fifth Admendment to the Federal Constitution in that it deprives him of the right of free speech, the right to travel freely and the right to earn a living.

As to the latter, Mr. Robeson made it plain on Thursday that denial of a passport to him to visit foreign countries deprives him of scources of income. He pointed out that on a visit to such countries he would make numerous appearances at concerts which would be profitable to him.

The noted singer disclosed that he speaks Chinese fluently and said he once made an album of records in China, one of which has become one of the most popular songs in that country. This record, he said, is "Chee Lai" which in Chinese means "Arise and Fight For Freedom." He said the song was used to promote the Chinese Revolution.

Paul Robeson is hero in Moscow stage play

MOSCOW, Sept. 14 (ONA)—Paul Robeson, the pro-Communist American Negro singer, provides the theme of a stage play presented in Moscow this Summer.

Dedicated to Robeson as "an ardent fighter for peace and freedom," the play is called "John, Soldier of Peace." The hero is an American Negro singer named John Robertson and is supposedly based on events in a park near Peekskill, New York, where a group of veterans and others broke up a concert sponsored by Communist-line organizations at which Robeson was scheduled to sing.

Though state officials and various non-Communistic groups strongly condemned the mob action which actually took place, the Soviet version of the episode is considerably more sinister than what actually happened.

According to the review in the newspaper Trud, the play shows how "a shameless band of Fascists belonging to the American Legion tried to lynch the great singer, Paul Robeson, but they received their just deserts from his supporters."

Crisis Article Dubs Robeson "Lost Shepherd"

NEW YORK — (SNS) — Negro Americans "see no similiarity beween Paul Robeson, America, who vercame the obstacles of discrmination to win world acclaim for his artistic accomplishments, and Paul Robeson, Moscow's No. 1 Negro, who spouts Communist propaganda as wildly as Vishinsky," says Robert Alan in his artcle, "Paul Robeson : he Lost Shepherd," in the November issue of THE CRISIS, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

How far Paul Robeson has departed from his former position as one of America's strongest crusaders against racial injustice, Mr Alan write was illustrated by his "startling declaration at the Communist so-called World Peace Conference in Paris in 1949 that America Negroes would not fight any war with Russia." Mr Robeson's statement was met with angry disapproval by scores of Negro leaders in the United States, typified by NAACP Secretary Walter White, who said: "Negroes contended for full and equal rights and we accept full and equal responsibilities In any conflict involving our nation we will regard ourselves as Americans and meet the responsibilities imposed on all Americans."

"How has Paul Robeson served the Communist cause in America?" Mr Alan asks. "The evidence is," he says, "that even his magnetic personality has failed the Communists."

Also featured in the November CRISIS are "The Negro Enemy," by Margretta Ellis; "English Families Adopt Brown Babies," by Gina Watson; and "Jim Crow Hunt," by J A Rogers. Nominatons for the NAACP board of directors are listed in the magazine.

ROBESON BAN STIRS CITY COLLEGE ROW

Student Protest Against Refusal to Let Singer Use Great Hall May Bring Ruling Today

OTHER GROUPS IN DISPUTE

Faculty and Campus Leaders Voice Opinions—Breach of Academic Freedom Seen

The City College Student-Faculty Committee on Student Affairs has denied to Paul Robeson permission to speak in the college's main auditorium, and the college's elected student governing body, the Student Council, has protested the committee's decision, calling it an "abridgement of academic freedom."

The academic freedom committee of the faculty is expected to make its recommendation in the controversy today.

Robeson, singer and consistent advocate of left-wing causes, had been invited to appear on Jan. 10 in the college's Great Hall by the college chapter of the Young Progressives of America and by a student committee set up to arrange his appearance.

To appear in the Great Hall, permission must be received from the Student Council and the Student-Faculty Committee.

On Nov. 9, the Student-Faculty Committee, made up of five faculty members and five students, voted 6 to 3 to refuse permission for the singer to use the auditorium. There was one abstention. The five faculty members and one student voted to deny permission.

Action Assailed By Others

Immediately after the committee's vote the Student Council voted, 28 to 4, "extreme disapproval" of the action. Since then several groups, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the two college newspapers have requested that the student-faculty committee decision be reversed.

The Student-Faculty Committee's permission would not have been required for Robeson to appear on the campus if he were to appear in any college meeting room other than the Great Hall. Julian Ramos, president of the college chapter of the Young Progressives of America, explained last night that the chapter had felt that Robeson would draw a big enough audience to justify use of the main auditorium.

Prof. Samuel Hendel of the Government Department, chairman of the faculty academic freedom committee, said that although he disagreed with Robeson's views anyone who is asked by an authorized organization to speak at the college should be allowed to do so.

"We should not imitate the totalitarian methods of eliminating freedom of speech and education," he said.

Student Paper for Apearance

One of the student newspapers, The Campus, said editorially:

"Why Mr. Robeson has been denied the use of the Great Hall raises a disturbing question. Was it, as one of the faculty members of the committee maintains, that the committee fears that Mr. Robeson would no draw a large enough audience? We hardly think so. Nor do we think that Mr. Robeson is not of sufficient stature or importance to justify his appearance."

The editorial then recommended that the decision as to who is allowed to appear before them should be in the hands of the students themselves. It also suggested that the Student Council, by a two-thirds vote, should be able to over-ide a Student-Faculty Committee vote on such a matter.

The ruling that the permission of both bodies must be had to obtain the right to use the Great Hall was made by the Board of Higher Education.

Students Protest Barring Of Robeson At CCNY

NEW YORK—The refusal of the Student-Faculty Committee on Student Affairs at City College of New York to allow Paul Robeson to speak at a campus meeting is called an "ugly precedent" in an editorial appearing in "Observation Post," under-graduate publication.

The editorial followed refusal of facilities at Great Hall, campus auditorium, for a Young Progressive of America-sponsored Robeson appearance slated for Jan. 10.

Maintaining that "there is no middle path between the heights of academic freedom and the chasm of hysteria into which many schools have fallen throughout the nation," the student editorial charged:

'Control of Fear'

"If the decision to bar the Great Hall to Paul Robeson is maintained, this school joins the ranks of the colleges surrendering to the control of fear at a time when the free thinking of higher education is desperately needed to fight those who would control free thought."

Insisting that Paul Robeson was denied the right to have his views aired because they are held in contempt by those who passed judgement, the editorial expounds, "all other reasons crumble before logic."

Asking what qualifies a member of the SFCSA to say what is good or bad for student consumption, the editors argue that "the only criterion for granting use of a great Hall is the ability to draw a large enough crowd. Paul Robeson would do that we're sure."

In closing "Observation Post's" editors asked, "are we going to sacrifice the basic principle on which higher education exists?" Then asserted "the right of the individual to fulfill the need to think problems through for himself is paramount.

'Pang of Conscience'

"No amount of explanation by the SFCSA can eliminate the pang of conscience which hangs so heavily upon us."

The decision of the SFCSA (they voted down the request 6-3-1) has caused an open break between the SFCSA and the Student Council, which expressed "extreme disapproval" of the committee's action.

Paul Robeson Asks For Passport; Has Speech For U. N.

New York, N. Y.—Paul Robeson, noted Negro singer and American peace leader, has applied to the State Department for a special passport to Paris to present and argue before the General Assembly of the United Nations a petition charging government in the United States with a policy of genocide against American Negroes. the Civil Rights Congress announced yesterday.

In his application, Robeson declared that the legal obligations arising out of the Charted of the United Nations as expressed in Articles 1, 13, 55, 56, 62, 63 and 76, supercedes all rulings made by either the judicial or administrative parts" of the U.S. Government.

He said that these articles "require that the United States Government remove such legal bars" which prevent him from appearing before the General Assembly.

Robeson added, "As stated in the Charter, the affiant (Robeson) and the Negro people are 'all equal before the law and shall be accorded protection before the law.' . . . The obligation o the United Nations to hear the complaint established the obligation of the United Nations to submit to the proceedings, and further involves the obligation of the United States to permit the affiant the means of travel in order to make such a complaint."

The petition, titled "We Charge Genocide," which has been published in the United States by the CRC in book form, seeks relief from a "crime of government" under Articles II and III of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9, 1948, following its ratification by the necessary twelve member nations.

The convention, which "supersedes both federal and state laws in the United States," defines genocide as any killings on the basis of race in whole or in part of a racial group. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of a group on the basis of race also constitutes genocide according to the convention.

Writing in Ebony Magazine:

'More To Be Pitied' Says Walter White Of Robeson

CHICAGO, Ill.—Paul Robeson is a bewildered man who is "more to be pitied than damned."

So writes Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a distinguished Negro leader, in an article, "The Strange Case of Paul Robeson," in the current issue of EBONY, Negro picture magazine.

In seeking to analyze some of the reasons for Robeson's decision to give up an annual income of $200,000 from concerts and records in order to "obey Russia's every command," White says the basic factor was the singer's bitter resentment against what he regarded as personal slights to him in this country because of his color. "He became a victim of an evangelic acceptance of a new system of society and thought he was escaping into the dream world which he imagined existed in Russia," says White.

White rejects as "incredible" the oft-repeated explanations for Robeson's leftist turn that Moscow had promised to make him the Soviet boss for the U.S. when the revolution comes or the adulation the Communists have heaped on him, or personal ambition for power.

Instead, the NAACP secretary, who has known Robeson for 30 years, is convinced the singer shifted to Communism because of what he regarded as personal discriminatory events here. "He seemed more concerned with finding some oasis in the world where he personally and his family would be free from race prejudice rather than consider fighting the malady itself," says White.

White cites some of the personal affronts to Robeson, describes the singer's trip to Russia in 1934 and his talk for a time of making Russia his permanent home.

White also tells of some of the contradictions in the Robeson philosophy, such as the times he appeared in films and in roles quite objectionable to Negroes.

"But one of the puzzling aspects of Robeson's thinking during recent years is his inability to see through the opportunism of Soviet domestic and foreign policy," says White. "With increasing faithfulness to a constantly shifting Soviet policy, he has appeared to have surrendered the ability he once possessed to appraise people and nations with objectivity."

White, however, warns that Robeson is "an ominous portent to white democracy in the United States, Europe, the Union of South Africa and Australia of what other colored men may turn to in frustration and despair."

"If there's a lesson in the political career of Paul Robeson, it would be that it would be wise for the white world, instead of querying Negroes on their attitude towards Robeson, rather, to take stock of themselves. The extraordinary truth is that the overwhelming majority of Negroes have been wise enough to see Russia's faults as well as those of the United States and to choose to fight for freedom in a faulty democracy instead of surrendering their fates to a totalitarian philosophy."

750,000 Negroes Condemn Robeson

By the United Press.

KNOXVILLE, Jan. 12.—James T. Bellanfant, Negro defendant in the 1936 race riot tria' at Columbia, Tenn., says 750,000 Southern Negroes have signed a petition condemning singer Paul Robeson as "more detrimental to the Negro than any other man."

Mr. Bellanfant said the petition, sponsored by the Mutual Assn. of Colored People, South, would eventually be presented to the baritone.

Robeson's Case

Mr. Walter A. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has undertaken to explain why the once popular singer, Mr. Paul Robeson, has embraced the cause of Soviet Russia and the world Communist Revolution. Whether Mr. Robeson is actually a member of the Communist Party or only a remarkably undeviating kind of fellow-traveler is something that can only be inferred from his actions and his words. He, himself, has asserted that it is none of anybody's damned business whether he is or is not a party member, which seems a bit inconsistent with Mr. Robeson's avowed mission of exposing the conspiracies and machinations of those whom he calls the American fascists.

Anyway, Mr. White, writing in the Negro magazine *Ebony*, observes that "Robeson has meticulously obeyed every tortuous twisting or policy and principle of the *Daily Worker*." Now Mr. White, who has known the singer for 20 years, believes that Robeson was impelled into this course by his personal bitterness over the slights and discriminations he had received by reason of his race in his native country, contrasted to the deference and even adulation, partly genuine, partly organized for propaganda purposes, that he received when he visited Russia in 1934.

Evidently Mr. Robeson was more concerned about his own humiliations than about "the treatment accorded Negroes generally." He seemed, says Mr. White, for a time more disposed to seek some private refuge from race injustice for himself and his family than to "fight the malady itself." Later, however, Mr. Robeson seemed to have "become obsessed with the conviction that Russia had totally abolished discrimination based on race or creed and that it was still the only country capable of wiping out racial discriminations."

Well, that's how it often happens with these revolutionists. Antoine Barnave's political opinions, for example, are said to have been shaped by the memory of how his mother had once been pushed aside in front of a theater to make way for some nobleman; Mme. Roland's by the memory of how during a visit to Versailles she had been obliged to sleep in the servants' quarters, which she resented not on the servants' account but on her own; Collot d'Herbois, who supervised the wholesale massacre of prisoners at Lyons, is said to have been inspired to the work by the memory of how his plays had been jeered and hissed by the local bourgeoisie. "It was just vanity," said Napoleon, somewhat ungratefully and somewhat inaccurately, "that made the French Revolution."

But, whatever injustices Mr. Robeson may have suffered, there was at least one occasion when he was given rather more than his due. This was when he was awarded the Phi Beta Kappa key at Rutgers College. The letters stand for three Greek words, meaning: *Love of wisdom, guide of life.* It is abundantly clear from Mr. White's article that love of wisdom is very far from being Mr. Robeson's guide of life.

750,000 Negroes Sign Anti-Robeson Petition

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 12 (AP).—Paul Robeson doesn't speak for Negroes in the South, says James T. Bellanfant—and he says he has 750,000 Negro signatures to prove it.

Mr. Bellanfant, a Negro from Columbia, Tenn., was one of twenty-five defendants who were acquitted in the 1946 race riot trial in his home town. He is director of the Mutual Association of Colored People, South, which he says has some 20,000 members.

He arrived in Knoxville yesterday after covering 12,000 miles in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee collecting signatures on a petition condemning Mr. Robeson's stand on war with Russia.

When he has completed his planned tour of seventeen Southeastern states, he said, he will present the petition to Mr. Robeson personally.

ROBESON IS GREETED BY REDS ON BIRTHDAY

(International News Service)

Tokyo, April 9—The Chinese Communist Peiping radio reported Monday that "warm and enthusiastic greetings" were cabled singer Paul Robeson by various Chinese organizations on the occasion of his 53rd birthday. Those who sent messages reportedly were the Chinese people's committee for world peace and against American aggression, the all-China federation of democratic youth, the all-China federation of literature and arts circles and the all-China association of music workers.

India Refuses To Admit Paul Robeson

BOMBAY, India (ANP) — Visas were refused by the Indian government to Paul Robeson, Prof. Joliot Curie, French atomic scientist and Dr. Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, here last week. The trio, travelling together, had planned to attend a communist-sponsored "Peace Congress" in India this month.

The visas were refused on the grounds that India's peace policy was well known to the world. Earlier the government had refused permission for the conference to meet in Dalhi.

Robeson Can't Get Visa From India

BOMBAY, India (ANP)—Visas were refused by the Indian government to Paul Robeson, Prof. Joliet Curie, French atomic scientist and Dr. Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, here last week. The trio, travelling together, had planned to attend a communist-sponsored "Peace Congress" in India this month.

The visas were refused on the grounds that India's peace policy was well known to the world. Earlier the government had refused permission for the conference to meet in Dalhi.

Robeson Loses Passport Suit

WASHINGTON—(A N P)—Singer-actor Paul Robeson last week lost in his attempt to regain his passport, now confiscated by the U. S. state department.

Federal Judge Walter M. Bastian dismissed a suit by Robeson in which he demanded that the federal government grant him a passport.

The noted singer filed suit against the state department in December after the department denied him use of his passport last summer, declaring that he was not traveling "in the best interests of his country."

Judge Bastian said that the department was within its "discretion" in turning down the application.

Robeson's torubles with his passport began after his 1949 trip to Europe because of certain statements he made in foreign nations. One of them that caused the most controversy was on whether or not Negroes would fight for the United States in case of war with Russia.

When in the summer of 1950 Robeson sought to go overseas again the department advised him against it. It is unofficially said that the department approved of his travel if he would agree not to speak. Robeson did not so agree.

In December the singer, often accused of being a communist or at least a fellow traveler, decided to take legal action to regain his passport.

Robeson Jr. Blasts Refusal of Passport

NEW YORK—Declaring that he is "arbitrarily being held a prisoner within the boundaries of the United States," Paul Robeson Jr. last week scored the "hypocrisy of the U. S. Government's protestations of democracy" following the refusal of the U. S. State Department to grant him a passport for travel abroad.

Mr. Robeson had planned attending the Third World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace in Berlin.



Mr. Robeson

ROBESON'S STATEMENT

In a statement made public last week, Mr. Robeson stated:

"I asked the head of the Passport Division in Washington, Mrs. R. B. Shipley, why I was denied my passport. Mrs. Shipley answered that my present activities were such that the State Department considered that my travel abroad would be against the best interest of the United States. When I inquired what the specific activities were, she replied that there were no specific charges against me—just my activities in general. I could obtain no more specific answer than that.

"This shows clearly that the "freedom" of any American citizen to travel as he or she pleases is non-existent. Only those who agree with the views of the State Department can get passports nowadays.

PLANNING WAR?

"I believe that only a government which itself plans war and oppression would go to such lengths to prevent young Americans from seeing and hearing for themselves what youth in other countries are thinking and doing. The State Department obviously is afraid to allow young Americans to attend the Festival and to get to know what the youth of the world are doing in behalf of peace.

"All the world knows the hypocrisy of the U. S. Government's protestations of democracy, while it oppresses the Negro people and destroys civil rights.

Robeson's Attorneys Say Passport Denial Restrictive

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Two main arguments are advanced by Attorneys for Paul Robeson, noted actor and singer, that the courts have jurisdiction to review the action of the State Department denying him a passport to travel abroad.

Robeson is appealing to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia from an order of Judge Walter M. Bastian of the District Court here dismissing his suit for a declaratory judgment that Dean G. Acheson, Secretary of State, had no authority to cancel Robeson's passport or to demand its surrender.

Attorneys for Robeson insist that the granting of a passport is more than a request to foreign authorities. They say it is in effect a license to travel.

The State Department notified Robeson on August 4, 1950, that it had invalidated his passport. The reason given was that the Department considered Robeson's travel abroad "would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

The effect of this action, Robeson's lawyers assert, is to confine Robeson to the United States and deny him the right to practice his profession anywhere in the World except in the United States.

At the time his passport was cancelled, Robeson said, he had arranged a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and fulfill several speaking engagements at Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, and Nice, France, and to make a speaking and singing tour of Scandinavia and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

On the question of whether issuance of a passport is entirely within the foreign affairs function of the State Department and not subject to review by the courts, attorneys for Robeson cite the three cases recently decided by the Supreme Court, involving the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., and the International Workers Order, Inc which brought suit against the Attorney General.

These organizations were included in a list of organizations designated by the Attorney General as Communist and furnished by him to the Loyalty Review Board.

The District Court dismissed the complaints filed by these organizations, and that judgment was affirmed by the appeals court. The Supreme Court reversed the appeals court and remanded the cases to the District Court with instructions to deny the Attorney General's motion that the complaints be dismissed for failure to state a claim upon which relief can be granted.

If the mere listing by the Attorney General of an organization as Communist or subversive without hearing is an arbitrary and unauthorized act which the courts may review, Robeson's lawyers argue, then there was a legal injury to Robeson due to invalidation of his passport and prohibition against his travel under pain of criminal prosecution.

As to the granting or refusal of a passport being discretionary with the Secretary of State, Robeson's lawyers assert that they do not believe that "discretion includes discretion to deny appellant a passport and the right to travel because of disapproval of his political opinions or because appellant is a Negro."

They argue that "If Congress and the Executive in the exercise of their authority over federal employment may not deny employment on such grounds, then Congress and the Executive may not deny passports and forbid travel on such or similar grounds."

Robeson Seeks Court Order To Obtain Passport

Washington (ANP).—Paul Robeson, internationally famous concert artist, called upon the U. S. Court of Appeals last week to compel the state department to give him a passport for travel in Europe.

Robeson claimed that the state department acted improperly in refusing to issue him a passport because of "disapproval and disagreement with his political views."

The internationally famous singer charged the state department with attempting to deprive him of his constitutional rights by its refusal to permit him to travel freely abroad.

According to Robeson, this refusal to grant him a passport was based upon "discretionary" powers.

Thomas L. Stokes:

South Needs a Strong G. O. P.

Whole Nation Could Benefit If Republicans Would Junk Bossism, Create Strong Party

The Republican National Committee in its recent sessions here took occasion, among other matters, to revive a hardy perennial which is, indeed, worth assiduous cultivation for the good of the nation as a whole.

This is creation of an effective Republican Party in the South. That aim coincides with the aspirations of many people in the South, and not only Republicans there. There is wide recognition of the need of a strong two-party system. It would afford needed competition that would not only accord representation and a voice in national affairs to increasing numbers who now lack those, but also would improve local government in which the voter now has, with some exceptions, only the choice between Democratic party factions. That last conduces to personal government with emphasis on personalities, including occasional demagogues, rather than on issues.

Two-party competition in the South would mean something, too, to people in other parts of the Nation. One-party government there gives the South an influence in national government much beyond its due. It makes for continuity of service and that, through operation of the seniority rule in Congress, gives the South a disproportionate number of key posts in the national legislative body. Furthermore, that over-weighted influence is on the conservative side and not truly representative because of various franchise restrictions in the South that bar many low income and underprivileged groups, white and black, from participation in politics.

That, of itself, nullifies progressivism elsewhere in the country to an extent. Among the practical results, for example, is the way Southern conservative Democrats join with Republican conservatives in Congress so that, in this present Congress, this constitutes the major party.

While it might be argued that a strong Republican Party in the South would continue this conservatism, that does not necessarily follow. The competition of a two-party system would require that that issue be drawn more sharply in the contest for votes. It would conceivably either bring out more progressive Democratic candidates or induce Republican candidates in the South to take a more progressive stand than conservative Democrats, a role, incidentally, which some see for a Republican Party in the South, as it is, for instance, in the far West and New England.

It is suggested that indigenous Republicans with moderate progressive attitudes are those who might have more success in getting the party rooted in the South rather than the standpat type represented for the most part in the Republican National Committee.

Up until very recently—and still to a considerable degree—Southern Republican bosses, including some National Committee members, exhibited and exhibit chief interest in maintaining their Southern bailiwicks as special private preserves, closed corporations, for the delivery of delegates at the party's national convention. That is a sort of rotten borough system for personal political bargaining which nourishes little interest in expansion of the party. Hitherto Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio has been its chief beneficiary in convention delegates. In 1948, however, Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York attracted younger and more progressive Southern Republicans who had ambitions of breaking down this personal rotten borough system. This would have been helped along by an anticipated big Southern Republican vote, but the Dixiecrat State Rights Party in 1948 intruded to siphon off Democratic discontents to the more comfortable refuge offered by a Southern Democratic Governor, J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat Presidential candidate.

Tradition still is a potent factor operating aginst the Republican Party in the South. That party is held up yet as a symbol of the Civil War and Reconstruction and thus exploited for their purposes by Southern Democrats who, paradoxically, unashamedly join eagerly with Republicans in Congress on economic and social reform issues. The Republican Party stands, too, for civil rights legislation nationally, as well as Harry Truman. Because the Democratic Party is the party generally of effective local control in the South, many Republican-inclined persons, for business and social reasons, still decline to become active in the Republican Party.

These influences, however, are becoming less effective, and will diminish more with time. The Republican task, however, is admittedly a difficult one, as the Republican National Committee conceded by making it a 20-year project. But, if it ever succeeds, party control in the South must be wrested from old-fashioned Southern Republican bossism and put on a broader basis at the grass roots, and there a more progressive appeal is essential.

Negro Republicans Attack Drafting Of 18-Year-Olds

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— Last week Mrs. Thelia D. Thomas, well-known Republican woman, told the preparedness subcommittee of the Armed Services committee she was bitterly against the drafting of 18-year-old boys for military service.

Declaring that she was not speaking from a politician but as an alarmed mother, Mrs. Thomas critized the stand of Gen. George Marshall and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg of the Department of Defense, who appeared recently before the same committee calling for legislation to draft 18-year-old boys into the service for a period of six or seven years.

"A new profession of glorified panhandlers has grown up in Washington during the last 18 years, known as government experts," declared Mrs. Thomas, "Many of these ladies and gentlement-through publicity (much of it manufactured by paid agents) are now being recognized as mental giants. God forgive that our boys must face the possibility of death the horror of four-way amputation and many other atrocities they must suffer with this kind of 'experts' and wastrels as advisers.

"The average mother is not interested in 'protocel,' 'commitments of honor,' 'motive governments' and all the other high sounding phrases and words used by these super intellects," she emphasized. "We are at war! We want to get out of this web in which we find ourselves, with as few heartaches and sacrifices as possible. We want as much protection for our boys as the human brain can conceive."

To use the words of Frederick Douglass, Taft is "neither our man nor our model." He has consistently manipulated the Republican majority in Congress to defeat civil rights.

He told everybody who cared to listen that he was unalterably opposed to a Fair Employment Practices Act with teeth. He has never relaxed his dream of cracking the 'solid South' for the benefit of the Grand Old Party.

Mr. Howard in his mailed plea for support for Mr. Taft says the Ohio senator has been "fair, candid and true, and has never tried to mislead us through sham, deceit or empty promises." With this we are forced to agree. He has not made any promises at all to minority Americans.

While Gov. Thomas E. Dewey was putting through the anti-discrimination law in New York, which has resulted in the employment of colored people in department stores and plants all over the State, Mr. Taft was bitterly opposing enactment of any kind of FEPC which would compel employers to operate without discrimination.

If he was so "fair and candid" as Mr. Howard contends, why didn't Brother Taft accept the Dewey anti-discrimination law as a model and work from there?

We think Perry Howard and his group are wrong in thinking they can get a civil rights opponent in the White House, even if he bears the name of Taft and carries a Republican label.

He'll Never Make It

The boom for Robert A. Taft for president has already begun. Perry W. Howard, the ebullient tub-thumper from Mississippi is chairman of a committee rounding up support for the Ohio senator.

Frankly we are against Robert A. Taft. We recall too vividly the attitude of his father, William Howard Taft after he had been sworn in as President. The first thing he said was that he would not appoint a colored man for office in any Southern community in which white people objected.

GOP Leader Queried On Viewpoint

Committeeman Gives Reasons For His Draft Taft Letter

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Colored persons overlook the record of Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, in the field of civil rights, Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman, declared here last week.

Mr. Howard, the author of a letter urging the drafting of Taft as the Republican Presidential candidate in 1952, was asked to explain how colored voters could support the Ohio senator, who is opposed to a compulsory fair employment practice law.

The text of the questions and his answers in an exclusive interview with Mr. Howard follow:

* * *

Q. ONE OF MY EDITORS know how do you justfy your (Carl Murphy of The Afro American newspapers) has queried letter urging the **A. I am for the nomination of Senator Taft in 1952 be-**

cause I believe he is the best man for the Presidency. In statesmanship he is head and shoulders above any other statesman on the American scene today. I regard his position on both foreign and domestic affairs as sound.

Q. Do you include in that statement his position on civil rights? My editor said you cannot ask colored people to support a candidate who will not go as far as the present incumbent.

* * *

A. I'M GLAD YOU ASKED that question. I firmly believe that Senator Taft will work out the civil rights problem and not content himself with merely sending messages to Congress to take some action.

There are many things the President himself can do in the field of civil rights without getting additional legislation from the Congress. For instance, the Federal Government has unquestioned jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. The President appoints the commissioners of the District. They are his agents in providing local trict. They are his agents in

If President Truman were sincere, he would require the commissioners he appoints to knock out segregation and discrimination—and not countenance it—through the powers they have to make and enforce all reasonable regulations for the government of the District.

* * *

HE COULD ALSO GET commitments from any other officer he appoints in the District of Columbia that they would use their influence against segregation, and not use it insidiously for maintaining segregation.

Q. The editor with whom I talked made the point that President Truman has consistently advocated the creation of a fair employment practice commission with enforcement powers, while Senator Taft has proposed one without any legal sanctions. What is your comment on that?

A. My comment is that President Truman has given lip service not only to FEPC but to the whole civil rights question while the dominant influences in the Democratic Party have blocked consideraton of all civil rights bills.

* * *

YOU ARE IN ERROR when you say Sentor Taft's proposal contains no legal sanctions. It would give the commission the power to subpena employers and heads of labor unions, and require them to produce their books and records showing their employment patterns or disclosing their union membership rolls. If they failed to obey such a subpena, they could be jailed for contempt.

I regard Senator Taft's proposal as realistic. It is the only type of FEPC bill that there is any hope of getting the Congress to pass.

I should also like to invite attention to the fact that Senator Taft has repeatedly said if a bill relying on persuasion, conciliation, mediation and education then be willing to amend the law to provide penalties for its violation.

* * *

Q. GOVERNOR THOMAS E. Dewey has a record of achievements in the civil rights field in New York State. Why should not colored Republicans prefer his nomination to that of Senator Taft?

A. Governor Dewey has a good civil rights record. So has a number of other promi- Governor Alfred E. Driscoll James H. Duff of Pennsylvania. But looking at the complex problems which this country faces, and knowing Senator Taft as I do, I am of the opinion that he is the one statesman who can lead this country safely out of the mess in which 18 years of Democratic rule has got us.

Roscoe Simmons Testifies Before Senate Committee

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Col. Roscoe Conklin Simmons, an employee of the Chicago Tribune organization, told the Senate Rules subcommittee last week that he was not especially interested in the campaign of John Marshall Butler to the Senate of the United States.

His only interest, he said, was in the victory of the Republican party of which Butler was a part. Simmons was one of the five witnesses called before the Monroney subcommittee last Wednesday to outline the part that Negroes in Maryland played in the election of Sen. Butler.

The other four witnesses were Marse Calloway, business man and politician of Baltimore; Bishop A. P. Shaw of the Baltimore Area Methodist church; John R. Berry, manager of the North Carolina Mutual Benefit Insurance company in the Baltimore district; and William H. Pelinger, commercial artist.

The subcommittee has held extensive hearings to investigate the alleged election fraud in Maryland which the former Democrat Sen. Millard Tydings claims is responsible for his defeat.

Tydings charged the Butler headquarters with distributing libelous literature which turned the tide of the election. Among such literature was a tabloid called "From the Record," which Tydings described as a "tissue of lies" and declares that it carried a "fake" picture of him talking with Communist Earl Browder.

He had also charged Simmons for being responsible for the publication of another pamphlet distributed among Negro voters. This publication, according to Tydings, carried the endorsement of some of the leading Negro citizens of Baltimore without their knowledge or consent.

Simmons claimed to have no knowledge of such a pamphlet, but Calloway, a Baltimore real estate man, testified that such a pamphlet called "Back to Good Old Dixie" was sent to his office for distribution and had remained there until two or three days before the election when a few of them were distributed to Negro voters.

He said the pamphlet was published at the Butler headquarters but he had no knowledge of who published it or who paid for it. He admitted that he did see a rough draft of the publication and had asked some of the leading Republicans of Baltimore to permit the use of their names as endorsers.

The pamphlet only carried the names of three sponsors, Bishop Shaw, the Rev. J. Timothy Bodie, president of the United Baptist Missionary convention and John R. Barry of the N. C. Mutual.

Barry testified that Calloway had asked that he lend his name to the pamphlet and he had consented, providing the facts included were checked and verified. Upon learning that they had been verified by the Republican headquarters and after doing some checking himself, Barry said he consented that his name be used but did not give permission to use the name of his company.

The insurance executive attributed Tydings' defeat to the unpopular sales tax, his voting record which opposed all liberal legislation and the division in the Democratic party. These factors would have defeated Tydings if there had never been any literature was the opinion of Barry, who has recently been nominated as Magistrate by the Maryland governor.

Bishop Shaw said his name had been used on the "Back to Good Old Dixie" pamphlet without his consent and he had never seen a copy of it until he arrived at the polls to vote and it was being distributed there.

The Rev. Bodie did not appear before the committee. Pelinger, a white commercial artist, admitted that he did the lay-out for the pamphlet at the request of Jon M. Jonkel, Butler's campaign manager, and was paid for his service by the campaign headquarters.

When Simmons, a resident of Illinois, was questioned regarding his activities in the Maryland election, he stated that the persons attending the Colored Republican conference which met in Washington in September passed a resolution to "go forward for the Republican party everywhere."

Having some ideas which he wanted to put over, the politician said he asked specifically that he be sent to Maryland because of his long interest in the state. This is the first time in 30 years that he did not work for the Republican party in Missouri, he said.

"All of my life," he continued, "I have spoken out for my race, the Republican party and my country, which of all earthly possessions is the dearest to my heart."

To emphasize his long participation in the Republican party, Simmons said he had attended five National Republican conventions and had second the nomination for both Mr. Hoover and Taft.

When questioned on his connections with Mrs. Miller, editor of the Washington Times-Herald on which he now works, he said he had been in that family for many years. He refused to state his age but said he was office boy for Mrs. Miller's grandfather when he was only 12 years old and lived in their home.

He said he was a friend of Mrs. Miller's mother and was with her father when he passed. He said he never asked Mrs. Miller for any expense money, he only asked her for what he called "necessities" and she had never refused him.

He would not state specifically what he received for his service in the Maryland campaign, but said he only received necessity money which was perhaps around $400. The only thing he wanted he declared, was the satisfaction of having a small part in the victory.

Howard's GOP Faction Wins

JACKSON, Miss.—The perrenial Mississippi battle between the Perry Howard led faction of the Republicans and the lily-white faction found the Howard group winning recognition of the state's official party by court decree.

Judge M. M. McGowan of the state circuit court ruled last week that the registration of the lily-white faction headed by former Nebraska governor George L. Sheldon should be canceled by the Secretary of State of Mississippi and the party headed by Mr. Howard should be registered.

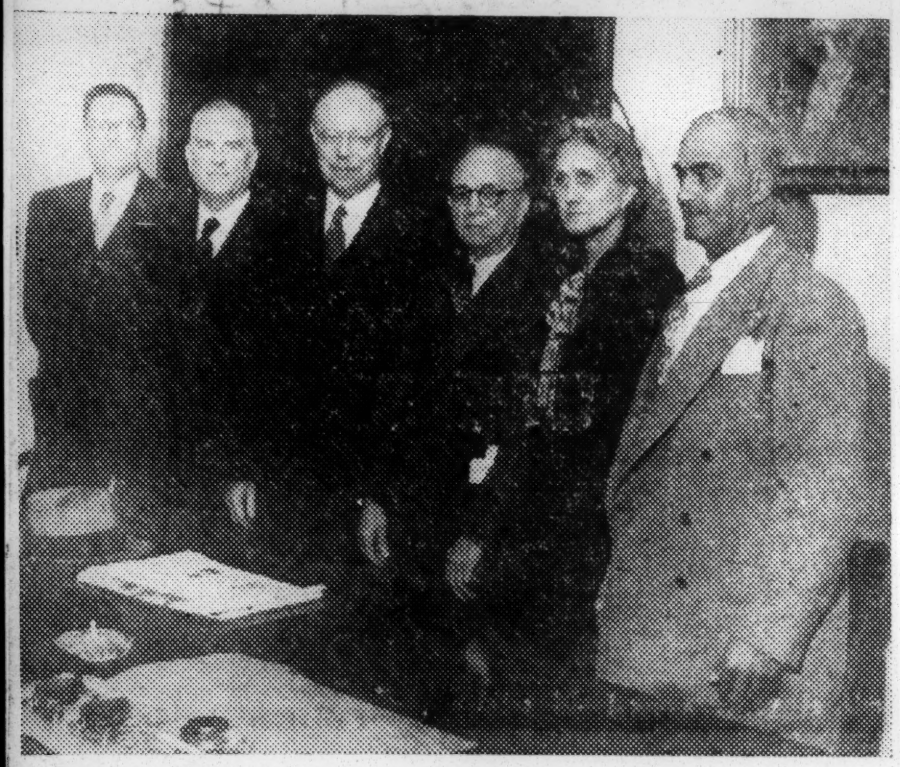
Held "Constitutional"

The judge had previously held the State's new political party registration act of 1950 constitutional. Mr. Perry had filed a suit which sought to declare the legislative act unconstitutional as he felt it was aimed at eliminating his faction as the official Republican Party of the State.

The all-white faction had been previously known as the Independent Republican party. For the past several national conventions, there has been considerable discussion over whether to seat the Howard group or the all-white group.

The Republican National Committee recognizes Mr. Howard as the committeeman from Mississippi. He is the only colored person serving on a national committee of either of the major parties.

Taft Woos Negro Vote Here



Citing his record against lynching, the poll tax and his views favoring Civil Rights, Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), made a strong bid for the Negro vote in New Orleans last week. However the aspiring presidential candidate of the Republican party stated that he favors a 'voluntary' FEPC. Shown with him here are local members of the Orleans Parish Republican Executive Committee. They are, left to right: Allen Combre, chairman; John E. Jackson, National Committeeman of Louisiana; Senator Taft, Dr. Joseph A. Hardin, local GOP boss; Mrs. Clara Cohen, committee secretary and Bernard J. Cohen. (Porter Photo).



WITH ITINERANT—politico Edgar Brown, who aurns up in political camps of all hue, riding herd, Chicago Negro politicians pose with their 'man of the hour,' Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican presidential candidate. Brown is second from the left, Taft fourth.

Sen. Robert Taft Segregation Foe But Says It's Law

Being A Candidate, Ohio Statesman Gets Himself Located On Both Sides of Burning Issue

Washington. (Special)—"At the North Carolina College in Durham, a college for colored men and women, operated by the State of North Carolina, I was asked a question as to my attitude toward the admission of Negroes to colleges and graduate schools, and I replied that I entirely approved the Supreme Court opinions on the subject, finding that such admission was necessary to secure equality in these fields.

"Then, someone asked me whether I was in favor of the Federal Government prohibiting segregated primary schools, and I said, I was not. Some newspapers have carried the statement that I said I was in favor of segregated schools. Let me make it clear that I made no such statement, and that I do not approve of such segregated primary schools. I have always opposed them in Ohio, and we do not have them. I would vote to abolish them in the District of Columbia, or any other place where the Federal Government has jurisdiction, but the control of education under our Constitution is in the jurisdiction of the states and not of the Federal Government.

"As long as states provide equal educational facilities for white and colored children in the primary schools, I do not think the Federal Government has the constitutional power to require a state to change its established system of education."

Taft corrects "negro press" on segregated schools point

WASHINGTON—Seemingly from Olympian heights of condescension, "Mr. Republican," Senator Robert A. Taft, who has announced his campaign for the GOP Presidential nomination, "corrected" Negro papers this week on the intentions of his remarks in Durham last week on the subject of separate primary schools.

Released by the Taft Committee here in Washington and directed to the "negro (the committee's small "n") press . . . as a direct statement from the Senator," the release asserted that Taft "made no such statement"; that "I was in favor of segregated schools" . . . Let me make it clear . . . that I do not approve of such segregated primary schools.

"I have always opposed them in Ohio, and we do not have them," he said.

"I would vote to abolish them in the District of Columbia, or any other place where the Federal Government has jurisdiction, but the control of education under our Constitution is in the jurisdiction of the states and not of the Federal Government.

"As long as states provide equal educational facilities for white and colored children in the primary schools, I do not think the Federal Government has the constitutional power to require a state to change its established system of education."

Charges Speech By Taft Embarrassed Negro Voter

BY VERNON D. JARRETT

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Sen. Robert A. Taft has given up hope of winning the Negro vote in 1952.

That was the opinion expressed by a ranking Chicago Republican following Taft's endorsement of segregation in southern public schools during the Presidential aspirant's address to Negro students at North Carolina State college this week.

This local Negro preferred to remain unidentified for fear of political repercussions, but vowed to make himself known at the Republican National Convention here next summer.

"Taft's speech embarrassed every northern self-respecting Negro Republican who had rallied to the Taft banner," said another GOP "If Taft receives the Republican nomination, every Negro who backs him will appear as an outright Uncle Tom to his people."

However, Third Ward Ald. Archibald Carey, Jr., 1950 candidate for Congress on the Republican ticket, desired to be publicly quoted He declared:

"I have not made up my mind as to a Presidential candidate in 1952, but I can assure you it will not be Sen. Taft.

"I do not like to pain my fellow Republicans by making statements that will doubtlessly pain them. But at the same time, I don't like for them to pain me, such as the one attributed to Sen. Taft when he indicated that the Federal government should not attempt to abolish the system of racial segregation in the south.

"I have been confident [illegible]

Taft's candidacy because I felt that he is one of the best informed men in government and his changing outlook favoring public housing and aid to needy peoples of the world indicated his capacity for growth. But if he feels a system of racial and color segregation should remain in any part of the United States I do not think he is ready to be President of the world's leading Democracy."

Another influential Negro GOP here in the nation's second largest Negro voting province declared:

"If Taft is the nominee, Negroes will be presented the said choice of voting for a man who admittedly favors Jim Crow and a Democratic candidate who feels the same way but would never admit it."

Oddly enough, another prominent Negro in the South Side's bulging second ward averred: "Negroes are partly responsible for the Republican dilemma on the Negro question. We have convinced the Republican party that it is a waste of time to fight for the Negro vote because we have been sold lock stock and barrell to the "promising Democrats."

One ancient Negro GOP laid the Taft blunder to "Taft honesty." But, he added, "Since Wendell Wilkie, the Republican party has gone overboard in trying to appear pure and honest."

Taft Stirs Up Negro Ranks In GOP Over School Issue

Wired Wed. 12-6-51 Atlanta, Ga. P.I.

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BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON— (ANP)— Senator Robert A. Taft, candidate for President on the Republican ticket, put himself in a band light with leading Negro members of his own party last Wednesday when he told Nero students at North Carolina College that he did not believe the federal government should require the abolition of separate schools in the South.

This touchy question on racial segregation in education arose after the presidential aspirant had addressed 1,500 students and teachers at the college.

In an open forum, one student asked if Taft thought the policy of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People in demanding unsegregated education was a mistake.

Taft replied that he agreed with the Supreme Court decisions which permit Negroes to attend Southern graduate schools, but he did not think the federal government should require the abolition of separate schools. . . .

In commenting on Taft's position in this matter, Clarence Mitchell, administrative director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP said, "This is the usual type of pussyfooting which Taft follows, and shows that he is the least desirable type of candidate for President."

Val Washington, assistant to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, showed great concern in Taft's speech and made efforts to find out more about his statement.

He let it be known, however, that he was not in accord with Taft's position on the segregation of schools.

"I'm against segregation of any kind, any time, and place," he emphasized.

Perry Howard, national Republican Committeeman from Mississippi and a staunch supporter of Taft, was ill and could not be reached for comment.

Judge William C. Hueston, grand secretary of the Elks, who founded and served for more than 25 years as Grand Commissioner of the Educational Department, had this to say about his long-time friend, Taft

"I [illegible] with the reported attitude of Senator Taft, on segregation and public schools anywhere in the United States in America. I believe that all public schools should be opened to all students irrespective of race, creed or color. This fact must obtain if this our country is to stand for full human rights, and we insist that it shall."

Taft told the North Carolina students that there were other issues more important than the segregation in schools. A more important question, he said, is that of providing federal aid for good schools so that children can get a good education either in "separate or combined schools."

Taft's advocacy for a duel school system in the South which would require a double expenditure for education, appears to be contradictory to his great economy program.

"Mr. Republican" put himself in a bad light with many colored voters from the very day that he announced his candidacy for Presidential nominee and at the same time denounced the Administration's "Fair Deal" program.

Misquoted, Taft Says

Ohio GOP Senator, Seeking Presidency, Tells Courier: "I Do Not Approve of Segregated Schools . . . But the Control of Education in the States Is Under Jurisdiction of the State Governments and Not Federal Government"

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By STANLEY ROBERTS

WASHINGTON—Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican aspirant to the high office of President of the United States, called this reporter from his home in Cincinnati, Ohio at midnight Friday and requested the Courier to clarify for its readers his views on public school segregation in the South. Courier P. 1

The Associated Press, on Nov. 28, said, Mr. Taft agreed with the South's view on jim-crow schools in an interview in Durham, N. C.

This he denied to the Courier.

Senator Taft, however, is admittedly a states right advocate, and is against further expansion of Federal Government powers, and therein lies the basis for his exclusive statement to the Courier.

The complete text of Senator Taft's formal denial of pro-jim-crow sentiments as dictated by him to this reporter via long distance telephone between Cincinnati and Washington and read back to Taft for confirmation and checking, follows:

"At the North Carolina State College at Durham, N. C., I was asked a question as to my attitude toward the admission of Negroes to colleges and graduate schools. I assured them that I entirely approved the Supreme Court's opinion on the subject, finding that such admission was necessary to secure equality. 12-8-51

"Then someone asked whether I was in favor of the Federal Government prohibiting segregated primary schools, and I said I was not.

"Let me make it clear that I do not approve of segregated schools. I have always opposed them in Ohio. I would vote to abolish them in the District of Columbia or any other place that the Federal Government has jurisdiction, but the control of education in the states is under the jurisdiction of the state government and not of the Federal Government. **So long as states provide equal educational facilities for white and colored children in the primary schools, I do not think the Federal Government has the constitutional power to require a state to change its established system of education."**

Negro G. O. P. Group Attacks McKeldin for Lack of 'Recognition'

By the Associated Press

BALTIMORE, Oct. 1.—Gov. McKeldin's administration was under attack today from the State Allied Republican Club, a newly formed Negro political organization.

The club criticized the Governor for not giving "proper recognition" to Negro voters of his party.

Alexander Barnes, publisher of the Capital-Times, a Prince Georges County newspaper, laid out the club's line at a meeting here yesterday. He said:

Nothing for Negroes.

"We are dissatisfied with the State administration which has done nothing for Negroes. The appointment of two or three major posts is not recognition.

"There will be no more political trading and we intend to have Negro delegates to the party's national convention. We are tired of unkept promises by candidates."

The club plans to organize branches in the State's 23 counties and Baltimore City. General meetings are to be held here, attended by two delegates from each county and six from Baltimore City.

To Oppose McKeldin.

Delegates to yesterday's meeting came from several parts of the State. They decided not to support Gov. McKeldin in case he chooses to run for Senator.

Another rallying point was a demand that Negroes share in political job appointments and that they be granted "equality in State-operated educational institutions."

Named to a steering committee were Mrs. Mollie Neal, chairman, who is president of the De Priest Republican Club of Baltimore; Samuel Turner, vice president of the Metropolitan Republican Club of Baltimore; Mr. Barnes, Romeo W. Horad, sr., Montgomery County lawyer, and Brent Thompson of Leonardtown.

Republican Aid In Equal Rights Plan Reported

Women's Session Hears All Party Members of House Group Back Amendment

By Dorothy Brandon

WASHINGTON, May 27.—Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee are expected to vote solidly in favor of reporting the equal rights amendment to the floor for action during the current session of Congress, Miss Anita Pollitzer, honorary national chairman of the National Woman's party, declared today.

Addressing a luncheon meeting at the Statler Hotel for delegates of the biennial N. W. P. convention, Miss Pollitzer said she was notified yesterday by Rep. Chauncey W. Reed, R., Ill., a member of the Judiciary Committee, that "every Republican member of the committee is prepared to support the amendment as presented by Rep. Katherine St. George, R., N. Y."

Senate Group for Measure

The Senate Judiciary Committee has already voted "overwhelmingly in favor of the amendment," Miss Pollitzer said.

Since 1923, when the N. W. P. began its fight in Congress to gain equality of rights for women under the law, Miss Pollitzer has been a determined champion of the proposed legislation.

She said strongest opposition to the measure in recent years has come from Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N. Y., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

"It seems most undemocratic for the chairman of a committee, who has written and spoken against our measure, to refuse to allow it to be reported to the floor where it can be voted upon and referred to the people for ratification," Miss Pollitzer told the N. W. P. delegates.

She said forty-three national women's organizations support enactment of the amendment, and will vote favorably on the measure.

The World Woman's Party, headed by Miss Alice Paul, founder of the N. W. P., is acting as an international clearing house for equal rights matters, Miss Pollitzer said.

Reports on Foreign Activities

A report on foreign activities was given by Mrs. Frances Sawyer, president of the New York division of the International Council of Women, one of the newest groups to back the equal rights amendment. Mrs. Sawyer said that during a visit to Greece as an I. C. W. representative, the Greek Parliament gave women the right to vote.

No Special Bid For Negro Vote Says Sen. Taft

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

There will be no special bid for the Negro vote in the 1952 election. That was the impression I got from the answer to the question which I asked Senator Robert Taft at his first midwest press conference held last Friday in the LaSalle hotel in Chicago.

The question was: "Do you or does the Republican party plan any special strategy to try and recapture the Negro vote which the Democratic party has held for 20 years?"

His answer was cautious and carefully neutral. "I plan to use the same methods as any other candidate to get all the votes, both colored and white. I think there's no special distinction for any group. They're all interested in the same things."

Looking remarkably fit, "Mr. Republican" met the press with characteristic ease, despite the steady staccato of flash bulbs popping and the glare of Kleig lights.

He had a lot to say about the things he wanted to say and very little to say about the things he didn't want to say. That statement makes about as much sense as "pigeons on the grass, alas, alas!"

But that's my way of saying that "Mr. Republican" displayed considerable dexterity in avoiding commitments on questions fired at him about his plans for Negroes in what may well be the most crucial election in history.

A committee headed by Edgar G. Brown, president of the National Negro Council, presented Taft with a scroll commending him on his civil rights record in Congress.

Present for the ceremony, were Dr. J. B. Martin, trustee of the Sanitary District of Chicago; Atty. James B. Cashin, Horace Gardner, 20th ward committeeman; Rev. Harvey Walden, Mrs. Ollie Clarke, 2nd ward committeewoman; William B. Sheridan, Leroy Fowler, Rev. S. A. Grayson, Alderman William Beck, and Atty. Albert Brooks of the 5th ward, Evanston, Ill.

A reporter asked what he felt were his strongest spots. Taft said that he was assured of five southern states, Virginia, Florida, Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and he felt that he would carry the Midwest.

Question: "Senator Taft, how do you propose to balance your bid for unity with Southern Democrats with any proposals you may have in mind for pushing the issues involving the Negroes of this country?"

Here, "Mr. Republican" employed a time-honored device for thinking out an answer. He asked, "I don't quite get what you mean? Do you mean by a bid, a coalition with southern Democrats?"

I said, "Well Senator, you mentioned a moment ago that you were sure of five southern states." Answer: "Well I think in general, those southern Democrats want an end to those things which other people want to see corrected."

He broke off during a question on another subject to comment, "I suppose you mean that Negroes are afraid that they will lose on such things as an anti-poll tax law or civil rights. I don't think this will have any effect on t ose things."

By the time I got around to the $100 a plate dinner that evening in the chilly International Amphitheatre, the baked Alaska salmon and the prime roast beef was cold, but fancy anyway, to this tough beef-eater.

I was considerably puzzled by the well-planned, marvelously staged pageant of American history written by Anthony Olis. Didn't anybdoy tell Olis that there were Negroes in America over 300 years ago,

Noted in the crowd of $100 platers were Alderman Archibald J. Carey Jr., Truman K. Gibson Sr., and Dr. J. B. Martin, who proved a genial host to the members of the press.

TAFT AWARDED CIVIL RIGHTS PLAQUE BY NATIONAL COUNCIL

Negro Republican Leaders Spearhead Taft Reception

By VERNON D. JARRETT

CHICAGO—(ANP)—Sen. Robert A. Taft's dramatic Chicago reception was highlighted this week by a special award ceremonies sponsored by the National Negro Council at the LaSalle hotel.

Edgar G. Brown, executive secretary of the council, hailed the Ohio presidential aspirant as the greatest solon since the "anti-slavery statesman, Thaddeus Stevens."

Brown was flanked by Dr. J. B. Martin, outstanding Chicago Republican and lone Negro member of the Sanitary District of Chicago board of trustees; Atty. James B. Cashin, Ernest A. Greene, First Ward GOP committeeman; Elmer Fowler, sales manager of Baldwin Ice Cream Co.; Rev. Harvey E Walden, prominent Chicago clergyman; J. Horace Gardner, committeeman 20th Ward, prominent Chicago clergyman; J. Horace Gardner, committeeman 20th Ward; Atty. Avlin G. Brooks, Evanston,

address at the $100-plate dinner at the International Amphitheatre, he failed to discuss civil rights and F. E. P. C. His number one targets were President Truman's foreign policy, excessive governmental spending and the administration's high-tax program.

Negroes were conspicuous by the small showing at the dinner. This reporter counted only three top Negro leaders joining in the breaking, although several were spotted among the non-eating crowd of several thousand in the mezzanine.

The $100-plate Negroes were Dr. Martin; Truman K. Gibson Sr., president of Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.; and Third Ward Alderman Archibald J. Carey.

and Ald. Eugene Beck, 5th Ward, Evanston.

The presentation followed a Taft press conference, in which the anti-Truman spokesman recommended establishment of an executive commission to investigate the background of racial discrimination and such acts of violence as the Cicero riots.

Taft was praised during the award ceremonies for his "honesty" and his forthright action in leading the Senate fight to bar the late race-baiting Sen. Bilbo of Mississippi.

However, during Taft's principe



SENATOR ROBERT TAFT of Ohio, "Mr. Republican," enjoys a cup of coffee as he chats with, left to right, William B. Sheridan, 17th ward; Mrs. Ollie Clarke, Republican committeewoman, 2nd ward; and Horace Gardner, committeeman, 20th ward. Pictures were snapped at Chicago's LaSalle hotel, where the Ohio senator held his first midwest press conference since the announcement of his candidacy for the Republican nomination for president.

Taft May Face Hostile Negro Vote In 1952

BY ALVIN E. WHITE

WASHINGTON— (ANP) — Robert Alphonse Taft, able and honest elected official, has never found much favor with Negro voters. And even now, as he announces his avowed candidacy for the Republican nomination, he's doing little to win Negro support or favor.

First off, Taft practically committed suicide so far as Negro support is concerned when he began flirting with the South and making overtures for support in that section of the country.

This for a Republican, is a declaration of war on Negroes.

To Negroes, it is a slap in the face, what with their having been educated in recent years toward a liberalization of attitudes and opening of opportunities.

Everything hinges on one question—the FEPC—and Taft has been quoted and requoted as saying he is opposed to such an organization. Regardless of the ineffectiveness of Democratic leaders getting such a bill passed, the Democrats seeking retention of power, openly declare they are for the FEPC.

What they do to secure passage of measures creating an FEPC is another matter. Taft never has favored an FEPC and it is unlikely he will change at this date.

Young Negro voters associate Taft with the recently coined phrase "isolationism." They claim that he seeks a return to the conservative measures which will lead to another all out world wide war. Yet the non-isolationist policy of the administration has led to a "Police Action" that has been more costly to the nation than World War II, comparatively speaking.

Older Negro voters are measuring Taft's candidacy and qualifications by his father's record. So if Taft wins the Republican nomination, he will have to carry that burden as well as any others that may be piled on him. In other words, Negro voters will vote against William Howard Taft—as they saw him—rather than for the opposition candidate, should R. A. Taft win the nomination.

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However, during Taft's principal address at the $100-plate dinner at the International Amphitheatre, he failed to discuss civil rights and F. E. P. C. His number one targets were President Truman's foreign policy, excessive governmental spending and the administration's high-tax program.

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Gov. Wright Opens The Doo

(An Editorial)

Governor Fielding Wright's frank proposal for a coalition between Northern Republicans and States' Rights Democrats in the Presidential election next year points to the only course either can follow with even a fair hope of victory.

The Republican Party will have little to make in the way of concessions in event of a merger with Southern Democracy.

All the States' Rights Democrats ask is that the GOP eliminate from its platform all promises of anti-segregation, anti-lynching and FEPC laws.

The GOP can well afford to do so—first, because it is just and right, and second, because the GOP will be going on a snipe hunt if it holds out any further promises to politically-minded Negroes for the legislation they seek on these subjects.

Putting it in the plainest of plain English, the Republican party has lost the Negro and has little or no hopes of getting him back again.

The Negro vote went overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in his four elections to the Presidency and it went the same way when Truman was elected.

Negro politicians seeking social equality laws, and other special statutory enactments in behalf of their race, think they have better chances with the Democratic Party than with the Republican Party, and they persistently preach that doctrine to their followers.

On the other hand, the South has nothing whatever to lose and much to gain from a coalition with the clear-thinking Republicans of the North who have grown tired of seeing the Negro used as a political stalking horse and are now awake to a realization that there is solid logic and plain justice behind the demand for restoration of States' Rights, and that Southern states are best able to handle all problems pertaining to the Negro in their own way without meddling or interference of any sort from radicals in Northern states.

In making his coalition proposal Gov. Wright was well aware of the fact that it will not be seriously considered by the Old Guard of the GOP—die-hards like Taft, Dewey, Landon and Hoover who will always remain fastened to the old moorings. But there is a younger, sturdier, more thoughtful element within the Republican ranks that votes to discard all the hypocritical and rotten planks in the party platform and take a sane, reasonable and more comprehensive view of the political aspects of the racial problem. With the proper leadership they can be persuaded to do so.

Gov. Wright's address at Palm Beach put the question squarely before the people of the nation. It invites them to put on their thinking caps and to seriously consider this splendid opportunity to rid the Federal government of the Scandal Era now reigning in Washington.

There is no present reason to believe that control of the Democratic Party now in power can be wrested from the Truman faction at the next national convention. This being true, Southern delegations will be no more at home than they were on that memorable occasion when, led by Gov. Fielding Wright and Ex-Gov. Hugh White, they walked out of the Philadelphia National Convention three years ago.

GOP Group Indorses Negro Editor for Row Office

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Dr. William A. Gray, Jr., former president of the Florida A. and M. College, at Tallahassee, has been indorsed by the Republican Independent Citizens Committee for Recorder of Deeds. The Negro educator, who now serves as executive editor of the Afro-American newspaper's Philadelphia edition, will be supported by forces urging the nomination of Walter P. Miller, Jr., paper box manufacturer, as GOP candidate for Mayor.

The indorsement of Dr. Gray by the independent element marked the first time in the city's history that a Negro received open support for a high elective office by a Republican unit. The Democrats have already announced the listing of Dr. Marshall L. Shepard for the Recorder's post on the Clark Dilworth slate.

A native of Richmond, Va., where he was born in 1911, Dr. Gray is looked upon as perhaps the best trained candidate to be offered by any political faction in the July balloting. The minister-educator followed his father in the pastorate of the influential Bright Hope Baptist Church, 12th and Oxford sts., after having held the presidencies of two colleges in Florida.

A graduate of the Bluefield State Teachers College, in West Virginia, Dr. Gray received two graduate degrees, including a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Pennsylvania. His teaching career included lectures at Southern University, at Baton Rouge, La., and the Florida Normal College, of which he became president in 1941.

TRUSTEE OF COLLEGE

Dr. Gray is a member of the board of directors of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission and chairman of that unit's Committee on Democracy in Housing; a trustee of Berean College, a business training school, and a member of City Council's Advistory Commission to Study Commitments and Detentions in Prisons. The educator has been active with the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, retiring last year as a member of its board of directors. He is publicity liaison for the Baptist Ministers Conference of Philadelphia.

The selection of Dr. Gray followed an indication by Negro Republican leaders that he was a unanimous choice for such recognition. It is thought, therefore, that the move on the part of the Miller wing of the now split independents to slate the North Philadelphia leader may serve as a strong rallying point for independent Negro voters, now admittedly in the majority as regards that group's political strength.

DR. UNDERHILL SLATED

Meanwhile, the Organization-Independent combine supporting the announced candidacy of Dr. Daniel A. Poling has indicated that it will slate Dr. Irving W. Underhill, a Germantown resident, for one of the at-large Council posts. A former Presbyterian missionary to Africa, Dr. Underhill has been employed as manager of the Richard Allen Homes, a housing project in North Philadelphia.

A graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Underhill began his public career as a banker with the now defunct Brown-Stevens organization. Following a number of years of missionary work in the French Cameroons, he returned to occasional preaching missions in Presbyterian churches and then was named to the housing post.

NOT ACTIVE IN GOP CIRCLES

The selection of Dr. Underhill, which was accomplished without conference with Negro Republican leaders, has reportedly left those circles cold to his candidacy. Much of this, it is reported, stems from the fact that the former missionary has not been active in GOP circles of the Negro community.

In addition to Dr. Gray, it is believed that the Miller wing of the Republican Independents may also consider the candidacies of at least two other Negroes for Councilmanic posts. These, it is reported, may include Eustace Gay, editor of the Philadelphia Tribune, in the uptown Fifth District, and Dr. James Jones, a dentist, in West Philadelphia. Both have filed petitions as Republicans.

Negro Democrats, meanwhile, indicated that they would stand with their party's slate, which assures the nomination of Dr. Shepard for the Recorder's post.

This lineup also may include Raymond Pace Alexander, attorney, for the Fifth District Councilmanic post and a yet unselected candidate for a West Philadelphia representation in that body. Democratic leaders have yet to select a Negro candidate for magistrate.

Jim-Crow Signs Still Up Despite Promises of GOP

By Staff Correspondent

UPPER MARLBORO, Md. — Reneging on their campaign pledges, members of the all-Republican board of commissioners of Prince George's county have not yet removed offensive racial signs from the rest-rooms of the county courthouse here.

The signs are one of the first things seen by a visitor to the courthouse, where three separate rest-rooms are located on the ground floor of the building.

They are marked: "Men White," "Women White," and "Men Colored."

No Privacy

Around the corner and down a flight of steps is a fourth rest-room which has no door, but is marked for feminine members of the race.

The toilets are enclosed in stalls with doors, but the room's lack of entrance privacy is such that any stranger in the building might wander into it, quite unaware.

Upstairs in the courtroom of the building there are no signs, but jim-crow is king, just the same. A court attendant shunts all colored spectators off to seats at one side of the door.

The five members of the board of commissioners in Prince George's county are: Thomas Latimer, chairman; and Everett W. Marton, Edward J. Waters, Daniel Abbott, and H. Wilson Spicknall.

First in 40 Years

They form the first all-Republican board of commissioners elected in the county in 40 years.

Their election was due, in large measure, to consistent support from colored Republican voters to whom they definitely promised removal of the jim-crow rest-room signs.

To date, however, this has not been done, although the commissioners regularly meet in the court house and cannot fail to be reminded by the signs every time they enter the building.

Their latest excuse has been that the signs have legal backing in the jim-crow laws of Maryland.

A legal authority in Annapolis, however, has assured leaders in the county that the only segregation statue now on the books in Maryland is that requiring separate schools.

Custom, Not Law

Segregation in public rest-rooms, as in other places of public accommodation in Maryland is just an old Southern custom, not a law, and anyone who acts contrary to the custom cannot be punished by law.

With this knowledge, many colored visitors to the courthouse are simply ignoring the outmoded custom and using the rest-rooms most convenient for them.

But they still want the commissioners to remove the signs which continue to advertise a segregation and discrimination which constitute an insult to the race.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF DIXIECRATS AND REPUBLICANS BLAMED FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION DEATH

Says Followers of Lincoln Mave Joined With Southerners Who Move Nation Backward

TAFT CALLED BELLWETHER IN UNDERCOVER DEAL

NEW YORK— (ANP) — The "unholy alliance" of Dixiecrats and Republicans were blamed here last week for the failure of congress to pas such fair-dealing measures at the FEPC.

Such a charge came from Paul E. Fitzpatrick, Democratic state chairman, speaking at a conference arranged by the state committee and attended by national, state and local party figures.

"There have been, for the past few years, a group of dissident southern congressmen. You know them and their activities well. These are the infamous, reactionary Dixiecrats. They oppose progressive government as a matter of principle. They have forsaken the welfare of the people and have proceeded on a road which runs in one direction only—backward.

"Those reactionary Dixiecrats have taken over the Republican congressman. No longer do these Republicans espouse the philosophy of the people who sent them to congress. This reactionary and unholy aliance blocked fair employment practices legislation, supported anti-filibuster rules in the senate and restored the rules committee blockade of bills."

He mentioned the names of some of the congressmen who are" involved in this negative action." They were Cox of Georgia, Coudert and Gwinn of New York; Rankin of Mississippi, Tabor and Hall of New York; Eastland of Mississippi, Taft of Ohio and Wherry of Nebraska; Gamle, Lotham and St. George of New York.

"These are the men," he continued, "who have anchored their party and the United States to the dim past."

Deny GOP Deal With Dixiecrats

WASHINGTON—Senate Minority Leader Kenneth Wherry (R., Neb.) last week said Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R., So. Dak.) was expressing his "individual views" when he proposed at the recent convention of the South Carolina Banker's association that the Republican party abandon its historic position on civil rights and seek a "working alliance" in 1952 election with the Dixiecrats.

Senator Wherry dismissed Senator Mundt's coalition views as a one-man proposition when asked by a delegate to the civil rights conference called by the NAACP here, whether the coalition recommendation is receiving GOP backing.

Negro Baptist Leader Named To G.O.P. County Committee

The Rev. William H. Ballew, Negro Baptist leader, yesterday replaced H. Fred Willkie, former vice-president of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, as a member of the Republican County Executive Committee.

Mr. Ballew is pastor of Mount Lebanon Baptist Church. He was elected unanimously by other members of the committee to fill the vacany caused when Willkie, a brother of the late Wendell Willkie, 1940 Republican nominee for President, moved to Indianapolis.

The new committeeman is a former moderator of the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky; manager of The American Baptist, a denominational weekly that circulates in 35 states; president of the Kentucky delegation to the National Baptist Convention, and a trustee of American Baptist Seminary, Nashville.

The committee also approved a list of 2,960 Republicans to submit to the Jefferson County Election Commission for appointment of 740 of that number to serve as officers in the county's 370 precincts at the November 6 election. A similar list will be submitted by the Democrats when the commission meets in the sheriff's office at 10 a.m. today

Assails Alliance Of GOP's And Dixiecrats

CHICAGO — (ANP) — A Negro attorney took an opposite view of that of a leading Republican when he said that the Republican party will have to reform itself in order to attract colored voters.

Attorney William A. Booker, veteran Republican politician and protege of the late Oscar DePriest, in a letter sent to the Republican National committee here said the time is ripe for the GOP to rectify its mistakes insofar as Negro voters are concerned.

Atty. Booker said that the Republican party must disavow any of the proposals offered by Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R. S. D.) for an unholy "wedlock" of Republicans and Dixiecrats.

His ideas differed radically from those of Guy G. Gabrielson, chairman of the Republican National Committee. In a recent speech before the Elks in Buffalo, N. Y., he cited failure of the Democratic party to pass a complete civil rights program as a good reason for Negroes to turn to the Republican party.

Gabrielson said President Truman and his Democrat-controlled 81st and 82nd congress have done nothing about FEPC, protection against lynching and the right of everyone to vote.

HITS DEMOCRATS

"The truth is that the Democrats don't want civil rights. They just want to use the issue to get elected. They never have delivered 50 per cent of their votes in the Senate for any civil rights measures of importance."

Booker instead of attacking the Democrats submitted the following six-point plan for his own party to encourage Negroes to return to the GOP:

1. A sound and well supported Negro weekly backed by and aided through industrial and financial leaders over the country who are in sympathy with Republican ideals.

2. Request the Republican National Committee to sponsor Republican Forums in the large metropolitan cities in the fall, leading up to and including the 1952 campaign, and engage potential presidential candidates of the Republican party to tell the story of their plans and at least a 'blue print' of the basic phases of their program which they contemplate offering to the people.

3. To point the way to sanity and decency in our Government by lashing out at the domination of vice, crime and corruption.

4. To lift the strangle-hold of Federal taxes from the necks of the poor and plain people.

5. To guarantee in unequivocal terms to Negro Americans and other minorities of our country employment in and recognition by our Government in policy-making positions of trust and responsibility where qualified.

6. To reestablish confidence in the Republican party by a warmth of leadership which will inspire the feelings and beliefs in the plain and underprivileged of our country.

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GOP Administrative Assistant



Mrs. Thalia Thomas, administrative assistant to Val Washington of the Republican National Committee, sits at her desk in the Republican Committee headquarters in Washington clipping the AFRO.

make myself believe that they would be foolish enough to start such a program without giving some serious thought to the colored voters."

"If you will examine my record in Congress," said Rep. C. W. (Runt) Bishop (Rep., Ill.,) "you will find that I am not in sympathy with the coalition."

Negro GOP Chiefs Plan Appeal for Recognition

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Increased recognition for Negroes in the Commonwealth's Government and "a consideration of the problems" facing that racial group will be asked of Gov. John S. Fine by Pennsylvania's Negro Republican leaders next week, according to former Magistrate Hobson R. Reynolds, chairman of the Negro Division of the Republican State Committee. In a statement issued to the setup's executive committee, Reynolds said that "pressures arising all over the State" had made the move immediately necessary.

The Republicans leadership did not indicate whether restiveness regarding the fate of Fair Employment Practices legislation, now slowed in the Assembly, might have contributed to the overall problem it faced. However, it is known that in Allegheny and Philadelphia counties, as well as those adjacent to both, Negroes who were active in last years campaign have indicated a concern that they have not been able to sit down with the Administration leaders.

FEAR SETBACK FOR FEPC

As regards FEPC, Negro leaders have admitted that many hoped that the legislation would have been acted upon before the Assembly became torn over Administration tax measures and proposals regulating subversive activities. Seasoned observers fear that any long deadlock in the Assembly, followed by the traditional rush to adjourn, might leave such legislation as FEPC locked in committees.

The Negro Republican leadership also has been faced with increased pressure for the integration of members of that group into departments of the State Government which have successfully opposed Negro influence for a number of years. Foremost among these, according to sources active in the Negro Division of the State Committee, is the Department of Public Instruction. Heretofore no Negro has been named to a position approaching policy status.

SEEK DEPUTY'S POST

In this regard, it is generally known in Republican Negro leadership circles that a strong move will be made to have a member of that group named a deputy secretary. This has been established as one of the major requests of the Pennsylvania State Council of NAACP Branches which plans court tests of racial segregation in a number of school districts.

The proposal, which Reynolds indicated was certain to be a part of the program to be laid before Fine, also has the support of Negro church groups and civic units which have been active in the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The appointment of a Negro to the public instruction post is thought to have been tacitly promised leaders of that group over at least five years.

RHODES IS BACKED

Sources close to the Republicans' Negro Division have also indicated that the setup would support E. Washington Rhodes, local newspaper publisher, for appointment to the three-man Fair Employment Practices unit, if and when that legislation is adopted. Rhodes, who headed the local phase of the Duff-Fine campaign last year, is also a lawyer with extended service as an Assistant U.S. District Attorney. The post, if assembly action follows the Mintess bill, which is thought to have considerable Administration support, will pay $9000.

The appointment and upgrading of Negroes in the Departments of Forests and Waters, Property and Supplies, and Highways is also thought to be high on the request list which the Republican leadership will place before the Governor. Negroes have been employed in the Highway program over a considerable period, but engineers of that group have been generally bypassed and little or no advancement in the department has been recorded.

SEEK HIGH-UP LINK

In confidential reports to the members of the division's executive committee, Reynolds also indicated that there is "a sharply increasing belief" that the Commonwealth's 600,000 Negro residents should have "some direct recourse to the head of the State Government."

It is not known whether any pressed its claim to one of the posts now held by Drs. Charles Crampton, of Harrisburg, and Horace Scott, of Philadelphia.

Negro physicians hold deputy secretaryships, but considerable pressure for changes in the overall program of that department as regards Negro health had been proposed during the final days of the Duff Administration. At that time, Pittsburgh, with the second largest concentration of Negroes in the State, change will be sought in the present Negro representation in the State Department of Health, where two

UNHOLY POLITICAL MERGER SCORED:

GOP Must Tell Concessions to Dixiecrats, Stassen Says

WASHINGTON — (NNPA — WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Harold E. Stassen is in agreement that Republican dealers must make perfectly clear what concessions they plan to make in order to build an effective party in the South.

He also is in general agreement with the position of other party liberals that Republican leaders also must make clear their position on the proposal of Sen. Karl E. Mundt (Rep., S.D.,) for a merger of the Republican party with dissident Democrats and Dixiecrats.

To Clarify Position

Mr. Stassen, president of the University of Pennsylvania, and a leading candidate for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1952, told the NNPA last Saturday "I intend to make my position clear and restate it in due course."

3 Moves Under Way

Chairman Guy Gabrielson of the Republican National Committee has appointed a committee to assist in building an effective two-party system in southern states.

In addition to the Gabrielson and Mundt moves, which are independent of each other, the National Coalition Committee has been organized by southern lily-white Republicans and Dixiecrats.

Young GOP's Worried

John Tope of Detroit, chairman, Young Republican National Federation, said

"The coalition committee is still in the embryo stage, and I cannot

Maryland Gov. Tells Negroes Rewards Are Long Overdue

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

BALTIMORE — (ANP) — Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin told a committee of Negroes, representing the State Allied Republicans clubs, last Friday, "Your people are long overdue," and assured them that not one citizen of Maryland would be overlooked as long as he was governor of the state.

The committee called upon the governor to emphasize the needs of the citizens of the state and especially the Negroes, who, they claimed had been treated so miserably by the democrats.

The governor told them that he was aware not only of the treatment Negroes had received at the hands of the opposition party but quite a few citizens of the state.

The committee asked that Negroes be afforded educational opportunities for higher education. The one factor that seemed to have pleased the governor was the fact fact that the committee insisted that Negroes not be placed in jobs because they were Negroes, but because they had met the qualifications and were found suited for the job.

The committee described the fact that it was the custom of most administrations to give a few special jobs to certain favorite Negroes and leave the rank and file neglected.

Spokesman Linwood R. Koger told the governor that no longer was the Negro of Maryland interested in special jobs, but due to the high literacy found in the state they could qualify for most any job from custodian to administrator.

Gov. McKeldin assured the committee that each job in the state would be filled by competent people but not through favorism or pressure.

The State Allied Aepublican clubs is a federation of GOP clubs from over the state of Maryland witn Linwood R. Koger, Baltimore attorney, serving as president. Representation on the committee that called on the governor came from all over the state.

GOP Leaders Threaten To Bolt Party In Fight Over Dixiecrats

WASHINGTON—A strong appeal by key Negro Republicans that responsible party officials "publically denounce and disavow" any connection with a proposed GOP-Dixiecrat coalition went ignored by the Republican National committee at its recent Tulsa, Oklahoma, meeting.

it was learned here last week.

Despite warnings from the group, which included names of the most outstanding Negro Republicans in the country, that "no self-respecting Negro could possible support such a coalition" and admonishing party bosses that without the colored vote they face defeat again in 1952, no action was taken to refute persistent rumors that a political wedding between the Dixiecrats and the Republicans is in the making.

Militant Robert R. Church of Chicago, one of the country's most respected Republican leaders, spearheaded the move to get National GOP committee to go on record as to where it stood on a proposal made earlier this year by Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota that dissident Southern Democrats and the Republican Party declare a formal union.

Joining Church in protesting the coalition, which they denounced and condemned as "contrary to the historical principles of the party and inimical to the best interests of our country," were such colored Republicans as J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks; Dr. J. B. Martin of Chicago, W. C. Hueston of Indianapolis, C. A. Barnes and Samuel Turner of Baltimore and Henry L. Johnson, Judge James A. Cobb and Thuman L. Dodson of Washington, D. C.

sippi, again emerged from court victorious last week when Circuit Court Judge M. M. McGowen ordered his group to be registered under a 1950 state law as the official Republican party in the state.

The court edict was a blow to the "Lily White" group headed by George Sheldon, a former Nebraska Governor. Secretary of State Heber Ladner was ordered by the court to register the group headed by the long-time standard bearer of the "Black and Tan," and cancel the registration of the "Lily White."

The "Lily White" group had been registered last year under the new state law which provided that only one group can use a party name, and of course, the "Lily White" group was given the preference.

Judge McGowen ruled that the followers of Sheldon had changed their name from "Independent Republicans" as it had been listed on the 1948 general election ballot. The "Black and Tan" group has been recognized for many years by the national Republican party.

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The court said that the statute "has created out of the secretary of state's office an inferior tribunal. An extraordinary and unusual situation arises which seems to be unsettled in the jurisprudence of our state."

by Perry W. Howard, in their controversy over registration by the state of the Lily White Republican faction as the official Republican party in Mississippi.

His written opinion ruled that the registration of the Lily White Republican faction, headed by former Nebraska governor George L. Sheldon, should be cancelled by the Secretary of State of Mississippi and the party headed by Howard should be registered.

The judge previously had held the state's new political party registration act, passed by the 1950 Legislature, constitutional. The lawsuit, filed by Howard and others and naming J. E. Hoskins and others as defendants, had sought to declare the new legislative act unconstitutional.

In his six-page opinion on the finding of law and of fact Judge McGowan said:

"The court found error on the fact of the record in that it reflected that the defendant party (Lily White) changed its name after the happenings of the events required to be performed in 1948."

(The Lily White GOP group formerly was the Independent Republican party).

McGowan further held that the "denial of the plaintiff part was a unitary act subject to review."

(Howard claims that he is officially recognized by the national Republican party as committeeman from Mississippi).

The question of certiorari proceedings was the final issue on which ruling was made McGowan stated in his opinion. "Antillary certiorari merely perfects a record and is essentially a mandamus," the judge ruled.

The petition originally was for mandamus to compel the secretary of state to change the registration, but was later amended to a certiorari proceeding calling for summons of his records and testimony on precedent acts.

In Mississippi

Black 'n' Tan Party Wins

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — Perry Howard who is usually right in "Black and Tan" Republican political circles in Missis

Perry Howard's "Black and Tan" Wins In Court

By JAMES B. LaFOURCHE

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)— Perry Howard, who is usually right in "Black and Tan" Republican poli-

'White' GOP Loses Suit In Miss.

Would Have Barred Negro Participation

JACKSON, Miss.—Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan, Monday, ruled in favor of Black and Tan Republicans headed

John Temple Graves On States Rights Movement

John Temple Graves, one of the nation's ablest syndicate columnists and commentators, has this to say concerning the States' Rights movement:

In 1948 when this column vowed over and over again that the States' Rights revolt was "spearhead and proof of earnest" for a revolt that would go on thereafter in South and nation, too, famed Herbert Ravenel Sass, of South Carolina, wrote me that I was right but that the rebels of 1942 would not likely to give credit to those of 1948. I remembered him when I read my friend Don Ewing in The Shreveport Times the other day on the developing 1942 revolt of coalitionists. "For some years," Mr. Ewing wrote, "the South consistently has reared up in periods between national elections and bellowed bravely against the suppression of its rights and privileges and perquisites by the Washington 'Democratic' administration. But at each national election the South has kneeled docilely, let the brass collar and leash be fastened about its neck, and followed meekly behind the Washington masters. . ."

All Editor Ewing could say of the States' Righters of 1948 was "There was a bit of snapping at the hand of the leash-holder in 1948, 'tis true; but it was no more than playful and meant nothing in the end. . ."

* * *

If it was playful, Don, it was quite a game.
A million voters played it.
It broke the Solid South in its solid place,
It gave the 20th Century its first "free electors."
It set a tide that won't stop, even if new methods and men are called upon.

* * *

I don't believe my able friend, Don Ewing, fundamentally on the side of the angels always, meant it. The biggest political thing in America in 1952 is going to be the thing that began in the South in 1948. The hardest and most important part may be recorded as the 1948 part. For the dignity of the past and the hope of the future, the South must be clear-minded about this, and honor the memory.

* * *

The enduring nature of the Southern 1948 revolt is eloquent in the attitude of one of the most powerful opposition papers, The Birmingham News. The News has amazed Alabamians by coming out for "free electors and free voters" in 1952, something the "Loyalists" of 1948 deemed not only a cardinal party sin but a deviation threatening national constitutional crisis. Apparently, The News is motivated by awareness of division so persisting and multiplied that it must be recognized and served if intolerable political disorder is to be escaped.

* * *

At the battle of Saratoga they didn't forget the battle of Bunker Hill, George Washington remembered Patrick Henry. So let it be with the States' Rights movement of 1948, with Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright and Frank Dixon, as time marches on.

Hodding Carter

It may be that Governor Fuller Warren of Florida is prompted by only the highest moral and governmental reasons in ignoring a summons from the Senate Crime Investigating committee, but, to put it kindly, this concept is doubtful.

The governor says that the committee's effort to force a state official to come to Washington for any reason is a violation of the principle of dual sovreignty. That may well be. And it may also well be that some sort of showdown is necessary to restate and redetermine just where Federal authority ends and state authority begins, for such incidents as the Warren duck-out can lead to near anarchy if they are often duplicated.

But it is shameful that the fight should be made against the background of the committee's findings that gambling syndicates flourish and powerful racketeers are coddled in Governor Warren's state. There is reason to suspect that some people of dubious character contributed to the governor's campaign chest; and certainly his official attitude toward the bigtime racketeers has not been inimical to their welfare. His defiance of the commiteee therefore smacks more of political expediency than of political philosophy.

The ordinary man in the street, sickened at the mounting tale of national corruption, assumes that the governor of any state would be glad to do what he could to help the government's fight against racketeering, at least if his own hands were clean. That average citizen figures also that while the principal of dual sovreignty must be preserved and strengthened, there can be no sympathy for states or state leaders whose behavior make Federal intervention mandatory. There wouldn't be any Senate Crime Investigating committee if the racket-ridden states had lived up to their responsibilities to their citizens.

Governor Warren is doing the deserving cause of State's Rights no good by invoking the issue in this case, and then failing to go to Washington of his own free will. It is also true that the cry of state's rights too often rises loudly over other issues that are just as indefensible. No state has the right, for instance, to discriminate against any citizens, by reason of color or race or any other distinction; yet there are Americans, in and out of public office, who say that it's no business of the Federal government how the citizens of Michigan or Mississippi or California administer their laws.

That's a lot of poppycock. It becomes not only the business but the duty of the Federal government to intervene when the states show themselves to be incapable or unwilling to deal with organized racketeering or planned discrimination. For integrated crime syndicates and legalized or condoned bigotry strike at constitutional liberties and can make state and Federal government alike impotent if they are not destroyed.

'Righters' Revamp Anti-Truman Party

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Staff Writer

SELMA, Nov. 1—States Righters met here today to declare their continuing opposition to Trumancrats and to coin a new name for their 1948-organized party.

From now on the States Righters will be known as the Alabama Democrats.

Former Gov. Frank Dixon, former State Democratic Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey U. S. Senatorial Candidate Lawrence McNeil, Atty. Horace Wilkinson, Atty Sidney Smyer and Presidential Elector Tom Abernethy—States' Rights leaders since 1948—were present to help launch the new movement.

Hobbs Made Chairman

Ex-Rep. Sam Hobbs of Selma was nominated permanent chairman of the group but may be unable to serve because of ill health.

Earlier today, Virginia Sen. Harry F. Byrd sounded the keynote that today was just the first meeting. He said that the South will determine its political future after it has seen what the National Democratic Party and the Trumancrats have in store for it.

He threw cold water on any movement now to draft Presidential candidates. He advised the 1200 persons in Bloch Stadium to await the word which may come from himself, Gov. James Byrnes of South Carolina or Georgia Sen. Richard Russell.

Byrd Might Accept

In his denunciation of Truman, Byrd apparently left the way open for his own selection as leader of the opposition movement which was headed in 1948 by South Carolina's then Gov. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright.

The Alabama Democrats organized in the Dallas County Courthouse here this afternoon. More than 300 persons were present, the majority from outside this county.

Present also were small delegations from Mississippi, Florida, Tennessee and Louisiana. They also voted for the movement.

Would Join GOP

But T. S. Winn, Birmingham, suggested the only way to stop the Fair Deal is for the South to join the Republicans.

Claiming that he himself is a Democrat, Winn suggested backing GOP Sen. Robert A. Taft or Gen. Douglas MacArthur. But the audience gave him no support on his proposal.

State Rep. Walter Givhan had the two meetings organized on a split-second schedule.

He also squeezed in a barbecue and a meeting of the Dallas County Farm Bureau, official sponsor of today's events.

Dignitaries Present

Present for Byrd's speech were Georgia Gov. and Mrs. Herman Talmadge, Mississippi Governor Wright, Virginia's former governor, W. M. Tuck, Rep. George Andrews and other state dignitaries.

None of these officials attended the formation of the Alabama Democrats.

The meeting adopted an 11-point program which said it believed in constitutional government, local government and the principles of American Integrity.

Birmingham Atty. Horace Wilkinson asked that it include a paragraph saying that Alabama never would give its electoral vote to Harry S. Truman.

Crommelin Gives Views

John Crommelin, retired admiral and unsuccessful candidate for the U. S. Senate, said Alabama Democrats are opposed to the entire Administration, not just one man.

Hobbs also opposed the measure as going "too far." He suggested the proposal be dropped.

Editor Speaks

Mrs. Mary D. Cain, editor of The Summit (Miss.) Sun, told the gathering, "We must kill the bureaus that perpetuate a man in office."

Polling 25,000 votes, Mrs. Cain ran fifth this year for election as governor of Mississippi. Seven men campaigned for the office.

Chairman Hobbs appointed Mr. McCorvey, Mr. Abernethy and Birmingham Atty. H. M. Abercrombie to nominate officers for the Alabama Democratic organization. Their report will be made later.

Tuskegee Leaders Plan Handbook

TUSKEGEE — At a recent meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association, C. G. Gomillion, president, stated that the organization had set for itself the task of studying the structure and functioning of the city and county governments.

It is the plan of the association to prepare and publish at the end of the year a handbook on Government in Tuskegee and Macon County, to be distributed among its members, public school teachers, and qualified electors.

African Leaders To Discuss Natives liberia

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—(SNS)— Three African leaders are slated to discuss the political status, aspirations and problems of Natives in Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone at the meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association at 3:30 Sunday afternoon at the Washington Chapel A. M. E. Church.

The speakers, Messrs James T. Phillips of Liberia, Ernest N. Ukpaby of Nigeria, and Michael EE. Thomas of Sierra Leon, are students at Tuskegee Institute, majoring in agriculture, secondary education and veterinary medicine. All three of these students have had considerable experience in the civic and vocational life of their respective countries and are quite familiar with the political problems and aspirations of their fellow-citizens.

TCA To Hold Business Meeting

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE Ala. —(SNS)— At 3:30 p. m., Sunday, December 9, the Tuskegee Civic Association will hold its annual business meeting at the Washington Chapel AME Church. The 1951 officers will make their annual reports, and the Association will elect its officers for 1952.

During the year the Association has studies elected aspects of the governments of Tuskegee and of Macon County, has encouraged registration of qualified citizens, has published a report on "Public Education in Macon County. 1949-50," and sponsored an interracial meeting on Race Relations Sunday.

At the meeting on December 9, the Association will analyze and appraise the proposed amendments to the Alabama Constitution, on which the electorate will have an opportunity to vote on December 11.

All voters would do well to attend this meeting.

'Skegeans Re-Elect Entire Club Slate

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—The Tuskegee Civic Association held its election of officers and seated the entire '51 slate for second terms.

C. G. Commillion, dean of students at Tuskegee and secretary of the Alabama division of the Southern Regional Council, was re-elected president. William P. Mitchell militant civic leader, was re-elected secretary.

Others re-elected were Sallie P. Harris, James A. Johnson, Cleopatra Mores and Rev. W. E. Carson, vice-presidents; Mrs. Zelda Bolton, assistant secretary, and Earl F. Sorrell, treasurer.

At the Sunday meeting, President Commillion gave an analysis and appraisal of the twenty-four proposed amendments to the Constitution of the State of Alabama.

Following the discussion of the proposed amendments, the annual reports were heard.

Following the discussion of the proposed amendments, the 1951 officers gave their annual reports. The most important services rendered by the Association during the year were (1) the analysis and appraisal of local city and county governments, (2) the stimulation and facilitation of registration and voting and (3) the publication of signicant data on public education in Macon County, Alabama.

Tuskegee Civic Ass'n Reelects G. G. Gomillion

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala.— C. G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute and secretary of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council and his entire administration were swept back to office by a large vote at the election of the Tuskegee Civic Association held Sunday, Dec. 9.

William P. Mitchell, militant civic leader, was re elected secretary. Mesdames Sallie P. Harris, James A. Johnson, Cleopatra S. Morse, and Reverend W. E. Carson were re-elected vice presidents. Re-elected as assistant secretary was Mrs. Zelda Belton and as treasurer, Earl F. Sorrell, who has been treasurer more than ten years.

President Gomillion gave an analysis and appraisal of the twenty-four proposed amendments to the Constitution of the State of Alabama, which were voted on by the

Victory Ends Long Vote Fight

'Battle For The Ballot' In Texas Started in 1924

MARSHALL, Texas. — When three judges of a Federal appeals court last week reversed the district court decision of Judge T. Whitfield Davidson and thereby decreed that Negroes of Harrison County must henceforth be allowed full participation in all the voting machinery of the county, it virtually marked the victorious end of a dramatic and stubborn "battle for the ballot" Texas Negroes have waged for more than a quarter century.

Back in 1924, twenty-six years ago, the struggle was begun. Four times legal battles were fought all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court before, in 1944, the Lonnie Smith vs. Allwright decision from the High Court broke the back of the White Democratic Primary. Following this historic decision, Negroes of most parts of Texas and elsewhere in the South began to exercise the right of the ballot.

But in some areas in Texas as in some other Southern states, Dixiecrat diehards used every possible loophole to try to circumvent the apparently final Supreme Court dictate. Among these dissidents was the Citizens Party of Harrison County, a body representing the actual election machinery of the county but composed of an all-white membership which sought to continue disfranchising Negroes. The chief motive was fear, since the Harrison County population is predominantly Negro which, if allowed to vote, could not only constitute the balance of power but could actually come to control politics.

On April 22, 1949, two Marshall Negroes, James E. Perry and James McCary, filed suit in Federal court to compel admission of Negroes to membership in the Citizens Party. Attorneys were W. J. Durham of Dallas, Texas, NAACP resident counsel, and U. S. Tate, NAACP regional counsel, associating. The case was heard before Judge Davidson, who ruled against Perry and McCary, holding that Negroes had both the right to organize their own private political party and to participate in the Democratic Primary, and thus were not denied a Constitutional right by being excluded from the Citizens Party. The case was immediately appealed by defendants and came to trial before Fifth District Circuit Court of Appeals Judges Joseph C. Hutcheson, Wayne G. Borah and Leon McCord, sitting in Fort Worth.

In their opinion, written by Judge McCord, the three judges of the appeals court reversed Judge Davidson and ordered that Negroes of Harrison County must be given full right of membership in the Citizens Party or any other political setup.

"The primary election of the Citizens Party in which appellants seek to participate," said part of the opinion, "has effectively controlled the election of candidates for the various precinct and county offices in Harrison County, Texas, for over fifty years, and the admitted purpose for its present and continued existence is to exclude otherwise qualified Negro electors from voting solely because of their race and color. . .

"We therefore conclude that the action of the Citizens Party in excluding appellants (Negroes) from voting solely because of their race and color must be characterized as the type of discrimination forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. . .

"The cause is hereby reversed and remanded with directions to enter judgement enjoining and restraining appellees, their agents employees or successors in office from excluding appellants from voting in the primary elections held by the Citizens Party of Harrison County solely because of their race and color."

Arguing the case before the Circuit Court of Appeals was Attorney Durham. The litigation was under joint auspices of the Marshall Progressive Voters League and the Marshall branch NAACP.

3 Alabamans Ask For Rights In Vote Suit

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A legal attack that would break down lily-white voting in several Alabama counties was instituted in Federal District Court here last week when three citizens filed suit claiming they have been unlawfully deprived of the right to vote. They are:

Samuel D. Craddock, J. B. Newman, and C. B. Williams, from rural Henry County, who took the action in an effort to obtain a permanent injunction against the three Henry County Board of Registrars members to keep the board from fixing unreasonable voter qualifications.

The suit, which asks $5,000 damages and cost, and a permanent injunction prohibiting the board from continuing its racial policies, is being backed by the Alabama Conference of NAACP branches, with Attorney Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham, representing the complainants.

Mrs. J. E. Searcy, Abbeville, who said the reason the three men and others haven't been registered is that "they didn't qualify," also explained that the Alabama law requires prospective voters to bring a supporting witness who is a qualified voter.

"No colored citizen has been registered to vote in the county," she added, and "so far, no white man will sign for them. We've never mistreated them one bit in the world and just as soon as they bring a witness, we'll take care of them."

However, it was reported several months ago that the sheriff of the county and other Whites wishing to maintain a lily-white vote there have used reprisals to threaten Whites who indicated a willingness to vouch for Negroes.

Henry county is one of six or more of the state's 67 counties where Negroes are not allowed to vote.

Explosive registration row flares anew in Legislature

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 28 —(AP)—The explosive question of registering new voters in Alabama came up again today in another chapter of a long and bitter legislative battle.

It highlighted the deliberations of an interim committee which is drafting recommendations for the regular lawmaking session starting in May.

Newest approach to the controversial problem is a constitutional amendment proposed by Sen. Elvin McCary of Calhoun County. It provides for the Legislature to fix some form of literacy tests for prospective new voters.

Since the Boswell amendment was outlawed by the Supreme Court, almost anyone can register as a voter if he can read or write or if he owns $300 worth of property.

McCary's plan, discussed today by the committee on revision of laws would require applicants for registration, regardless of race, to take a written examination. The standards would be set by the Legislature.

* * *

WHEN SEN. SAM HIGH of St. Clair complained that the proposal would "disqualify more white folk in North Alabama than Negroes in South Alabama, McCary observed:

"In this day and age of free schools when a person can't read and write, there's something wrong with him and he's not entitled to citizenship on a par with others.

And Committee Chairman Pelham Merrill of Cleburne remarked:

"I'd rather have the blackest Negro that just walked out of Africa as a voter than a white man who is too sorry to get an education.

Both of them explained that the McCary proposal would not effect voters already registered; only those who apply in the future.

Merrill also said the suggestion is similar to New York's registration law which has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

McCary's proposed amendment is the latest in a series of attempts to pass some sort of restrictive laws to replace the Boswell amendment. One plan, endorsed by former State Democratic Executive Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile was killed in a dramatic 23-hour filibuster in the Senate on the final day of the 1949 session.

IT WOULD HAVE required prospective voters to be of "good character"; to "embrace the duties and obligations" of citizenship, and to pass a written test prescribed by the State Supreme Court.

Heads of two state teachers colleges came before the finance and taxation interim committee to request increased state appropriations even though they said they expect declining enrollments during the next two years.

Dr. Houston Cole, president of Jacksonville State Teachers College, asked for a $121,000 annual increase in state funds for the next two years. The institution now gets $348,000.

The Troy State Teachers College requested appropriation was $351,350 for each of the next two years, an increase of nearly $53,000 over this year.

Dr. C. B. Smith, president of the Troy institute said he expects enrollment there to drop from about 800 to 600 students.

He and Dr. Cole said they needed additional funds to offset a slackoff anticipated from veterans fees, and the lowered purchasing power of the dollar.

Henry Vote Board Enrolls 20 Negroes

ABBEVILLE, April 16 (AP) — Twenty Negroes, including three who filed suit against the Henry County Board of Registrars charging discrimination, were registered to vote today, J. E. Dodd, editor of The Abbeville Herald, said today.

Two weeks ago, the board registered five other Negroes, the first ever made eligible to vote in the county.

J. B. Newman, C. B. Williams and Samuel D. Craddock are the three Negro plaintiffs in the suit which was filed in U. S. District Court at Montgomery.

They asked $5,000 damages and accused the registrars, Mrs. J. E. Searcy, Mrs. Anna Lee Spann and Jack Herring, of discrimination by subjecting them to tests not required of white applicants.

A motion by the defendants to dismiss the charges is set for a hearing at Dothan April 26.

Board Gets Plan To Limit Back Poll Taxes; Finance Group Works On Recommendations

A proposal to limit the back pay feature of Alabama's poll tax law was sent to a legislative subcommittee loaded with Black Belters Wednesday.

The interim committee on law revision took the action after hearing a delegation of Tuscaloosa club women ask that the law be changed so persons would not have to pay back taxes to be eligible to vote.

On the subcommittee were Z. B. Crocker of Marengo County, E. T. Harrison of Wilcox and Armistead Selden of Hale.

Mrs. John Turner, chief spokesman for the Tuscaloosa club women, declared the back pay feature is obsolete, outmoded and no longer serves its original purpose which, she said, was to prevent Negroes from voting.

That's because veterans of both world wars, those over 45 years of age and anyone who owns $300 worth of property now are eligible to vote, Mrs. Turner said.

The constitutional amendment to revise the $1.50 poll tax law was offered by Senator Elvin McCary of Calhoun.

Town Lifts Ballot Ban

ABBEVILLE, Ala.—A fifty-year ballot ban against Negroes ended here April 2 in the face of a vote denial suit when five Negro applicants were registered to vote by the Henry County Board of Registrars.

Names of the five were unavailable, but they did not include J. B. Newman, C. B. Williams and Samuel D. Craddock, who filed a vote discrimination suit in the U. S. District Court in Montgomery, Feb. 21.

Trial of that suit is set for Thursday, April 26.

Tests For New Alabama Voters

The Legislature's interim committee on revision of laws has voted to recommend a constitutional amendment authorizing educational qualifications for new voters. What the Legislature will do is, of course, another matter, but it is practically certain that some action will be taken inasmuch as present qualification requirements are out of date and generally unsatisfactory.

The proposed amendment would empower the Legislature to draft educational qualifications for prospective voters. Written examinations would have to be taken by all applicants, regardless of race. The amendment specifically says that the requirements could not be used for "unfair discrimination." (Idle query: could there be "fair" discrimination in this respect?)

Inclusion of this provision appears to have satisfied organized labor, which is usually keenly alert to all threats of undue limitation on voting. Representatives of three major labor groups in the state appeared before the interim committee urging the amendment's approval.

Proponents of the plan say it will satisfy the federal constitution. On its face, at least, it appears to square with constitutional requirements.

The proposal must run the gantlet of the whole Legislature and, if approved by it, of the people. The public test probably would involve the degree of belief that the Legislature will draw up satisfactory educational qualifications and that machinery will be set up for their fair and impartial application.

* * *

There should be no objections to the right kind of educational qualifications for voters. Most states have something of the sort, even if nothing more than a simple reading and writing provision. But other states, like New York, require written examinations. The Alabama proposal follows the New York pattern. A plan which has proved satisfactory in that state of highly mixed population should prove acceptable here. But in any event, we must wait to see what the Legislature does. It is to be hoped it does a better job than was done with the Boswell amendment.

Admitting Negroes As Voters

For the first time in many years, perhaps ever, the names of Negroes appear on the list of qualified voters in Henry County. The board of registrars of that county has registered 25 Negroes to vote, five of them a few days ago and 20 more this week.

The action was taken under a cloud. A civil damage suit against members of the board has been instituted by three Negroes, who were among those just qualified. They charged that members of the board had been guilty of discrimination in subjecting them to tests not required of white applicants. The suit is still pending.

It should be obvious that with fair administration of the state's registration laws there are Negroes in Henry County who deserve admission to the full privileges of citizenship. The 1940 census gave Henry 10,708 Negroes. To say that none of the county's Negroes is qualified to vote is quite patently a case of discrimination.

There still are, it is declared by Alabama officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, four Alabama counties in which not one Negro has been qualified to vote. Those counties, with their 1940 Negro populations, are: Lowndes, 19,204; Monroe, 15,593; Russell, 21,101, and Wilcox, 20,571.

The law is quite clear on the point that no person in this country shall be denied the right to vote because of race or color. Many communities in Alabama have been circumventing that mandate. It is good to note that progress is being made in the direction of a fair and just administration of our voting laws.

20 More Register To Vote In Ala. County

ABBEVILLE, Ala. — Twenty Negroes, including three who filed suit against the Henry County Board of Registrars charging political disfranchisement of Negroes, were registered to vote last Monday.

Three weeks ago five Negroes were permitted to register to vote, the first since reconstruction days. The break down of the vote ban followed filing of the suit several weeks ago.

Plaintiffs in the action are J. B. Newman, C. B. Williams, and Samuel D. Craddock. Threats against Newman's life were made by whites if he didn't withdraw his suit. However, the Negro farmer remained steadfast.

Tighter Voter Qualifications Proposed In 5th Amendment

By G. C. LONG, JR.

(Editor's note: This is the fifth in a series of articles on the 24 proposed constitutional amendments to be voted on by the people Dec. 11.)

Amendment No. 5 on the ballot for the Dec. 11 voting contains one of the most explosive issues in the state but in spite of that it has not so far created the furor similar proposals have, in the past.

The amendment, designed to take the place of the Boswell amendment, which was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1948, tightens up on voter qualifications in Alabama.

Prospective voters might find it harder to register under the proposed law than under the present law.

The basic requirements for registration under Amendment No. 5 are that the prospective voter be able to read and write in English any article of the U. S. constitution; be of good character and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the constitutions of the U. S. and the state; answer satisfactorily a questionnaire to be prepared by the State Supreme Court, and take an anti-Communist oath.

Basic Requirements

Basic requirements under the existing law are that a person be able to read and write any article of the U. S. constitution in the English language and to be the owner of (or wife or husband of the owner of) 40 acres of land in the state, real estate assessed for taxation at $300 or more or personal property assessed for taxation at $300 or more.

The basic requirements of the unconstitutional Boswell amendment were that the prospective voter be able to read and write, understand and explain any article of the U. S. constitution in the English language and be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government.

The Amendment

Here's what Amendment No. 5, which amends section 181 of the constitution, says:

"The following persons and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this article, shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this constitution:

"Those who can read and write any article of the constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further, that in order to aid the members of the boards of registrars, who are hereby constituted and declared to be judicial officers, to judicially determine if applicants to register have the qualifications hereinabove set out, each applicant shall be furnished by the board of registrars a written questionnaire, which shall be uniform in all cases with no discrimination as between applicants, the form and contents of which questionnaire shall be prescribed by the Supreme Court of Alabama and be filed by such court with the secretary of state of the State of Alabama, which questionnaire shall be so worded that the answers hereto will place before the boards of registrars information necessary or proper to aid them to pass upon the qualifications of each applicant.

In Writing

"Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance, and there shall be incorporated in such answer an oath to support and defend the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of Alabama and a statement in such oath by the applicant disavowing belief in or affiliation at any time with any group or party which advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means, which answers and oath shall be duly signed and sworn to by the applicant before a member of the county board of registrars.

"Such questionnaire and the written answers of the applicant therto shall be filed with the records of the respective boards of registrars.

"The board may receive information respecting the applicant and the truthfulness of any information furnished by him.

"Those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again.

"Provided, further, that if solely because of physical handicap, and in such cases a member of the board of registrars shall read to the applicant the questionnaire and oaths herein provided for and the applicant's answers thereto shall be written down by such board member, and the applicant shall be registered as a voter if he meets all other requirements herein set out."

A major provision of this proposal is the making of judicial officers of the boards of registrar members for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the act.

Alabama Votes Today on New Voter Test

MONTGOMERY, Ala. Dec. 10 (AP).—Twenty-four constitutional amendments including one to tighten up on Alabama voter registration requirements, will be settled in an off-year special election Tuesday.

Polls open at 8 a. m. (CST) and close at 5 p. m. in rural counties, an hour later in cities.

The registration amendment would require new voters to: Be of "good character"; embrace the "duties and obligations of citizenship"; make a satisfactory showing on a written question; sign an antiCommunist oath.

Although the proposal makes no mention of racial distinction, it was designed as a substitute for the Boswell amendment, which was outlawed by the United States Supreme Court nearly four years ago. The court ruled that the Boswell amendment permitted discrimination against Negroes attempting to register to vote.

Supporters of the new amendment have studiously avoided the race question and there has been no intense campaign for or against it.

23 AMENDMENTS UP FOR VOTE IN ALABAMA

Off-Year Special Election Will Be Held Today

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 10.—(AP)—Twenty-three constitutional amendments, including one to tighten up on Alabama voter registration requirements, will be settled in an off-year special election Tuesday.

Polls open at 8 a.m. and close at 5 p.m. in rural counties, an hour later in cities.

The voter registration amendment would require new voters to: Be of "good character," embrace the "duties and obligations of citizenship," make a satisfactory showing of a written question, sign an antiCommunist oath.

Rival spokesmen brought out their final arguments Monday in the hotly contested battle over the proposed $25,000,000 road bond issue.

Purpose of the borrowing is to raise $25,000,000 which could be matched with a like amount in Federal funds to provide for a $50,000,000 highway development program. The bond amendment is No. 1 on the ballot.

Ala. Voters Act On Bill Barring Ballot

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The electorate of this State will display its attitude toward colored people's full citizenship Tuesday, when it marches to the polls to vote on the amendment to empower county registrars to determine the fitness of those seeking to get their names on the poll lists.

Champions of white supremacy are counting on the "wool hat" voters to write this rigid new restriction around the use of the ballot at the special constitutional amendment election slated on that day.

The State has had virtually no legal limitation on registrations since the Boswell Amendment, passed by the Legislature when the lily-white primary was banned, was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court four years ago.

Registrars Judge Character

If the voter qualification amendment is passed, it will mean that prospective voters will have to satisfy the registrars, for example, that they are of "good character" and that they "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship."

They would also have to answer a questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court and at the same time sign an oath to the effect that they are not affiliated with the Communist Party.

Despite the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed the notorious Boswell Amendment on the grounds that it could allow registrars to discriminate against colored people, the Alabama Supreme Court in an advisory opinion, suggested that the substitute amendment is legal.

Alabama Ballot Slated Today On Vote Curbs

State Would Apply Rigid Restrictions

Montgomery, Ala., Dec. 10 (AP)—Champions of white supremacy are counting on Alabama voters tomorrow to write rigid new restrictions around the use of the ballot.

On the outcome of a special Constitutional amendment election will depend to a large degree who can and who can't become voters in the future.

Alabama has had virtually no legal limitations on registration since the anti-Negro Boswell amendment was knocked out by the United States Supreme Court nearly four years ago.

To take its place, the Legislature submitted the Boswell-amendment substitute which will be ratified or rejected Tuesday, along with 23 other suggested changes in the Constitution.

Registrar Would Rule

The voter-qualification amendment would empower County registrars to determine the fitness of those seeking to get their names on the poll lists.

Prospective voters would have to satisfy the registrars, for example, that they are of "good character," and that they "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship."

They would have to answer a questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court, and at the same time sign an anti-Communist oath.

The Boswell approach required new voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution. It was outlawed by the Supreme Court on the grounds it could allow registrars to discriminate against Negroes.

Court Informally Approves

Nevertheless, the Alabama Supreme Court, in purely an informal advisory opinion, has held that the suggested substitute is all right.

In sharp contrast to the admittedly anti-Negro purpose of the Boswell amendment and the bitter campaign that preceded its adoption in 1946, proponents of the new proposal have soft-pedaled the racial question. There has been no intense campaign for or against it. Nor does the proposed amendment itself say anything about racial distinction.

Inescapable, however, is the fact that it was sponsored by the same white-supremacy advocates who stood behind the Boswell law.

Citizens To Vote On 24 Amendments Today

"Amendment 5" sponsored by Black Belt politicians and designed to stifle Negro voting holds the spotlight among the controversial proposals being voted on today — Tuesday, December 11.

Voters are passing judgment on 24 amendments--7 of which deal with subjects of statewide interest and 17 others relating to issues of county and municipal application.

Voters are passing judgment on County Progressive Democratic Council held audit-the-amendments mass meetings over the week-end. Many of them were sponsored by the Alabama Progressive Democratic Association headed by Attorney Arthur D. Shores.

GO TO THE POLLS

Shores was scheduled to address a rally at Talladega last night. He also issued a statement urging "all voters to go to the polls today, rain or shine, sleet or snow and perform your good deed of citizenship for the day by voting.'

In Smithfield last night, W. H. Hollins, unit chairman discussed the amendments at an educational rally held at the YWCA. Emory O. Jackson was at another spot in Smithfield the same night hammering away in opposition to the voter-qualification proposal.

A bitter fight meantime was being waged between Governor Gordon Persons and ex-Gov. James E. Folsom over the $25,000,000 road bond amendment. The bond issue is the moajor proposal of the Person Administrator. However, he has been silent during the campaign on the voter-qualification issue, which is dear to those groups who see a hard time becoming electors under the present law.

SPARKS AGAINST NO. 5

On the other hand, Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks under whose adminstration the court-demolished Boswell amendment was submitted to the voters who ratified it, came out in opposition to the "Bonner Registration Amendment." He is also in opposition to the road bond proposal.

Amendment 6, the so-called "67-Senator" amendment has drawn the fire of the Jefferson County Legislative Delegation.

W. O. Patton, president of the Alabama State Conference of N. A. A. C. P. Branches urged the defeat of Amendments 5 and 6. The conference passed resolutions at its recent state convention is held in Birmingnam in opposition to these two (5 and 6) amendments.

THE 24 AMENDMENTS

Here is a sketchy description of the 24 proposals:

No. 1—$25,000,000 bond issue.
No. 2—Merit system.
No. 3—National Guard.
No. 4—Poll tax exemption
No. 5—Voter qualifications.
No. 6.—67 Senator
No. 7—Foreign corporation suits.
No. 8—Madison County salaries.
No. 9 — Franklin County towns property ownership.
No. 10— Morgan County school tax.
No. 11— Pickens County towns property ownership.
No. 12—Lawrence County school tax.
No. 13— Baldwin County court cost and salaries.
No. 14— Haleyville property ownership.
No. 15— Walker County property ownership.
No. 16— Colbert County property ownership.
No. 17— Marion County property phrnwoei ownership.
No. 18—Chambers County school tax.
No. 19 —Marion County acts validated.
No. 20— Fayette County School tax.
No. 21— Franklin County bond issue.
No. 22 — Jackson County school tax.
No. 23—37 towns.
No. 24— Colbert County tax validated.

Survey Shows Only 35% Jefferson County Teachers Qualified Voters

A startling disclosure that only 35.7 per cent of the Negro Teachers of Jefferson County are qualified voters, hit Birmingham leaders square between the eyes last week durng the climaxes of the strenous campaign for voting on the Constitutional Amendments today. The revelation was given in a handbook published for the Jefferson County Teachers entitled "Negro Teachers Who Vote," and distributed at a teacher's institute held at the Parker High School Saturday morning.

Of the 428 Negro teachers in the county, only 153 have had the feeling and knowledge of the civic responsibility of taking part in public elections by qualifying for voting, according to reports of the bulletin.

Statements issued by various civic leaders of Birmingham indicate that this report is the 'most discouraging in our efforts for race progress and if our teachers, whose responsibility it is to direct and influence

ent of Schools.

"It has long been my philosophy that every classroom instructor in our democratic society should be a qualified voter and thus share a voice in our government. Fundamentally, the public schools in the United States were set up to perpetuate democracy and to develop good citizens in our society. It is therefore difficult to see how a real teacher can go on from year to year on the hypothesis that he is developing citizens without being a full fledged citizen himself.

E. Paul Jones, Director, Division of Negro Schools.

In a magnificient plea, Prof. C Reevs, president of the Jefferson County Negro Teacher Association, writes:

Dear Teacher,

Are you a registered voter? If so I'm sure you have been made to realize just what first-class citizenship means to you and your country. If for some reason you fall in the group of more than two hundred Negro teachers in the Jefferson County Schools who do not vote, I wonder if you have stopped to consider just what this means to you, your love ones, your friends, your neighbors and to your country as a whole.

If you do not help elect your public officials, your public servants, do you think they will feel at all responsible to you for their actions. Do you think they will even feel obligated to listen to your legitimate requests for justice and fair play. Have you ever stopped to think that you help to bring on these evils you criticize in your government by failing to put a stop to them through your vote. You are partially responsible for each wrong doing of your public officials.

Recently quite a bit of publicity has been given crimes in high places, in the Treasury Department and in the Department of Justice. Such crimes will continue until the voter through his elected representatives orders that they cease. Often the most respected and upright citizen is subjected to the most cruel and unreasonable treatment at the hands of public officials. This also will continue until the VOTER demands that it cease. If you or your friends have been subject to such treatment, then consider that you helped to bring it on your self if you do not vote.

Can you vote for an increase in school funds from which your salary comes? I realize that many obstacles are placed in your way to keep you from registering. However, I honestly believe that if you realized thoroughly what it means to you, no handicap placed in your way would be too great for you to overcome. Then too there are many of us who are just too lazy to go down and try to register; or either we are too stingy to pay the small poll tax required of us. Yet we spend money for the things we WANT. We ought to PUT UP or SHUT UP.

Earnestly and sincerely I implore you to go down and register and vote, your vote is just one, but multiplied by two hundred it means strength.

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ODDS AND ENDS

Look for residents of north Enon Ridge to attempt the organization of a civic league...A meeting to organize a YMCA basketball league is being planned for Wednesday night, December 19 . .Some ministers are disturbed over a reported brutality case...Teachers in the veteran school of the city have been classified as special teachers.

Wilcox County Solon Hurls Threats, But Amendment Is Nixed

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Wilcox County's State Senator J. Miller (Bull) Bonner, father of Alabama's 1951 style "Boswell Amendment" has threatened to work for the cutting of funds to all Negro schools in 1953 should any Negro "attempt to enter white schools in Alabama."

Senator Bonner's outburst, serving notice on his intentions in 1953, came when he opposed last Friday a $467,900 annual increase to Alabama State College. His son-in-law, Representative Sam M. Engelhardt Jr. (Macon County), had lost an earlier fight (with a scheme of his own but he could not get his fellow lawmakers to go along with him.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Although Negro citizens outnumber whites in Wilcox County, no Negro has been permitted to register and vote in this county since 9??. Senator Bonner has said publicly that he does not believe that any Negro is fit to vote, including a man of the standing of President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute.

to get in a proviso to cut off funds if segregation is eliminated in public schools.

32 TO 0 VOTE

However, over the bitter opposition of Senator Bonner, the Senate rejected his amendment and then passed, by a unanimous 32 to 0 vote, the $77,500,000 annual school appropriation amendment.

Explaining his opposition to the appropriation to Alabama State College, Senator Bonner said the idea was "distasteful" to him.

"I want to serve notice now," the Wilcox senator said, "on Negro leaders that if any Negro attempts to enter white schools of Alabama, I will do my best two years from now (when the Legislature meets again) to take away every appropriation for every Negro school in the state."

Strangely, Senator Bonner failed to espouse in the Senate the pro-segregation proviso advocated by Representative Engelhardt of Shorter, Ala. He came up

Registrar List Announced For 55 Counties

Wed. 10-3-51

Terms Expire In September, 1955

MONTGOMERY, Oct. 2 (UP)—Gov. Gordon Persons today announced the names of Boards of Registrars for 55 Alabama counties.

Members of these boards are named by the governor, state auditor, and director of the State Department of Agriculture and Industries. They were named to terms which will expire on Sept. 28, 1955.

Included were:

Autauga County—Forrester M. Smith, chairman, Autaugaville; Mrs. Ernest J. Wingard, Prattville; Mrs. Virginia Barnes, Prattville.

Barbour County—Mrs. C. S. McDowell, chairman, Centreville, Rt. 1; Mrs. Caro C. Clayton, Clayton, Ala.; Mrs. Emma McLain, Clio.

Bibb County—B. H. Smitherman, chairman, Rt. 1, Centreville; Mrs. Mae Stewart, Centreville; A. W. Langston, Centreville.

Blount County—T. E. Avery, chairman, Cleveland; L. E. Bellenger, Cleveland; Rev. P. J. Jordan, Rt. 1, Altoona.

Bullock County—S. B. Wilson, chairman, Union Springs; J. A. Tucker, Union Springs; W. B. Rainer, Union Springs.

Butler County—W. C. Jones, chairman Georgiana; Sam Owens, Butler Springs Mrs. Clyde Thigpen, Georgiana.

Calhoun County—T. C. Slaughter, chairman, Oxford; L. B. Lybrand, Oxford; Mrs. Howard Trammel, Jacksonville.

Chambers County — John B. Brazell, chairman, Lafayette; H. D. Stiphens, Lanett; C. E. McClendon, Lafayette.

Cherokee County — Arthur Gossett, chairman, Rt. 2, Center; M. G. Naugher, Center; R. P. Edwards, Rt. 2, Center.

Choctaw County—Mrs. Leona N. Stanford, chairman, Butler; Mrs. Ruby L. Edgar, Butler; Julian E. Martin, Pushmataha.

Clay County—Mrs. M. J. Norrell, chairman, Ashland; Mrs. Eva W. Pepper, Ashland; Mrs. H. A. Williamson, Ashland.

Cleburne County—J. L. Bowman, chairman, Muscadine; A. H. Glasgow, Heflin; W. H. Robinson, Ranburne.

Colbert County—Mrs. Bessie Ford, chairman, Sheffield; George W. Cantrell, Rt. 3, Tuscumbia; R. E. Sparks, Rt. 3, Tuscumbia.

Conecuh County—Mrs. Tralice M. Shoemaker, Evergreen; Martin Johnston, Evergreen; M. J. Brown, chairman, Owassa.

COOSA COUNTY—Will Crewford, chairman, Nixburg; A. P. Thomas, Rockford; Charles Corley, Goodwater.

COVINGTON COUNTY—Alto La. Goodson, chairman, Andalusia; Charles J. Winham, Andalusia; L. W. Walters, Red Level.

CRENSHAW COUNTY—M. L. McSwain, chairman, Brantley; L. H. Hudson, Lapine; Mrs. Mab Sport, Luverne.

CULLMAN COUNTY—W. M. Woodhall, chairman, Rt. 6, Cullman, George Nunnelly, Rt. 4, Cullman; Mrs. Rosa L. Dunlap, Cullman.

DALE COUNTY—C. A. B. Edwards chairman, Ozark; Mrs. Thelma M. Head, Ozark; D. C. Newton, Rt. 3, Ozark.

DALLAS COUNTY—Horace J. Zimmerman, chairman, Burnsville; Howard F. Crandell, 308 Church St., Selma; Mrs. J. D. Giles, Rt. 2, Selma.

DEKALB COUNTY—Warren McSpadden, chairman, Fort Payne; A. C. Worthy, Rt. 3, Fort Payne; R. G. Lamunyon, Rt. 1, Fyffe.

ELMORE COUNTY — M. S. Howard, chairman, Wetumpka; Roscoe Wideman, Tallassee; Mrs. Vester Bush, Wetumpka.

ESCAMBIA COUNTY—Walter J. Bryan, chairman, Flomaton; Mrs. L. L. Smith, Atmore; Mrs. R. M. Watson, Brewton.

ETOWAH—Mrs. Mollie Siniard, chairman, Gadsden; M. W. Copeland, 709 Brookside Drive, Gadsden; Mrs. Rozert A. Leath, Gadsden.

FAYETTE COUNTY—Oscar Belk, chairman, Belk, Ala.; W. Asbury Kimbrell, Fayette; Oscar Ray, Rt. 1, Fayette.

FRANKLIN—J. T. Lawler, chairman, Phil Campbell; D. L. Stalcup, Phil Campbell; E. O. Rodgers, Russellville.

GENEVA—Mrs. James A. Mulkey, chairman, Geneva; Mrs. Earnestine B. Hendrix, Geneva; Mrs. Dess W. Smith, Samson.

GREEN—Robert McQueen, chairman, Eutaw; Mrs. Lucile Morrow, Eutaw; Mrs. Jamie R. Smith, Knoxville.

HALE—Webb Cocke, chairman, Greensboro; James White, Stewart; Shelley Hoggle, Greensboro.

HENRY—Mrs. E. E. Haynes, chairman, Headland; R. F. Hall Sr., Shortersville; Mrs. Annie Lee Spann, Headland.

HOUSTON—C. L. Morgan, chairman, Rt. 2, Dothan; Ben W. May, Dothan; Smith Hall, Dothan.

JACKSON—P. Tom Page, chairman, Woodville; J. H. McLendon, Scottsboro; Mrs. John Jones, Scottsboro.

LAUDERDALE — Mrs. George Green, North Pine Street, Florence; W. E. Briggs, Lexington; Mrs. Lake E. Tate, chairman, Florence.

LAWRENCE—R. E. Cozurn, chairman, Courtland; J. O. Philpot, Mt. Hope; Roy Craig, Town Creek.

LEE COUNTY—A. A. Betts, Opelika; Phillip M. Norrell, Waverly; Lewellyn Ingram, Opelika.

LIMESTONE—R. H. Walker, chairman, Athens; H. N. Binford, Athens; Mrs. Viva W. Spencer, Athens.

LOWNDES—Joe Sadler, chairman, Hayneville; Julian Moorer, Mt. Willing; A. J. Brooks, Fort Deposit.

MACON COUNTY—Grady Rogers, chairman, Rt. 1, Tuskegee; W. D. Tommie, Notasulga; J. J. Rodgers, Tuskegee.

MADISON—Harry Rhett Jr., chairman, Huntsville; Martha Whit Smith, Huntsville; Robert Craft, Owens Cross Roads.

MARENGO—Mrs. Corrie Burgess, chairman, Demopolis; Mrs. J. B. Glass, Thomaston; Grey Etheridge, Sweetwater.

PERRY—Wm. F. Lockhard, chairman, Marion; Levy N. McFarland, Rt. 1, Centreville; Jesse P. Poole, Rt. 2, Brent.

PICKENS COUNTY—Miss Ida Gardner, Aliceville; Mrs. Thalia Pratt, Carrollton; J. B. Doughty, chairman, Reform.

PIKE COUNTY—Mrs. E. B. Bassett, Troy; Mrs. Bradley Green, Rt. 2, Banks; Mrs. Annie Shirley, chairman, Rt. 2, Goshen.

RANDOLPH COUNTY—Guy M. Holder, chairman, Wedowee; Mrs. J. H. Kerr, Wedowee; Mrs. Hattie Carlisle, Wedowee.

RUSSELL COUNTY — M. M. Holley, chairman, Phenix City; James H. Roberts Jr., Phenix City; Arthur B. Bell, Phenix City.

SHELBY COUNTY—J. A. King, chairman, Pelham; Rose B. Mullins, Columbiana; Stanley Mahan, Montevallo.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY—Mrs. Sam High, chairman, Ashville; R. R. Hodges, Ashville; Mrs. Annie T. McClendon, Ashville.

SUMTER COUNTY—Raiford Shamberger, chairman, Livingston; Mrs. W. P. Tartt, Livingston; J. W. Boyd, Livingston.

TALLADEGA COUNTY — Luke Kidd, chairman, Childersburg; Mrs. Thomas W. Cooley, Talladega; Mrs. Sue Summerlin, Talladega.

TALLAPOOSA COUNTY—T. L. Wilson, chairman, Dadeville; Hugh Thompson, Alex City; Ralph Hammock, Tallassee.

TUSCALOOSA COUNTY — A. Parker Mize, Tuscaloosa; William A. Watkins, Tuscaloosa.

WALKER COUNTY—Wade M. Fowler, chairman, Jasper; W. P. Kilgore, RFD, Jasper; Mrs. Geneva Liles, Jasper.

WASHINGTON COUNTY—C. K. Howard, chairman, Tibbie; Mrs. Glendine Cordy, Chatom; T. C. Britton, Millry.

WILCOX COUNTY—R. E. Cook, chairman, Sunny South; Mrs. John B. Newberry, Camden; Mrs. Laura F. Dobson, Camden.

WINSTON COUNTY — W. W. White, chairman, Houston; Basil Falls, Double Springs; B. B. Berry, Double Springs.

Registrars Set In 55 Counties; But None Here

Wed 10-3-51

Gov. Gordon Persons' office Tuesday announced the names of members of Boards of Registrars in 55 of the 67 counties.

Montgomery County was included in the group of counties for which no registrars were named. No registrars were named for Jefferson or Mobile Counties.

Persons was out of town and no explanation was given as to why the Montgomery County and other boards were not named.

However, it is understood appointing authorities have not completed their selections for these counties.

The registrars were appointed by a board composed of the governor, State Auditor John Brandon and Frank M. Stewart, commissioner of agriculture and industries.

They will serve four-year terms expiring Sept. 28, 1955. Those named Tuesday were:

Autauga County—Forrester M. Smith, chairman, Autaugaville; Mrs. Ernest J. Wingard, Prattville; Mrs. Virginia Barnes, Prattville.

Barbour—Mrs. C. S. McDowell, chairman, Centreville; Mrs. Caro C. Clayton, Clayton; Mrs. Emma McLain, Clio.

Bibb—B. H. Smitherman, chairman, Centreville; Mrs. Mae Stewart, Centreville; A. W. Langston, Centreville.

Blount—T. E. Avery, chairman, Cleveland; L. E. Bellenger, Cleveland; Rev. P. J. Jordon, Altoona.

Bullock—S. B. Wilson, chairman, Union Springs; J. A. Tucker, Union Springs; W. B. Rainer, Union Springs.

Butler—W. C. Jones, chairman, Georgiana; Sam Owens, Butler Springs; Mrs. Clyde Thigpen, Georgiana.

Calhoun—T. C. Slaughter, chairman, Oxford; L. B. Lybrand, Oxford; Mrs. Howard Trammel, Jacksonville.

Chambers—John B. Brazell, chairman, LaFayette; H. D. Stephens, Lanett; C. E. McClendon, LaFayette.

Cherokee—Arthur Gossett, chairman, Center; M. G. Naugher, Center; R. P. Edwards, Center.

Choctaw—Mrs. Leona N. Stanford, chairman, Butler; Mrs. Ruby L. Edgar, Butler; Julian E. Martin, Pushmataha.

Clay—Mrs. M. J. Norrell, chairman, Ashland; Mrs. Eva W. Pepper, Ashland; Mrs. H. A. Williamson, Ashland.

Cleburne—J. L. Bowman, chairman, Muscadine; A. H. Glasgow, Heflin; W. H. Robinson, Ranburne.

Colbert—Mrs. Bessie Ford, chairman, Sheffield; George W. Cantrell, Tuscumbia; R. E. Sparks, Tuscumbia.

Conecuh—Mrs. Tralic M. Shoemaker, Evergreen; Martin Johnston, Evergreen; M. J. Brown, chairman, Gwassa.

Coosa—Will Crawford, chairman, Nixburg; A. P. Thomas, Rockford; Charles Corley, Goodwater.

Covington—Alto La Goodson, chairman, Andalusia; Charles J. Windham, Andalusia; L. W. Waters, Red Level.

Crenshaw—M. L. McSwain, chairman, Brantley; L. H. Hudson, LaPine; Mrs. Mab Sport, Luverne.

Cullman—W. M. Woodall, chairman, Cullman; George Nunnelly, Cullman; Mrs. Rosa L. Dunlap, Cullman.

Dale—C. A. B. Edwards, chairman, Ozark; Mrs. Thelma M. Head, Ozark; D. C. Newton, Ozark.

Dallas—Horace J. Zimmerman, chairman, Burnsville; Howard F. Crandell, Selma; Mrs. J. D. Giles, Selma.

DeKalb—Warren McSpadden, chairman, Fort Payne; A. C. Worthy, Fort Payne; R. G. Lamunyon, Fyffe, Ala.

Elmore—M. S. Howard, chairman, Wetumpka; Roscoe Wideman, Tallassee; Mrs. Vester Bush, Wetumpka.

Escambia—Waller J. Bryan, chairman, Flomaton; Mrs. L. L. Smith, Atmore; Mrs. R. M. Watson, Brewton.

Etowah—Mrs. Mollie Siniard, chairman, Gadsden; M. W. Copeland, Gadsden; Mrs. Robert A. Leath, Gadsden.

Fayette—Oscar Belk, chairman, Belk; W. Asbury Kimbrell, Fayette; Oscar Ray, Fayette.

Franklin—J. T. Lawler, chairman, Phil Campbell; D. L. Stalcup, Phil Campbell; E. O. Rodgers, Russellville.

Geneva—Mrs. James A. Mulkey, chairman, Geneva; Mrs. Earnestine B. Hendrix, Geneva; Mrs. Dess W. Smith, Samson.

Green—Robert McQueen, chairman, Eutaw; Mrs. Lucille Morrow, Eutaw; Mrs. Jamie R. Smith, Knoxville, Ala.

Hale—Webb Cocke, chairman, Greensboro; James White, Stewart; Shelley Hoggle, Greensboro.

Henry—Mrs. E. E. Haynes, chairman, Headland; R. F. Hall, Sr., Shorterville; Mrs. Annie Lee Spann, Headland.

Houston—C. L. Morgan, chairman, Dothan; Ben W. May, Dothan; Smith Hall, Dothan.

Jackson — P. Tom Page, chairman, Woodville; L. H. McLendon, Scottsboro; Mrs. John Jones, Scottsboro.

Lauderdale—Mrs. George Green, Florence; W. E. Briggs, Lexington; Mrs. Lake E. Tate, chairman, Florence.

Lawrence — R. E. Coburn, chairman, Courtland; J. O. Philpot, Mt. Hope; Roy Craig, Town Creek.

Lee R. A. Betts, Opelika; Phillip M. Norrell, Waverly; Lewellyn Ingram, Opelika.

Limestone — R. H. Walker, chairman, Athens; H. N. Binford, Athens; Mrs. Viva W. Spencer, Athens.

Lowndes—Joe Sadler, chairman, Hayneville; Julian Moorer, Mt. Willing; A. J. Brooks, Fort Deposit.

Macon—Grady Rogers, chairman, Tuskegee; W. D. Tommie, Notasulga; J. J. Rogers, Tuskegee.

AMENDMENT NO. 1 SHOULD BE DEFEATED

Voters of Macon County, along with the rest of the State, next Tuesday will be faced with some issues affecting every citizen of Alabama Amendment No. 1, to be voted on next Tuesday, on its surface merely proposes a road bond issue of $25,000,000 for the avowed purpose of matching an equal amount of Federal road funds.

But the issues involved have a deeper significance than just a road bond issue. The deeper issues involve the matter of economy in government, and the integrity of our elected state officials.

No one in Alabama contends that the state does not need funds for highway maintenance and improvement. But serious observers have shown that the $200,000,000 which will be available during the present administration will more than suffice to do the job, even matching the Federal funds.

Alabama highways are not in the dire condition the road bond proponents contend. This writer, in a tour of 12 states during the Summer of 1950, was struck by the fact that Alabama highways are above the average of the states visited. Alabama does have bad highways and these should be improved, but the job can be done without saddling another debt of $25,000,000 on the taxpayers.

The crying need of the day, in local, State and Federal governments is for economy. But there is no economy in constantly increasing the public debt. Proponents of the road issue contend it will not mean more taxes but mounting public debt always has and always will mean heavier tax burdens. There is only one way to economize and that is to cut public expenditures and public debt.

The other issue involved in the referendum of next Tuesday concerns integrity of elected public officials. It will be recalled by all voters that the present administration went into office on an economy platform. Yet extravagance, waste and mounting public expenditures are beginning to shock the State. Ugly rumors of graft and political gangsterism continue to come out of Montgomery.

This paper believes that an adverse vote on Amendment No. 1 next Tuesday will serve notice on the State administration that the voters are going to hold elected officials to strict accountability on their campaign promises. We believe a rejection of the road bond issue will act as a deterrent to further waste and extravagance in our State government.

For these reasons of economy and of integrity of public officials, as well as for the reason that the increased indebtedness is not needed, this paper believes that the best interests of Alabama will be served if the voters of Alabama record a resounding "NO" to Amendment No. 1 next Tuesday.

County PMA Election Is Scheduled Next Tuesday

Voting Place Arranged In Each Beat For Annual Vote On Committeemen

Time and place fr community PMA farmer-committeemen elections were announced this week by Grady W. Davis, chairman of the county PMA committee.

The polls will be open next Tuesday from 8 a.m. until 4 p.m. at the following places:

Beat 1, Court Room; Beat 2 Youngblood's Store; Beat 3, Godfrey's Store; Beat 4, Spratling's Store; Beat 5, ClubHouse, Ft. Davis; Beat 6, Eich's Store; Beat 7, Dr. Booth's office; Beat 8, Franklin club house; Beat 9, City Hall, Notasulga; Beat 10, B. O. Duke's store.

In each community three members of a committee and two alternates and a delegate to the county convention are to be elected. The elected committeemen will take office Jan. 1, to serve through 1952.

The delegates to the county convention will meet Dec. 14 to name a county PMA committee consisting of a chairman, vice chairman, members and two alternates to administer PMA programs in the county.

The programs administered by the committeemen include the agricultural conservation program, price supports, marketing quotas and acreage allotments, as well as defense production goals, and Federal crop insurance, the latter two in cooperation with other agencies.

Every farmer in each community in Macon County who as owner, tenant, operator or sharecropper is participating in any program administered by the county PMA committee is eligible to vote in the election in his community.

In urging every eligible farmer to vote, Mr. Davis said, "Whether you are satisfied with the administration of the committeemen now in office or not, you should vote anyway. The right to vote means nothing if it is not used."

Alabama Balloting Favors Vote-Tightening Measure

Birmingham, Dec. 12 (AP)—A new move to write stiff voter restrictions into the Alabama constitution, with "white-supremacy" backing, held a narrow lead today on inconclusive returns from yesterday's election.

The amendment, one of 24 on the ballot, would replace the old Boswell Amendment, ruled out on the grounds it discriminated against Negroes.

With 1,371 of the state's 2,444 boxes reported, 36,992 votes had been counted for the measure and 34,269 against.

Vote Extremely Light

The vote on the measure was extremely light. No public campaign was made either for or against it, and chief interest was centered on a $25,000,000 road-bond issue. It was approved.

The voter amendment would give County boards of registrars wide powers in determining who could register to vote. It would not interfere with present voter lists, however.

There is no official estimate of the number of Negro voters in Alabama. The number is small in comparison with white voters, but has increased substantially since the Boswell Act was ruled out by a Federal Court in 1949.

The new amendment would require voters to be "of good character," take a written questionnaire, "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship," and sign an anti-Communist oath.

Generally, it drew support from those who sponsored the Boswell Amendment, which was adopted after its backers campaigned on the grounds that it would restrict Negro voters.

Does Not Refer to Race

Alabama's population is approximately 30 per cent Negro.

The new-voter proposal makes no reference to any race. Its supporters contended it was not aimed at the Negro, but would exclude persons of little or no education or of low character.

Alabama now has few voter qualifications. Any resident with $300 in assessed property or who can meet minimum educational standards, is eligible.

The State's stiff poll-tax law is not affected by the amendment. It requires payment of $1.50 a year from persons 21 to 45. Persons over 45 who have not paid the poll tax must pay $36 to register.

More rigid voter qualification amendment wins out by hair

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 19—(AP)—A constitutional amendment tightening up on voter qualifications in Alabama was ratified last Tuesday by a bare margin of 369 votes.

The official canvas, made today, showed 60,357 votes in favor of the so-called Boswell amendment substitute and 59,988 against.

Sponsored by advocates of white supremacy, the new restrictions require prospective voters to be of "good character"; to embrace the "duties and obligations of citizenship"; to take a written questionnaire and to sign an anti-Communist oath.

They were drawn up after the U. S. Supreme Court in 1949 threw out the admittedly anti-Negro Boswell amendment which said applicants for voter registration had to be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution.

THE VOTER QUALIFICATION measure was No. 5 on a list of 24 constitutional amendments voted on in the Dec. 11 special election. Only the first seven on the ballot affected the state as a whole; the rest were purely local in nature.

Official returns showed the $25,000,000 road bond issue (No. 1) was ratified by majority of almost 23,000 votes—89,532 to 66,546.

The proposed 67-senator amendment, on the other hand (No. 6), lost by the whopping margin of 91,990 to 35,461.

Likewise defeated, 59,960 to 47,154, was amendment No. 7 which would have required foreign corporations doing business in Alabama to have an office located in the state.

THE OTHER THREE state-wide amendments carried by comfortable majorities. They are:

No. 2 (Puting the state merit system into the constitution)—for 78,230, against 44,879.

No. 3 (Permitting the appointment of National Guard officers) for 67,796, against 51,636.

No. 4 (Extending the poll tax exemption to veterans of Korea and all other wars)—For 97,806, against 34,848.

IN PERHAPS the biggest demonstration of negative voting in modern times in Alabama, every one of the 17 local amendments was defeated.

No. 8 (Legislature to regulate fees or salaries of probate judge and sheriff in Madison County) — for 36,990, against 44,546.

No. 9 (Franklin County municipalities to acquire property to attract industry)—for 25,151, against 53,467.

No. 10 (Special Morgan County school tax) — for 37,890, against 38,974.

No. 11 (Pickens County to acquire property to attract industry)—for 26,441, against 50,019.

No. 12 (Same as No. 10 except in Lawrence County) — for 37,403, against 38,488.

NO. 13 (REGULATE FEES AND salaries of all Baldwin County officers)—for 33,957, against 41,876.

No. 14 (Same as No. 9 except applies only to Haleyville in Winston County)—for 22,698, against 51,935.

No. 15 (Same as No. 9 in Walker County)—for 21,698, against 51,991.

No. 16 (Same as No. 9 in Colbert County)—for 23,158, against 51,061.

No. 17 (Same as No. 9 in Marion County)—for 23,670, against 50,247.

No. 18 (Same as No. 10 in Chambers County) — for 35,019, against 40,000.

NO. 19 (VALIDATING CERTAIN 1951 legislative acts relating to Marion County)—for 23,944, against 47,363.

No. 20 (Same as No. 10 in Fayette County)—for 36,928, against 38,176.

No. 21 (Let Fayette County issue bonds to put up agricultural building)—for 34,625, against 38,727.

No. 22 (Same as No. 10 in Jackson County) — for 36,335, against 39,021.

No. 23 (Giving 37 municipalities power to use existing special tax to pay off bonds) — for 28,781, against 45,912.

No. 24 (Freezing Colbert County sales tax in constitution)—for 29,126, against 43,311.

Local Amendments Beaten

In perhaps the biggest demonstration of negative voting in modern times in Alabama, every one of the 17 local amendments was defeated.

The vote:

No. 8 (legislature to regulate fees or salaries of probate judge and sheriff in Madison County)—For 36,990; against 44,546.

No. 9 (Franklin County municipalities to acquire property to attract industry)—For 25,151; against 53,467.

No. 10 (special Morgan County school tax)—For 37,890; against 38,974.

No. 11 (Pickens County to acquire property to attract industry)—For 26,441; against 50,019.

No. 12 (same as No. 10 except in Lawrence County)—For 37,403; against 38,488.

No. 13 (regulates fees and salaries of all Baldwin County officers)—For 33,957; against 41,873.

No. 14 (same as No. 9 except applies only to Haleyville in Winston County)—For 22,698; against 51,935.

No. 15 (same as No. 9 in Walker County)—For 21,698; against 51,991.

No. 16 (same as No. 9 in Colbert County)—For 23,158; against 51,061.

No. 17 (same as No. 9 in Marion County)—For 23,670; against 50,247.

No. 18 (same as No. 18 in Chambers County)—For 35,019 against 40,000.

No. 19 (validating certain 1951 legislative acts relating to Marion County)—For 23,944; against 47,363.

No. 20 (same as No. 10 in Fayette County) — For 36,028 against 38,176.

No. 21 (let Fayette County issue bonds to put up agricultural building) — For 34,625; against 38,727.

No. 22 (same as No. 10 in Jackson County)—For 36,335; aganist 39,021

No. 23 (giving 37 municipalities power to use existing special tax to pay off bonds)—For 78,781; against 45,912.

No. 24 (freezing Colbert County sales tax in constitution)—For 29,126; against 43,311.

Defeat of Amendment No. 23 merely "retains the status quo" for the 37 municipalities involved. That's the opinion of Ed E. Reid executive director of the Alabama League of Municipalities.

The amendment would have allowed the 37 municipalities to use money from an existing five-mill debt service tax to retire either general obligation bonds or general fund warrants.

Ultimate court test of voter qualification amendment seems sure, but not at once

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 29—(AP)—An ultimate court test of Alabama's new "Boswell Amendment, Jr.," appears certain, but there are no indications that it will come soon.

Negro leaders, despite their anxiety to get the question of constitutionality settled, nevertheless are reluctant to act too speedily. It may be months, perhaps a year or so, before a contest suit is filed.

In the first place, the recently ratified constitutional amendment tightening up on voter qualifications—a measure Negroes fear is aimed at them—hasn't actually gone into effect. Gov. Gordon Persons has yet to proclaim the results of the voting and to advertise the amendment in some newspaper.

Even when that happens, probably in the next few days, most Boards of Registrars won't have a chance to put the amendment into effect in their counties until Jan. 7, the first Monday of the new year. With a few exceptions, none of the boards will be in session until then.

TWO NEGRO LEADERS, both active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have indicated there will be no court test immediately. Said Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, of Tuskegee Institute:

"It depends on how the boards (of registrars) behave. If there is obvious discrimination, suits will be filed."

State NAACP President W. C. Patton in Birmingham put it more bluntly. "In due time," he said, "ample action will be taken. We will go into the federal courts and seek to have this undemocratic, un-Christian and immoral amendment declared unconstitutional."

In the meantime, both Gomillion and Patton said a determined effort will be made to get more and more Negroes to apply for registration. In some Black Belt counties, the NAACP president said, "there is not a single registered Negro voter."

The Birmingham Negro served notice, too, that Federal Court action is in the making to seek "relief" from what he called non-registration policies in the Black Belt.

Actually, the new voter registration amendment, makes no mention of race, creed or color. It requires prospective voters to be of "good character;" to embrace the "duties and obligations of citizenship;" to take a written questionnaire, and to sign an anti-Communist oath.

It was adopted, nonetheless, as a substitute for the outlawed Boswell amendment, which was admittedly anti-Negro in purpose. And critics argue the new law can be used for racial discrimination and thus violates the federal constitution.

TO GESSNER T. McCORVEY, however, "Boswell Amendment, Jr," is "unquestionably constitutional and some of the best lawyers I know of have given the same opinion," including a majority of the State Supreme Court.

The court approved an identical measure in an advisory opinion requested by the Legislature in 1949.

Even after the newly approved amendment officially becomes law, there may be further delay in putting one part of it into effect—the written questionnaire.

It will be drawn up by the Supreme Court, and thus far the Court, burdened with a heavy load of other work, has taken no steps toward writing it.

How important the questionnaire will be is another questionable purpose is to give the boards of registrars "information necessary or proper to aid them to pass upon the qualifications of each applicant."

But there is nothing whatever that says how much attention the boards are to pay to the answers or what weight they will carry in determining a prospective voter's fitness. Nothing is said about a passing grade.

Voter 'Qualification,' Other Matters

To the Editor:

It seems that another barrier has been put up to my becoming a good citizen of Alabama, and because of this I am moved to write my first letter to the editor.

I am speaking, of course, of the recent so-called "qualification" amendment approved by the people of Alabama. The other barrier is the poll tax.

I'm against the poll tax as a matter of principle. I gladly pay other taxes, but resent paying for the privilege of voting.

But considering the attitude of the persons who pushed passage of the "qualification" amendment, I resent it even more than the poll tax.

I am afraid that I could not qualify as a voter, even if there was no poll tax.

Here are the reasons:

I believe in absolute equality for Negroes. In shame, I confess that I do not practice it. But I am also certain that my children will do what I am afraid to do.

I am a Roman Catholic. My children go to a Catholic school. With my approval, they are taught that all races are equal in God's eyes.

I don't believe that conditions in Spain, or Franco, are nearly as bad as sometimes pictured, although I don't like a totalitarian form of government.

I also think it wise to send an ambassador to the Vatican, if it does not cause too much friction among the people, although I believe that political separation of state and church in this country is wise.

On the other hand, I have been to church every Sunday of my life, in bad weather and in good, for as long as I remember.

Never have I heard a Catholic priest speak from the pulpit against any other denomination. In fact, I have prayed for those in other denominations in the hope that they will be guided into what I sincerely believe is the true church.

I also believe, and it is a dogma of my church, that if a person believes that his church is the true church, and he follows his church's teaching, then he has possibly as much chance as I have of getting to heaven.

I am writing these things because I like Birmingham, and because Birmingham and the people of Birmingham have been kind to me. I was delighted when the people of Jefferson County voted disapproval of the "qualification" amendment.

CLARENCE DAIGLE.
1429 South 13th Street.

White Ballot Plan Leads In Alabama

Results Unofficial; Leaders Charge Race Discrimination

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Although the vote was neither complete or official, the amendment aimed at keeping Alabama's election lilywhite, was expected to be adopted by this State. Latest report had it leading by 1,549 votes.

While the new voter amendment makes no reference to race, those who proposed it say it will exclude persons of little or no education or of low character.

Colored leaders in opposing the proposal declare that it could be used to discriminate against colored citizens because it gives county boards of registrars wide powers in determining who can register.

Amendment Requirements

Specifically the amendment would require voters to take a written questionnaire, sign an anti-Communist oath, be of good character and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship.

Present qualifications for an Alabama voter are that he be a State resident with $300 in assessed property, or who can meet minimum educational standards.

White Supremacy Boys

Sponsors of the election amendment are the same white supremacy lawmakers who backed the Boswell amendment which was outlawed by the United States Supreme Court on the basis that it discriminated against colored residents attempting to vote.

The Boswell tag required prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Constitution of the United States.

At one counting last week there were 36,992 votes for the new voting restriction, and 34,269 against it.

'Good Character'

Some Alabamans [sic] are having to learn the hard way that the United States Supreme Court meant what it said when it ruled that Negroes could not be excluded from party primary elections. For the second time in five years the voters have voted on a ruse intended to get around the Supreme Court decision.

Alabama's Boswell Amendment of 1946 required that a voter must either be able to read and write or to explain the United States Constitution. As no Negro, however highly educated, has been able to explain the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of a biased election judge, this was purely a device for disfranchising a race.

The new ruse which has just been voted upon would require every voter to be of good character, to take a written questionnaire, to "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship," and to sign an anti-communist oath — present vote lists excepted. It would offer the race-biased even more devices than the Boswell Amendment with which to deny Negroes their right to the ballot. On the basis of incomplete returns, it seems to have been adopted by a narrow margin.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

It is anticipated that the courts will annul Boswell, Jr. the same as Boswell, Sr.

It is unwise to give the three-man boards of registrars in each county such arbitrary power to adjudge whether a citizen is fit to vote. The amendment empowers these county boards to rule on whether an applicant for voting privileges is of "good character". If not, they may deny him a ballot.

So widely do convictions of what constitutes "good character" vary among Alabamians that it is possible that in some sections a Boswell, Jr. apostle like Gessner T. McCorvey or "Bud" Boswell could themselves be adjudged not fit to vote.

Consider, for example, how many Alabama churches and citizens consider it improper to sinful—and hence a matter of "bad character"—to dance.

Consider how many Alabamians consider it sinful for a woman to smoke or wear a low-cut evening dress.

Consider how many zealots in Alabama consider it sinful and "bad character" to take a drink of liquor. They are almost as numerous as the people who consider it a matter of pleasant living and good bodily care to have a drink before dinner.

Consider, finally, the community of Oak Hill in Wilcox County. There, as the editor of the *Journal* recently reported, no business whatever may be conducted on Sunday. In fact, Oak Hill residents once incorporated their town in order to enact an ordinance that closed down a filling station that ignored warning to close on Sunday.

Obviously the people of Montgomery and the people of Oak Hill do not agree on what is, and what is not, wickedness.

Thus what is deemed "good character" in some places and among some citizens is not deemed good character by others.

We should guess that Mr. McCorvey and Mr. Boswell, are liberals who hold a match for lady smokers, admire low-cut evening dresses, dance and enjoy a highball before dinner.

They probably could have been retained by the Oak Hill filling station operator to represent him as lawyers had he chosen to resist Oak Hill's blue law.

In any of those cases, hundreds of Alabamians would consider that Mr. McCorvey and Mr. Boswell were not acting like men of good character. And if a board of registrars were composed of three such Puritans, the two men might be denied the privilege of voting. That's how arbitrary — and unsound —Boswell, Jr. is.

Five Amendments Win Okeh—

Voter Restrictions Approved By Margin Of Only 369 Votes

Alabama voters, in a negative mood, gave scant approval to the so-called Boswell Amendment last week, and flatly rejected all but four of the other 23 constitutional amendments on the ballot.

The strict new voter qualification amendment, offered in place of the anti-Negro Boswell plan which was outlawed by the Supreme Court, was ratified by a slim 369-vote margin.

Official returns, canvassed Wednesday, showed 60,357 votes for it, 59,988 against.

So strong was the negative feeling among the voters that all 17 of the purely local amendments on the list went down to defeat. It was probably the biggest demonstration of "no" voting in modern times in Alabama.

Local amendments, affecting one locality or another, are rarely beaten in a statewide election because there is seldom any interest or opposition outside the county or city involved.

Although strictly local in character, they must be voted on by the entire state.

Of the seven amendments on the Dec. 11 ballot which affected the state as a whole, two of them likewise were defeated. The much-discussed 67-senator proposal lost 91,990 to 35,461, and the measure to make foreign corporations have an office in Alabama was rejected 59,560 to 47,154.

The administration-sponsored $25,000,000 road bond issue went over with a big majority, 89,532 to 66,546. Most of the pre-election campaigning centered around it.

The other three statewide amendments carried by comfortable majorities. They are:

No. 2 (putting the state merit system into the constitution)—For 78,230, against 44,879.

No. 3 (permitting the appointment of National Guard officers)—For 67,796, against 51,636.

No. 4 (extending the poll tax exemption to veterans of Korea and all other wars)—For 97,806, against 34,848.

Stay-At-Home Negroes Give Away Ala. Ballot

BY JOHN LeFLORE

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A statewide survey conducted by the DEFENDER last week revealed that the failure of Alabama Negro voters to go to the polls in appreciable numbers led to the ratification of a new "white supremacy" disfranchisement amendment by a bare 369-vote margin.

Official returns, canvassed last Wednesday, disclosed that the Dixiecrat sponsored vote curbing scheme won by perhaps one of the closest votes in the state's history.

Official returns showed 60,357 votes for it, 59,988 against.

The DEFENDER survey showed that of about 4,500 qualified Negro voters in Jefferson county (Birmingham), approximately 2,000 voted in the Dec. 11 election when the voter qualification amendment and 23 others were up for approval.

In Mobile county 1,000 of the 2,500 Negro voters went to the polls. An estimated 900 of Montgomery county's 1,500 colored electors cast their ballots.

There are approximately 25,000 qualified Negro voters in the state. These three counties were selected for the survey because they afford the largest list of qualified Negro voters in the state. A larger turn out in any one of them could have defeated the amendment.

The new voter qualification plan, a substitute for the infamous Boswell amendment declared unconstitutional by the federal courts several years ago, also is aimed primarily at depriving many Negroes of the ballot.

It gives boards or registrars wide latitude in determining whether a voter applicant is qualified to register as an elector.

The new amendment will require a prospective voter to be of "good moral character, embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship" and sign an anti-communist oath.

The voter applicant would also be compelled to take a test by filling out a questionnaire drawn up by the state supreme court, all at the discretion of the board of registrars.

Tighter Election Law Amendment Leading In Alabama Balloting

By the Associated Press

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Dec. 12.—A new move to write stiffer voter restrictions into the Alabama constitution, with "white supremacy" backing, held a narrow lead today on inconclusive returns from yesterday's election.

The amendment, one of 24 on the ballot, would replace the old Boswell amendment, ruled out in 1949 on the grounds it discriminated against Negroes.

With 1,371 of the State's 2,444 boxes reported, 36,992 votes have been counted for the measure and 34,269 against.

Vote Was Light.

The vote on the measure was extremely light. No public campaign was made either for or against it. The chief interest within the State was centered on a $25 million road bond issue. It was approved.

The voter amendment would give the county boards of registrars wide powers in determining who could register to vote. It would not interfere with present voter lists, however.

There is no official estimate of the number of Negro voters in Alabama. The number is small in comparison with white voters.

The new amendment would require voters to be of good character, take a written questionnaire, "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship," and sign an anti-Communist oath.

Generally, it drew support from those who sponsored the Boswell amendment, which was adopted after its backers campaigned on the grounds that it would restrict Negro voters.

Alabama's population is about 30 per cent Negro.

No Reference to Race.

The new voter proposal makes no reference to any race. Its supporters contended it was not aimed at the Negro, but would exclude persons of little or no education or of low character.

Alabama now has few voter qualifications. Any resident with $300 in assessed property, or who can meet minimum educational standards, is eligible.

The State's poll tax law is not affected by the amendment. It requires payment of $1.50 per year from the ages of 21 to 45. Persons over 45 who have not paid the poll tax must pay $36 to register.

The vote on the road bonds was 61,588 for and 44,406 against.

Alabama 'Loyalists' Plan To Nail Down Electoral Vote

MONTGOMERY, ALA., Dec. 9 —(AP)—Alabama Democratic leaders, disavowing the 1948 States Rights revolt, are expected to take action soon to nail down next year's electorial vote for the national party's presidential nominee.

On the other hand, antiadministration forces are equally determined to do what they can to defeat President Truman or any other candidate nominated on the controversial civil rights program.

The first showdown will come next month when the powerful State Democratic Executive Committee draws up rules for the 1952 primaries in which the Democrats will nominate 11 candidates for presidential elector.

Unless all present indications fail, the national party loyalists now in control of the committee will seek to bind the electors even before the primary elections.

That would be done by requiring candidates to pledge themselves to support the national ticket. Those refusing to sign such a promise could not run.

A party spokesman, pointing out that 43 of the 72 State committee members were elected last year on the loyalist ticket, predicted that such a pledge will be written into the oath which candidates take when they qualify for the primaries.

To do anything else, he said, would "betray the confidence of the people who elected them when the question of party loyalty was the only issue." The spokesman would not permit the use of his name.

One States Righter, Attorney Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, has gone into court in an effort to keep the committee from binding the electors. The suit was dismissed on grounds that no issue exists until the State committee takes action. That decision is on its way to the State Supreme Court of Appeals.

Wilkinson, one of the 1848 electors who voted for the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket, says he wants to run again next year as a candidate free to support anyone he chooses.

If the committee binds the regular Democratic electors to the national nominee, dissatisfied party members can still put up an independent slate in the general election, or they can vote Republican.

Alabamans Will Decide On Vote Curbs

Amendment Faces Test At Polls on Tuesday

MONTGOMERY, ALA., Dec. 8 —(AP)—Champions of white supremacy, fighting to preserve an age-old heritage, are counting on Alabama voters next Tuesday to write rigid new restrictions around the use of the ballot.

On the outcome of a special constitutional amendment election will depend to a large degree who can and who can't become voters in future years.

Alabama has had virtually no legal limitations on registration since the anti-Negro Boswell amendment was knocked out by the United States Supreme Court nearly four years ago.

To take its place, the Legislature submitted the Boswell amendment substitute which will be ratified or rejected Tuesday along with 23 other suggested changes in the State constitution.

Empowers Registrars

The voter qualification amendment would empower county registrars to determine the fitness of those seeking to get their names on the poll lists.

Prospective voters would have to satisfy the registrars, for example, that they are of "good character," and that they "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship."

They would have to answer a questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court, and at the same time sign an anti-Communist oath.

The Boswell approach required new voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution. It was outlawed by the Supreme Court on the grounds it could allow registrars to discriminate against Negroes.

Nevertheless, the Alabama Supreme Court, in purely an informal advisory opinion, has held the suggested substitute is all right.

Issue Soft-Pedaled

In sharp contrast to the admittedly anti-Negro purpose of the Boswell amendment and the bitter campaign that preceded its adoption in 1946, proponents of the new proposal have soft-pedaled the racial question. There has been no intense campaign for or against it.

Nor does the proposed amendment itself say anything about racial distinction.

Inescapable, however, is the fact that it was sponsored by the same unretreating white supremacy advocates who stood behind the Boswell law—men, for instance, like former State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey.

In an open letter to voters, McCorvey urged ratification of the amendment Tuesday as a means of ensuring "an intelligent electorate."

Pointing out that under the present system anyone over 21 who can read and write or owns $300 worth of property is eligible to register, the Mobile, Ala., attorney protested:

"This is an utterly ridiculous test."

Alabama Is Voting On 24 Amendments

By the Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 11. —Twenty-four constitutional amendments—topped in interest by the controversial $25 million road bond issue—were on the ballot today for Alabama's off-year election.

Despite the number of amendments and the interest generated in the road bond proposal, only a small turnout of voters was expected. Polls open at 8 a.m. (CST). They close at 5 p.m. in rural areas and 6 p.m. in cities.

Only seven of the 24 amendments affect the entire State.

Besides the road bond issue, Statewide amendments up for consideration would:

Set up a voter qualification amendment; open the door to provide a Senator for each of the State's 67 counties; put the State merit system into the constitution; provide for appointment of National Guard officers instead of their election by the troops; extend the poll tax amendment to veterans of Korean fighting and all future wars; and require out-of-State corporations doing business in Alabama to have at least one office inside the State.

While only a light vote was expected in most sections, Etowah County voters probably will turn out in droves. They will vote on a wet-dry referendum. The county is dry now.

Two vacancies in the State House of Representatives also will be filled. Democratic Nominees James Branyon in Fayette County and former State Senator Tully Goodwin in Covington are unopposed.

Alabama Due to Ballot On Amendment to Put Race Curbs on Voting

By the Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 8.—Champions of white supremacy, fighting to preserve an age-old heritage, are counting on Alabama voters next Tuesday to write rigid new restrictions arounds the use of the ballot.

On the outcome of a special constitutional amendment election will depend to a large degree who can and who can't vote in future years.

Alabama has had virtually no legal limitations on restriction since the anti-Negro Boswell Amendment was knocked out by the United States Supreme Court nearly four years ago.

To take its place, the legislature submitted the Boswell amendment substitute which will be ratified or rejected Tuesday along with 23 other suggested changes in the constitution.

Voter Qualification Listed.

The voter qualifications amendment would empower county registrars to determine the fitness of those seeking to get their names on the poll lists.

Prospective voters would have to satisfy the registrars, for example, that they are of "good character," and that they "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship."

They would have to answer a questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court, and at the same time sign an anti-Communist oath.

The Boswell approach required new voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution. It was outlawed by the Supreme Court on the grounds it could allow registrars to discriminate against Negroes.

Nevertheless, the Alabama Supreme Court, in an informal advisory opinion, has held the suggested substitute is all right.

Race Issue Soft-Pedaled.

In sharp contrast to the admittedly anti-Negro purpose of the Boswell Amendment and the bitter campaign that preceded its adoption in 1946, proponents of the new proposal have soft-pedaled the racial question. There has been no intense campaign for or against it.

Nor does the proposed amendment itself say anything about racial distinction.

Inescapable, however, is the fact that it was sponsored by the same unretreating white supremacy advocates who stood behind the Boswell law—men, for instance, like former State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey.

In an open letter to voters, Mr. McCorvey urged ratification of the amendment Tuesday as a means of insuring "an intelligent electorate."

Pointing out that under the present system any one over 21 who can read and write or owns $300 worth of property is eligible to register, the Mobile attorney protested:

"This is an utterly ridiculous test."

Solon Would Cut 'Bama Race Vote

Courier Sat. 9-15-51

(By Courier Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Gazing into their pearly crystal balls, befogged by white supremacy, "wool hat" legislators would gerrymander and partition certain areas where Alabama's political structure faces domination from race voters, particularly in "black belt" districts, it was revealed here last week.

Macon County is a focal point of the fear which was revealed when Rep. Sam Englehardt of Shorter gave notice that one of the 1953 projects in the State Legislature would be the gerrymandering of county boundaries for the express purpose of frustrating the political ambitions of Negroes.

SEES "DANGERS"

Joe Azbell, staff writer for the Montgomery Advertiser, recently asserted that, "The idea, which would be based on the census, would give Macon and any other county an opportunity to 'protect' themselves from the 'dangers' that lie in the Negro populations in the counties being greater than the white population."

It was further pointed out that white supremacy at polling places would be kept at "status quo."

Race groups in Tuskegee have been accused of using "guerilla-like" ways of "pestering" the white powers-that-be. These "guerilla" methods, according to Mr. Azbell, include the placing of advertisements in conspicuous spots in various Alabama newspapers, censuring the Macon County Board of Registrars for its disfranchisement of Negro voters.

Apprehension over the race's tendency to vote in "blocs" and the growing influence of such organizations as the Tuskegee Civic League, the NAACP, and the Southern Regional Council have also contributed to the talk in favor of "partitioning."

THE BIGGEST "GNAT"

Dean Charles G. Gomillion of Tuskegee, declares the Advertiser correspondent, is "the biggest 'gnat' that seems to plague Macon whites. (He) constantly is accused of 'agitating' for trouble. Gomillion is no Uncle Tom. Naturally, he advocates political participation for members of his race."

Mr. Azbell said that some of Macon County's whites have labelled the educator as a pink, "whether he is a 'pink' or not depends on one's definition." After listing the organizations of which "gnat" Gomillion is a member, the writer stated that three of them have been cited as "Communist fronts."

"However," counseled Mr. Azbell, "It should be noted that membership in one of these organizations does not prove anything. Anyway, Gomillion is a symbol . . . not the cause . . . of the Macon problem. It has been in the making ever since the Civil War."

Some of Macon's white spokesmen have voiced the belief the Communists are attempting to rouse Macon's Negroes. Other "whipping boys" for the active politicking of Negroes include out-of-state authors and journalists . . . particularly those who have extolled the virtues of Tuskegee Institute.

Representative Englehard, the "pappy" of the movement toward partitioning, has termed the spectre of Negro political domination as a "monster." An all-out advocate of Dixie's bi-racial system of doing things, he wants Macon County "kept white."

Under the latest plan, which was discussed at length in the magazine "Alabama," "a portion of eastern Macon County" would be cut off and added to Lee County where the black vote is not yet a problem.

"Legislator Englehardt calculates a reducation in the proportionate strength of the Negro vote in his county," averred the publication.

The partitioners' plan is "looking forward" to 1961 when Negroes may be "flocking" to the polls in great strength.

New Registration Bill

World Tue 9-11-51

MONTGOMERY, Ala.— (SNS)— A re-registration act which exempts Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile counties was rushed thru the Legislature on September 6th and has now been signed by Gov. Gordon Persons.

Introduced by Rep. Sam M. Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, Ala., in Macon County, it calls for the registration of all voter since 1901. It would give arbitrary power to the boards of registrars in 64 counti to say voters will be allowed to ge their names back on the rolls.

The Tip-Off

World Tue 9-11-51

By EMORY O. JACKSON

PHENIX CITY, Ala.— (SNS) — The fraud and dishonesty in two bills enacted by the 1951 Legislature dealing with suffrage is spotlighted in this racket-ridden, river-side, county-seat city.



Russell County has denied the registration and voting of Negro citizens for approximately fifty years. Four or more other counties, Wilcox, Lowdnes, Monroe, Marshall have done likewise. In a majority or more other counties there has been only token voting by Negro citizens.

In Sumter county, for instance, where there is terrible terrorism, peonage and semi-slavery, less than a dozen citizens are reportedly registered.. In Marengo, there is reported intimidation in high places of Negro would be voters. In Jefferson county, the Boswell amendment yardstick is said to be the formula used to determine Negro electors.

Macon County Representative Sam M. Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, Ala., a rabid white supremacy advocate sponsored and piloted into law the notorious "Engelhardt Voter-Re-registration Act" which is destined to whittle down the voting lists. An obvious States' Righter or Dixiecrat, he has apparently seized upon the Negro issue to reduce the number of independent voters in this state. For most part the Negro vote has been on the side of clean government and is unpurchasable. Certain elements do not want an intnelligent vote, such as the Negro vote has proved to be in this state.

Act 750 or the "Englehard Voter-Registration Act" applies to 64 of the 67 Alabama counties. It exempts Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery counties. It incorporates a little Boswell amendment and seems to anticipate a challenge of its validity in the courts. It is a dangerous piece of legislation for all citizens. Once off the voting lists one is not sure of getting back on it. Birmingham, Ala

Phenix City is one of the nationally known vice-spot cities of America. Racketeers are said to be powerful here. Rackets instead of taxes are the chief sources of the revenue by which the city is operated. White men run and control the rackets. The number lottery, a form of cheaty-beaty gambling, takes its big rake from poor people.: .. ..

White voters tolerate this situation. White politicians run the city. Negro citizens are denied an opportunity to vote. Here is "white supremacy" government in all of its wickedness, corruption and disregard of Christian decency. Voting denial on the basis of race and color is a type of political corruption.

Less than five percent of the vote-age citizens in Alabama are qualified voters. The total Negro population of the state is only one-third of the total. Despite this a few evil men want to purge the voting lists, apparently to get rid of the few Negro voters who by struggle and hardships finally gained the vote. Will the conscience of the decent voters of this state stand for these selfish schemes to succeed?

It seems to me that the 1951 Alabama State Legislature rebuilt the racial vote barriers stronger, more cleverly and insidiously than ever before. The "Bonner Amendment" is a restatement of the invalidated Boswell amendment, it seems. The "Engelhardt Voter-Regitration Act" is actually a disguised Negro disfranchisement law, it appears to me. Alabama has moved backwards in on the matters of suffrage.

While all of this was being done in the State Legislature the leadership of the Negro group sat idly by. At present, so far as this spot knows, there is no organized plan **for fighting these two vote-stifling acts. Maybe a new leadership will rise up to challenge these acts.**

Ala. Governor Approves Re-Registration Act

world Sat 9-15-51

MONTGOMERY, Ala—(NNPA)—Governor Gordon Persons has improved a re-registration act which was rushed through the legislature on Sept. 6 Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile counties are exempt from the provisions of the measure which is designed to disenfranchise a large number of colored voters.

Introduced by Representative Sam M. Englehardt, Jr., of Shorter, Alabama, in Macon County, the seat of Tuskegee Institute, it cals for the registration of all voters since 1901. It gives arbitrary powers to the boards of registrars in sixty-four counties to determine the applicants who will get their names back on the voting rolls.

It is estimated that under the provisions of the act 40,000 colored voters will lose their right to vote unless a method is found to compel the boards to administer the measure fairly.

Representative Englehardt, son-in-law of State Senator J. Miler (Bull) Conner, an ardent "white supremacy" advocate, has advocated dividing Macon County so as to preserve "white rule."

At Tuskegee, Alabama, the new voter re-registration law was discussed at a meeting recently of the Tuskegee Civic Association. Officers of the association indicated that the act will be challenged in the courts.

A number of colored persons expressed surprise that Governor Persons would sign the act which was widely seen as a device to get rid of colored voters on the rolls and also preventing many colored persons from ever becoming voters.

At Birmingham, an NAACP spokesman, who asked that his name be not used, said the association's legal staff had examined the act and was of the opinion that it violates the Alabama State Constitution.

Anti-Negro Measure

Alabama Passes Stiff Vote Bill

Courier Sat 9-29-51

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—The 1951 Alabama State Legislature which recently adjourned passed several bills which can be used to restrict further Negro voting and also reduce the existing number.

Among those passed are the Engelhardt Voter-Registration Act, requiring the reregistration of voters in sixty-four of the sixty-seven counties in Alabama. Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery Counties are exempted.

Political observers see in this a cutback of 40,000 Negro voters. The reregistration act has in certain features of the invalidated Boswell amendment by which boards of registrars have arbitrary power over reinstatement of voters.

BOARD HAS POWER

A second bill is the proposed "Bonner Amendment" which requires that prospective voters of (1) good moral character, (2) understand the duties of good citizenship, (3) take a non-Communist oath and (4) answer a list of questions prepared by the members of State Supreme Court.

Third among these pieces of legislation is the "Morgan Act" giving the Jefferson (Birmingham) County Board of Registrars wide and new powers.

Political analysts see in these bills a scheme to insure the Dixiecrats victory at the polls in 1952. The registration act became effective Sept. 5 and the "Bonner Amendment" along with nine others is to be voted on Tuesday, Dec. 11.

The Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches is on record as opposing the registration act and Bonner Amendment, both of which, the NAACP says, will be challenged.

Negro in vote suit is slain by deputy

OPELOUSAS, La., Nov. 19—(AP)—A Negro seeking Federal Court action for the right to vote was shot to death during a fight with a deputy sheriff.

News

Sheriff Clayton Guilbeau identified the man as John Lester Mitchell, 33, and said he was shot by Deputy Sheriff David Lanclos yesterday.

Mon. 11-19-51

Guilbeau said the shooting occurred this way:

Lanclos, assigned to keep order in Negro night spots, found Mitchell "acting rowdy and out of control" at "The Chicken Shack." He ordered Mitchell to leave.

A scuffle occurred. Lanclose, the sheriff said, fearing he was about to be overpowered, drew his revolver and fired.

An inquest was ordered Wednesday.

Birmingham

Mitchell and two other Negroes recently filed suit in U. S. District Court here asking that George Blanchard, registrar of voters, be required to allow them to vote.

Macon County Upholds 25 Million Road Bond Issue

Alabama voters gave strong approval to a $25,000,000 road bond issue Tuesday and, decisively, defeated the proposal for a senator from every county. The vote on the bond amendment, supported by Gov. Gordon Persons, was 75,845 for and 54,119 against, with 1,794 boxes counted. In Macon County, the issue was also approved by a vote of 620 to 521. The 67-senator amendment fell behind from the start and was, definitely, losing. Macon Countians voted against the issue 756 to 175.

News

The voter qualification amendment held a narrow, but still uncertain, lead in Alabama Wednesday. This measure was carried in this county by a vote of 673 to 411. Among other things, the amendment would require would-be-voters to be of "Good character" and "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship." County registrars would decide whether these requirements were met. The amendment would replace existing laws which provide few restrictions. Alabama's poll tax, which is cumulative up to $36, is not affected by the amendment.

Birmingham Post

Of the other 20 amendments voted on Tuesday, most of which effected other counties of the state, Macon County voted for ten and against nine. One amendment, No. 23, which related to an advalorem tax in North Alabama cities, was a tie—314 for and 314 against. In the "yes" column were amendments No. 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21 and 22. With "no" majority were amendments No. 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 24.

Officials stated that the vote was very light with, probably, no more than one-third of the voters going to the polls.

The Voter Qualification Issue

What qualifications should be required for voting in Alabama? How high should be the barriers raised against registration of unqualified applicants? What method should be used to determine an applicant's qualifications?

These questions face Alabama's voters as they prepare to go to the polls next Tuesday to pass on 24 proposed amendments to the state constitution. Proposal No. 5 on the ballot would tighten up voter qualifications. It is generally assumed that many would find it harder to qualify under the proposed amendment than under existing law.

Alabama's present provisions do not meet the objectives of the framers of the 1901 constitution. They contain a property requirement that now, with changes in values, is meaningless. Many states do not impose such a requirement.

* * *

For a number of years there has been a feeling on the part of many Alabamians that the state needs legal provisions which would provide greater protection against unqualified voters. Hence the Boswell amendment, adopted 89,163 to 76,843 in 1946, but later declared unconstitutional by a federal court. And hence this year's Proposed Amendment No. 5.

There has not been as much public controversy over this proposal as there was over the Boswell amendment. That in part may be because other issues have attracted so much attention. It may be that many voters realize the issue is substantially the same as that in 1946 and feel there is no need for a lot of discussion.

The two plans differ in details, but they are alike in purpose. Like its predecessor, the present proposal would give boards of registrars wide and arbitrary powers to decide who shall vote. Under it, registrars conceivably could yield to their prejudices to disqualify applicants whose opinions or status they did not like.

Gessner T. McCorvey, former chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has been urging adoption of the proposal. In a statement widely circularized, he defends the plan as constitutional. (It will be remembered that he advocated approval of the unconstitutional Boswell amendment.) He says that Alabama Supreme Court justices "have held that this proposed amendment does not violate the federal constitution."

When an almost identical amendment, also advocated and partly prepared by Mr. McCorvey, was before the Alabama Legislature in 1949, the Supreme Court was asked for an advisory opinion. A majority of the court expressed the view that the proposal was constitutional. But there was a minority that said it was not. Furthermore, Albert A. Carmichael, then attorney general, declared that in his opinion federal courts would certainly strike such an amendment down. The 1949 Legislature failed to submit the proposal.

Grave doubts persist as to the constitutionality of this voter qualification plan. This paper does not believe it would be upheld in a test.

Those who opposed the Boswell amendment as unsound, unfair and dangerous will be consistent in voting "no" on this new proposal. Voters who oppose trying again to put across something that almost certainly, in the opinion of many, would be challenged and thrown out, should mark their ballots against Proposed Amendment No. 5.

Alabama Voter Restriction Law With White Supremacy Backing Holds Narrow Lead

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (AP) — A new move to write stiff voter restrictions into the Alabama constitution, with "white supremacy" backing, held a narrow lead today on inconclusive returns from Tuesday's election.

The amendment, one of 24 on the ballot, would replace the old Boswell amendment, ruled out in 1949 on the grounds it discriminated against Negroes.

With 1,371 of the state's 2,444 boxes reported, 36,992 votes have been counted for the measure and 34,269 against.

The vote on the measure was extremely light. No public campaign was made either for or against it. The chief interest within the state was centered on a $25,000,000 road bond issue. It was approved.

The voter amendment would give county boards of registrants wide powers in determining who could register to vote. It would not interfere with present voter lists, however.

There is no official estimate of the number of Negro voters in Alabama. The number is small in comparison with white voters.

The new amendment would require voters to be of good character, take a written questionnaire, "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship," and sign an anti-Communist oath.

Generally, it drew support from those who sponsored the Boswell amendment, which was adopted after its backers campaigned on the grounds that it would restrict Negro voters.

Alabama's population is about 30 per cent Negro.

The new voter proposal makes no reference to any race. Its supporters contended it was not aimed at the Negro, but would exclude persons of little or no education or of low character.

Alabama now has few voter qualifications. Any resident with $300 in assessed property, or who can meet minimum educational standards, is eligible.

The state's stiff poll tax law is not affected by the amendment. It requires payment of $1.50 per year from the ages of 21 to 45. Persons over 45 who have not paid the poll tax must pay $36 to register.

The vote on the road bonds was 61,588 for and 44,406 against.

Beaten decisively was the amendment which would allow the legislature to provide for 67 senators, one from each county, instead of the present 35. Returns gave only 18,850 votes for the proposal and 57,765 against it.

The vote on other amendments of statewide application:

To write merit system laws into the constitution—for 50,282; against 24,442.

To provide for appointment rather than election of national guard officers—for 42,582; against 28,622.

To exempt veterans of the Korean and future wars from poll tax payments—for 57,907; against 19,420.

To require out-of-state corporations to maintain an office in Alabama—for 28,207; against 35,570.

Alabama Votes on 24 Issues

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 11 (AP).—Twenty-four Constitutional amendments—topped in interest by the controversial 25-million-dollar road bond issue—were on the ballot today for Alabama's off-year election.

Despite the number of amendments and the interest generated in the road bond proposal, only a small turnout of voters was expected. Polls open at 8 a. m. (CST). They close at 5 p. m. in rural areas and 6 p. m. in cities.

Only 7 of the 24 amendments affect the entire State. The others are purely local.

Besides the road bond issue, State-wide amendments up for consideration would:

Set up a voter qualification amendment; open the door to provide a Senator for each of the State's 67 counties; put the State merit system into the Constitution; provide for appointment of national guard officers instead of their election by the troops; extend the poll tax amendment to veterans of Korean fighting and all future wars; and require out-of-State corporations doing business in Alabama to have at least one office inside the State.

The voter qualification proposal would give county registrars broad powers to decide the eligibility of prospective voters.

It would be up to the registrars, cloaked with judicial powers, to determine whether the prospective oter met those requirements satisfactorily.

Voters In Alabama To Ballot On 24 Amendments

Qualified voters of Alabama will be asked Tuesday to ballot on 24 proposed amendments to the State Constitution, which was adopted Nov. 28, 1901.

It became the sixth Constitution ratified in Alabama and went into effect by proclamation of Gov. William D. Jelks.

During the 30 years since it became the state's basic law, the Constitution has been amended 86 times. The Constitution of the United States, which was adopted 162 years ago, has been amended 22 times.

Voters Tuesday may ballot on any one question or all of them, according to R. E. Lindbergh, chief clerk in the Jefferson County sheriff's office. The only thing to avoid is voting "yes" and "no" on the same question. That will void the vote.

The election will involve seven questions of concern to the entire state.

These proposed amendments, and their numbers on the 34-inch ballot, are:

1. THE $25,000,000 ROAD BOND ISSUE—This would give the state permission to borrow that amount—at interest not greater than 3 per cent a year. The state then could receive a similar amount from the Federal Government. All of the $50,000,000 would be marked for improvement and construction of roads and bridges.

2. CIVIL SERVICE FOR STATE EMPLOYES—Approval would require that the present Alabama Merit System be written into the Constitution. This would not affect civil service systems in cities and counties.

3. ORGANIZATION OF STATE NATIONAL GUARD—The amendment proposes to reorganize the guard on the lines of the U. S. Department of Defense. Its provisions would aid in taking politics out of the guard, its backers say.

4. POLL TAX EXEMPTION — If this is approved, veterans of Korea—and of similar police actions in the past and future—would be exempt from paying poll tax. Veterans of both World Wars now have that privilege.

5. VOTER QUALIFICATION — Applicants before Boards of Registrars, if this amendment is approved, would have to answer a written questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court and take a non-Communist oath, among other things.

6. THE 67-SENATOR BILL—Approval would enable the Legislature to increase the State Senate from 35 members to any number up to 67, which is the number of counties in Alabama.

7. OUT-OF-STATE CORPORATIONS—This would essentially permit law suits against out-of-state corporations as a basis more nearly in line with the laws affecting domestic corporations. The corporations would be required to maintain at least one known place of business in the state.

* * *

The remaining, proposed amendments, from 8 to 24, are local in nature, affecting only the counties or localities named. None of these would apply to Jefferson County.

8. MADISON COUNTY — The sheriff and probate judge would be put on salary in preference to the fee system.

9, 14, 15, 16 and 17 apply to Franklin County, Haleyville, Walker County, Colbert County and Marion County. These would allow the local governments to promote industrial development through lease of property, buying stock in a company or similar means.

10, 12, 18, 20 and 22 apply to Morgan, Lawrence, Chambers, Fayette and Jackson Counties. Statewide approval would enable each of these counties to hold another election to determine if their citizens approve an additional school tax.

11. PICKENS COUNTY—This would enable any municipality in Pickens to promote industrial development through use of public credit, special tax or similar means. County voters, at a special election, would have to approve such action first.

13. BALDWIN COUNTY—All county offices would be put on the salary system rather than the fee system.

19. MARION COUNTY—Passage would validate four local acts, passed in previous Legislatures, to create new offices and abolish old ones and authorize a tax for hospitals.

21. FRANKLIN COUNTY—County residents, at another election, could give the county governing body authority to issue bonds for at least $50,000 for a county agricultural building.

23. This measure would apply to 37 localities permitting them to continue special taxes approved by earlier constitutional amendments in 1919 and 1923.

24. COLBERT COUNTY—Approval would give constitutional status for a sales tax—already being collected—for school purposes

Poll Tax Reform, Limited

The tide of change is almost irresistible. The Alabama Senate has given evidence of that by approving a bill which would modify the state's burdensome poll tax. Henceforth, if the Senate bill passes the House and is approved by voters as a constitutional amendment, in all but 10 counties of the state eligible persons behind in their poll tax will have to pay for only two years instead of a maximum of 24.

Ten counties, however, are exempt from this change under the Senate bill, and there's the rub. The 10 counties are all in the Black Belt. All have Negro population majorities. They were permitted to keep the cumulative feature of the poll tax as a means of keeping down the number of Negro voters. That was tacitly understood by the Senate, if not openly declared.

It will be interesting to see how this provision, if it becomes a law and is ever contested, will square with the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal Constitution. Courts, when considering the constitutionality of a measure, may include a look at its legislative history. It was obviously the purpose of the State Senate in passing this 10-county exemption to discourage Negroes from voting. Apart from any question of motives or feelings or needs, the exemption on constitutional grounds only seems to *The News* to be seriously open to challenge.

But it is good to see that sentiment is growing stronger for modification of the state's onerous poll tax. Alabama today is one of only five Southern states which still retain the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. And of the five, Alabama is the only one with more than a two-year cumulative feature. Many Alabamians believe the poll tax out of date and an irritant which could well be discarded. But up to now the Legislature has resisted efforts at change. At least some progress is being made.

Three File Suit Against Registrar For Vote Denial

By JAMES B. LAFOURCHE

SHREVEPORT, La. — (ANP) — Three Negroes, Joseph Joubert, Joseph George Donatto, Sr., and John Lester Mitchell, have filed suit in the federal court here against George C. Blanchard, registrar of voters of St. Landry parish, alleging that the latter refuses to allow them to register because they are Negroes.

The trio insist in their petition that they are being deprived of their civil rights under the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution.

The petition further requests that a three-judge court be convened an a restraining order be issued against Blanchard forbidding him from enforcing three sections of the Louisiana law which they say is being used to deprive them of their rights.

They assert the law is unconstitutional, in addition to being misused by the registrar.

Federal Judge Gaston L. Porterie has ordered the registrar to appear in court in Opolousas Nov. 29, and show cause why the restraining order should not be issued.

The plaintiffs allege that they are qualified in all respect to vote except that they have not registered with the parish registrar of voters as required by law. They insist that Blanchard has deliberately refused to allow them to register.

The laws in question are sections 35, 36 and 37, of title 18 of the Louisiana revised statutes of 1950. These sections require that applicants for registration.

Must be able to read and write any clause in the state or federal constitution and give a reasonable interpretation.

Must be able to give a reasonable interpretation, if unable to read or write, when any section of the state or federal constitution is read to them.

Must establish beyond doubt they are the identical persons they represent themselves to be—the registrar "may require the applicant to produce two creditable registered voters of his precinct to make oath to that effect."

One year ago last summer, the FBI probed the beating of eight Negroes in the registrar's office here. Two of the suspects were identified as deputy sheriffs of St Landry parish.

Last week Alvin Jones, one of the beaten eight men, died in a government hospital in New Orleans, from a blood clot on the brain, a result of the beating he received.

Jones, a former Xavier and Southern University instructor, was making a survey for the Louisiana State Progressive Voters League on the status of Negroes registered in the parish. At the time the survey was being conducted not one Negro had been registered.

Rev. Father B. R. Callaghan pastor of the Immaculate Conception Catholic Church, Lebeau, La was accused of advising Negroes of their right to become registered voters. For this, a petition was circulated among the white residents of the parish seeking the removal of Fr. Callaghan.

The priest was on the program when the lamented Jones held a mass meeting in Lebeau, June 4th and he had been active in other movements for the welfare of Negroes in the community.

Victims beaten when they entered the registrar's office last June 5-6 were: Arthur Moore, Floyd Simien, John Baptiste Rideau, Kell Rachal and Charles Nash, all of Lebeau.

Others beaten were George Gillery, 18, and his brother Frank, 19 of whom were so light-skinned that it was impossible to determine their racial identity, although they were known to courthouse personnel.

George who had reached 18, was in search of the selective service registration office, but when he mentioned registration office, he and his brother were taken upstairs separated and beaten.

ISSUE NEGROES FEAR LEADS ALABAMA VOTE

48,535 To 46,401 For Amendment Of Election Law

ROAD BONDS APPROVED

By The Associated Press

BIRMINGHAM, Dec. 12.—A voter qualification amendment which Negroes fear will be used to deny them the ballot held a narrow but still uncertain lead in Alabama Wednesday.

The amendment would give wide judicial powers to county boards of registrars which pass upon prospective voters.

1869 Boxes Tallied

With 1869 of 2444 boxes tabulated, 48,535 votes had been cast for the amendment and 46,401 against.

The amendment would require voters to be of "good character" and "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship." County registrars would decide whether these requirements were met.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People condemned the measure but otherwise little was heard of it before Tuesday's election.

The amendment would replace existing laws which provide few restrictions. Alabama's poll tax of $1.50 a year, which is cumulative up to $36, is not affected by the amendment.

Defeat For Folsom

Although Negroes have voted in all Alabama elections since 1865, the number is small in proportion to the state's 30 per cent Negro population. There is no official estimate of the number.

The amendment was supported by the advocates of the Boswell Act, ruled invalid in 1949 on the grounds that it discriminated against Negroes.

Alabama voters gave strong approval to a $25,000,000 road bond issue, and defeated decisively the proposal for a senator from every county.

These two issues had been most widely debated. The results were a political defeat for former Gov. James F. Folsom, who had supported the losing causes. He has been considered a sure candidate for governor in 1954.

Other Amendments

The vote on the bond amendment, supported by Gov. Gordon Persons, was 77,629 for and 56,443 against, with 1869 boxes counted.

The 67-senator amendment went down with the same number of boxes by a bote of 27,095 for and 73,039 against.

Voting on other amendments with statewide application:

To write merit system laws into the Constitution—for 69,446; against 33,868.

To exempt veterans of the Korean and future wars from poll tax payments — for 75,429; against 26,490.

To provide for appointment of National Guard officers—for 54,835; against 39,930.

To require out-of-state corporations to maintain an office in Alabama—for 36,563; against 46,783.

Seventeen other amendments had only local effect.

Voting Time In Alabama

Next Tuesday the people of Alabama will go to the polls to vote on 24 proposed constitutional amendments. Of the 24 only seven are of statewide application. These cover the road bond issue, the incorporation of the merit system into the state constitution, changing the method of naming National Guard officers, extending poll tax exemptions to all war veterans, setting up new voter qualifications, the 67-Senator amendment, and setting up new requirements concerning out-of-state corporations doing business in Alabama. The remaining 17 are local to certain counties but have to be voted on by voters all over the state.

Comment is made here on two of the seven state-wide proposals.

AMENDMENT NO. 5 on voter qualifications appears as by far the most important amendment proposed. Here we are dealing with a fundamental civic right in a democratic form of government. Abuse of the personal integrity of certain groups in the state is far too possible under the regulations suggested.

The amendment would require that applicants before a Board of Registrars be of "good character" and embrace all the duties of citizenship; it would require them to answer written questions prepared by the State Supreme Court and to take an oath that they do not belong to any group which advocates the overthrow of the government of the nation or of the state by unlawful means.

Fundamentally too much is left to the whim of the registrars. There is no one in the state whom the board could not turn down if it wished. Just what makes for "good character"?; who knows all the duties of citizenship?; what kind of questions will be set up by the State Supreme Court? and, more dangerous still, it would be up to the board to decide whether they were answered satisfactorily.

Moreover the motivation behind this amendment is questionable.

It is to take the place of the Boswell Amendment which was approved (in 1946) by the voters but later declared unconstitutional by a three-judge federal court sitting on a Mobile County case (in 1948). When all the trimmings, with which the Boswell amendment was decorated, were torn down it emerged simply as a devise to control Negro voting in the state. With equal facility it could be turned against any minority in the state.

The present amendment is suspect. Its main backing is from a county which is some 75 per cent Negro but in which no Negro is allowed to vote. Throughout the rest of the state its main backers are the extreme "white supremists" such as Gessener T. McCorvey of Mobile.

The Catholic Week strongly opposed the original Boswell Amendment. It now opposes Amendment No. 5.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT most in the news is the Road Bond Issue.

Unfortunately some have tried to label this issue as a political matter. It is in reality a civic matter asking the people of Alabama whether or not they want to accept $25,000,000 from Federal funds, money that has already been appropriated but not yet accepted. If we do not take this money that has been assigned to Alabama our Federal taxes will not be reduced.

All we need do is match the Federal money dollar for dollar. This can only be done by issuing bonds, as Alabama does not have the matching $25,000,000 in cash. Issuing of these new bonds will not raise taxes. Alabama presently has bonds expiring, these new bonds will begin where the expiring bonds leave off.

Alabama needs better roads, our present highways are too narrow, too crooked and unsafe for the modern automobile. Alabama's present highways were built for 1934 models whereas the newer higher speed models, together with the tremendous increase in number of cars on the road are making our presently existing highways virtual death traps. The death rate on Alabama highways is at an all time high ,the cause of this can be placed directly on poor roads.

Passage of the Road Bond Issue in substance amounts to simply getting two miles of roads for the price of one, without extra taxes.

Convinced of the vital need for highway improvements The Catholic Week urges passage of this amendment.

Voter Qualification Amendment

(Editor's note: The Birmingham World is today presenting the full text of the new formula for placing voters on the list in Alabama. We hope that our readers will clip this article, study it, so that they will be able to vote intelligently on it when it comes for decision at the hands of the voters.)

S. B. 235 Amend
By: Messrs. Pinson, Golson, Bonner, Quarles, Locke (Choctaw), Locke (Perry), Johnson, Sollie, Byars, Eddins, High, Foster, Thagard. Jues. 8-28-51

AN ACT

To propose an amendment of Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama fixing the qualifications to register as an elector and providing therefor and ordering an election upon such proposed amendment to be held on the first Tuesday after the expiration of three months after the final adjournment of the present session of the Legislature. Birmingham Ala

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF ALABAMA:

Section 1. The following amendment of Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama is proposed to become valid as a part of the said Constitution when approved by a majority of the qualified electors voting thereon at the election provided for in Section 2 hereof, the result of such election to be made known by proclamation of the Governor. t

AMENDMENT

"Section 181. The following persons, and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of Twenty-one years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this Article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this Constitution: those who can read and write any Article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the Constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further, that in order to aid the Members of the Boards of Registrars, who are hereby constituted and declared to be Judicial Officers, to judicially determine if applicants to register have the qualifications herein above set out, each applicant shall be furnished by the Board of Registrars a written questionnaire, which shall be uniform in all cases with no discrimination as between applicants, the form and contents of which questionnaire shall be prescribed by The Supreme Court of Alabama and be filed by such Court with the Secretary of State of the State of Alabama, which questionnaire shall be so worded that the answers thereto will place before the Boards of Registrars information necessary or proper to aid them to pass upon the qualification of each applicant. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the Board without assistance, and there shall be incorporated in such answer an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama and a statement in such oath by the applicant disavowing belief in or affiliation at any time with any group or party which advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means, which answers and oath shall be duly signed and sworn to by the applicant before a member of the County Board of Registrars. Such questionnaire and the written answers of the applicant thereto shall be filed with the records of the respective Boards of Registrars. The Board may receive information respecting the applicant and the truthfulness of any information furnished by him. Those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again. Provided, further, that if solely because of physical handicaps the applicant is unable to read or write, then he shall be exempt from the above stated requirements which he is unable to meet because of such physical handicap, and in such cases a Member of the Board of Registrars shall read to the applicant the questionnaire and oaths herein provided for and the applicant's answers there to shall be written down by such Board Member, and the applicant shall be registered as a voter if he meets all other requirements herein set out."

Section 2. An election upon the proposed amendment is ordered to be held on the first Tuesday after the expiration of three months after the final adjournment of the present session of the legislature. The election shall be held in accordance with the provisions of Sections 284 and 285 of the Constitution of Alabama, as amended, and Chapter 1, Article 18, Title 17 of the Alabama Code of 1940.

Section 3. Notice of the election and of the proposed amendment shall be given by proclamation of the Governor, which proclamation shall be published once a week for four successive weeks next preceding the day appointed for the election in a newspaper in every county of the State in which a newspaper is published ,and in every county in which no newspaper is published a copy of such notice shall be posted at the courthouse for four successive weeks next preceding the day appointed for the election.

Section 4. Such amendment shall be known as the 'Voter Qualification Amendment."

Registrars to use new powers gently

The first meeting of the Board of Registrars under its new law granting it more powers resulted today in agreement that no precinct and district changes will be made until appointment of a new board. Jues

The board also agreed that it would not exercise its new power of electing a chairman from the group until after the new appointments are made. Am 9-7-51

The law which gives the board complete power in changing, abolishing, creating or offering precincts and districts, was signed yesterday by Gov. Gordon Persons.

A certified copy of the new law was brought to the meeting today by Associate Member Gus Thompson, who had worked for passage of the bill. Birmingham Ala

THE BOARD members said a lot of changes of precinct and district lines are contemplated under the new law. They said, however, that the changes will be made gradually so as not to upset the election machinery of the county.

The changes which have been worked out by this board will be carried out should the present members of the board be reappointed to begin a new term about Oct. 1.

Should the new board consist of new members the proposed changes will be turned over to the new body as suggestions.

* * *

BOARD MEMBERS were doubtful that the new powers granted under the bill would ever be abused to the extent of upsetting elected officials, election machinery and the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee.

They agreed that such might be possible and perhaps could be done in rural counties.

Under the changes proposed by this board several precincts and districts would be abolished or changed. In cases where precincts are abolished it would mean that constables and justices of the peace elected from those precincts would be out of jobs at the end of their present terms.

Thompson said the board does not intend to abolish Precinct Two in Bessemer as had previously been stated.

* * *

MOST OF THE changes of precinct and district lines will be made by the board for the following reasons:

1. To make the precinct and district lines coincide with the city limits of Birmingham and with other municipalities where possible. This would be done for convenience of making voters' lists for city elections.

2. Where precinct lines now intersect densely populated areas such as housing projects. The lines would be altered to include all of the area so that the voting could be in a central location.

3. Where voters are presently inconvenienced by having to travel long distances within their precinct while boxes from other precincts are nearby.

4. Where present boxes are so overcrowded that districts are needed to relieve the congestion.

There are approximately 50 boxes in the county which contain the names of 350 to 600 voters, according to the board.

Under the law the board is required to establish a new box when more than 300 voters ballot in any one district.

Signature of Persons to give registrars almost unlimited powers to handle voting

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND
News staff writer

The signature of Gov. Gordon Persons is all that is needed to enact the Jefferson County Board of Registrars bill into law.

The measure was finally ratified in the Senate late Thursday, after identical bills had previously gone through both houses.

The measure gives broad powers to the Board of Registrars in this county. Any two members of the board would apparently be able under this act to upset scores of elected officials and possibly members of the county's Democratic Executive Committee.

The powers referred to are contained in Section 5 of the bill, the original version of which was drawn under sponsorship of H. A. (Gus) Thompson, a member of the present board.

The section gives the board, or a majority thereof, power to abolish, change, alter or consolidate precincts and voting districts. It also gives the board power to create new precincts and districts.

Abuse of this power could result in constables of precincts and committeemen of districts being gerrymandered out of their present precincts or districts.

Members of the Jefferson County legislative delegation said in Montgomery Friday that such was not the intent of the bill and its sponsors.

The power to do these things, however, is clearly conferred upon the board by Section 5.

Appointment of a new board to take office Oct. 1, will be made this month.

THOMPSON and R. J. Creel, associate members of the board, spent last week in the state Capitol presumably to promote their chances for reappointment as well as push passage of the registrars bill.

J. E. Fleming, chairman of the present board, is seeking one of the three spots.

The new law will take much of the luster from the office of chairman, however. It abolishes his $225 per month salary, leaving him only a per diem pay. It also removes from him the control of the office and vests that power in the board as a whole.

The board is also given all the powers formerly vested in it, plus all the powers and duties formerly given the County Commission and probate judge relating to elections, registrations and the changing or creating voting districts and precincts.

THE COURTHOUSE is losing a long-time resident this week when the State Rehabilition Office moves to Southside.

The space occupied by that office will be used for meetings of the new arbitration board of the county's sewer service department.

A part of the space may be made available for county attorneys to handle work at the courthouse.

Jurors will receive more for their service this Fall than they have in the past.

A bill raising the pay of jurors from $4 to $5 per day has passed both houses of the Legislature and been sent to the governor for his signature.

The bill originally proposed a raise to $6 but was amended and passed at the lower figure.

ALL TRIABLE criminal cases on the dockets in this county have been set for trial during the first two months of the Fall court term which begins Sept. 10.

The only upset cases are those in which defendants have forfeited or where other circumstances—such as missing witnesses — prevent their trial during that time.

That will mean that in many cases where indictments are returned by the Grand Jury next week, the trials may be had before Christmas.

Qualifications Needed By Boards Of Registrars

To the Editor:

If the fifth amendment to be presented to the voters of Alabama on Dec. 11 is passed, it seems to me desirable that very high qualifications should be set for members of boards of registrars.

These registrars—if the fifth amendment passes—will do the following for the future would-be voters of Alabama (possibly your children and my children):

1. They will say whether the person desiring to register as a voter (or elector) can read or write any article of the Constitution of the United States "which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars." (I'm happy to see its to be done in the English language.)

In order to judge from this particular thing whether or not a person is to be permitted to become a voter, each registrar should certainly have a great deal of knowledge about the constitution himself. In order to gain this knowledge and understanding, I should think a college degree with a major in history would be a minimum necessity.

2. Our registrars will pass upon the characters of all applicants for the privilege of voting. Unless they judge them to be of good character, they can deny them citizenship—the full citizenship of an elector. To carry out this section of the proposed amendment it seems to me necessary to have as registrars only men and women of godly character themselves. But there is an obstacle here, because men and women of such character would hesitate to pass such judgment.

3. If this proposed amendment passes, registrars will have to decide whether applicants "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship" before they decide to give them full citizenship. On this problem they will really need some expert help; the only helpers I know of who might be able to help solve it are Perry Mason or possibly Sherlock Holmes.

4. These registrars will have to administer a loyalty oath (if Amendment 5 passes) and "receive information respecting the applicant and the truthfulness of any information furnished by him." If our registrars could have training with the FBI, it might be a helpful qualification here. Perhaps Mr. Hoover can spare young men to constantly track down this "truthfulness." If this amendment passes, this section would be an excellent place to start a lot of witch hunts. Democracy cannot be helped by imitating Communist or totalitarian states, but it can be killed.

5. If we pass the fifth amendment, registrars will have to give each would-be voter a written examination on questions prepared by the Supreme Court of Alabama. The registrars will then "judicially determine whether applicants to register have the qualifications." May the Supreme Court justices stand by to help grade the papers!

The legally discarded Boswell amendment and now this one make me wonder. Do we want an intelligent electorate in Alabama? Why can't our legislators give us an amendment setting up educational qualifications for all new voters, something like the one offered the Legislature some years ago by Judge Rives? Politics could not influence the fact that a man or woman had a high school diploma. And a man or woman who had acquired a high school education in the public schools or schools of equal educational value in these United States should make a good citizen.

I hope every good American who believes in a democratic form of government and wants to see it maintained in Alabama will take the trouble to go to the polls on Dec. 11 and vote "no" on the fifth amendment.

LILIAN PROUT (MRS. J. R.) LONG.
Marion, Ala.

Backward Legislative Decisions

The Alabama Legislature is taking some very backward stands of late. It is making decisions that may run counter to the will of a majority of voters or, if fully consummated in law, to the opinions of courts looking at matters of constitutionality.

Four controversial issues were passed on Tuesday. Approved by the House were Senate-passed constitutional amendments permitting a state senator for every county and setting up new qualifications for voters. These do not require the governor's signature and hence will go before the voters following the adjournment of the Legislature.

The House also passed a so called "reapportionment" bill which would leave the House membership as it is. This is not a constitutional amendment and has yet to pass the Senate. The House killed a bill which would have reduced the cumulative feature of the poll tax to two years.

Taken as a whole, these four actions can be regarded as unprogressive and shortsighted. They show an inadequate conception of the welfare of the people of the state as a whole. They are undemocratic. They indicate a strange unawareness of the state's constitution.

Let us take them up separately.

The poll tax as a prerequisite to voting is out of favor generally. A Gallup poll about two years ago indicated that a majority of Alabama voters were opposed to any poll tax. But the Alabama House refused to permit the state's voters to express their opinions on a constitutional amendment which would not have eliminated the poll tax entirely, but merely modified its burdensome cumulative provisions. That is a poor democratic stand.

The House "reapportionment" bill is a scheme to get around the complaint that the Legislature has violated the constitution by not altering the basis of House membership after each decennial census. Hence a bill which would merely continue the present apportionment. The plan is an affront to intelligence. It is at least as much out of line with the constitution as no reapportionment.

Section 198 of the Alabama Constitution says that the House shall be reapportioned after each decennial census "among the several counties of the state, according to the number of inhabitants in them, respectively." How can the members of the Legislature stomach a reapportionment plan which ignores "the number of inhabitants" provision?

* * *

The same objections, and some additional ones, apply to the constitutional amendment which would permit a state senator for each county. Section 200 of the constitution says that after each decennial census the state shall be divided into senatorial districts which shall be "as nearly equal to each other in the number of inhabitants as may be." The proposed amendment would permit the Legislature, in arranging new districts, to make each county one, regardless of population, in defiance of the constitution.

There is grave doubt about the constitutionality of the amendment. The State Supreme Court has ruled out a straight 67-senator bill. The proposal seeks the same end by roundabout methods.

Furthermore, voters of the state, in 1932, defeated, 153,950 to 37,469, a 67-senator plan. They very likely will not care for the new plan, which is not bona fide reapportionment and would not improve the present undemocratic basis of representation. Supporters of these "reapportionment" bills hurt their cause by balking efforts at obtaining Supreme Court opinions on them.

* * *

As to the voter qualification bill, it is much like the Boswell amendment held unconstitutional by a federal court. The Boswell amendment was thrown out on the grounds that it left registrars too much leeway in deciding who was qualified. The three-judge federal court at Mobile held that the provisions were too vague and could be arbitrarily applied.

If that is so, what of the newly-proposed provision that the prospective voter must "understand" the duties and obligations of citizenship? Is that not also open to arbitrary application? And will not the courts take judicial cognizance of the fact that the amendment is obviously an effort to keep down Negro voting and hence violative of the 15th amendment?

The voter amendment also would require an applicant for the franchise to take a "non-Communist" oath. There are doubts about the practicality of such an oath. A person believing in violent overthrow of government would not hesitate to perjure himself in signing. Moreover, mere belief, of course, as distinguished from action, is a fundamental American freedom.

* * *

All told, we think the Alabama House did a very poor day's business Tuesday.

Racial 'Superiority'

To the Editor:

In a recent letter to the editor, W. G. Kitts, 1216 Woodland Avenue, makes a no doubt well-intentioned defense of the Negro's right to vote and of his rights to justice and equality.

The basic problem is summed up in his first sentence: "We white people who consider ourselves superior . . ." This feeling of innate superiority by many white people is entirely unjustified and is based only upon prejudice and fear.

Since prejudice and fear in turn are usually based upon ignorance, I would like to quote the conclusions reached by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in its "Statement on Race, 1951." This statement, reprinted in the current issue of The Saturday Review of Literature, represents the findings and beliefs of the world's leading scientists:

"(a) In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists can effectively use as a basis for classification are physical (anatomical and physiological).

"(b) According to present knowledge, there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development.

"(c) The biological differences between human beings are as great within races as between races and should be disregarded.

"(d) Historical and sociological studies support the view that genetic differences are insignificant factors in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men. Vast social changes have occurred which were not in any way connected with changes in racial type.

"(e) There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces disadvantageous results from a biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, can generally be traced to social factors."

It might be well for those "who consider themselves superior" to reexamine their position in the light of the above facts.

Sheffield, Ala. ROBERT C. MARTIN.

The Tip-Off

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. -(SNS)- Unless the voters halt it on December 11 and the courts give an assist play, there is likely to be a cutback in political suffrage in Alabama before the birth of 1952.

The "Engelhardt Voter-Re-Registration Act" approved by Gov. Gordon Persons on September 6 became effective at the stroke of his pen. The "Bonner Amendment" up for ratification on Dec. 11 will become effective in the twelfth month unless the voters reject it.

Mr. Sam M. Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, Ala., representative from Macon County steered his disguised Negro disfranchisement bill through the Legislature. It received the barest publicity and probably little attention from the people's watchdog leaders when it came up for committee or public hearings. A number of progressive-minded leaders expressed surprise that it either made it through the two houses and then gained the approval of the governor.



Planter and Cotton ginner, Mr. Engelehardt, according to Reporter Joe Azbell in a signed article in The Montgomery Advertiser "has announced that in 1953 he and Black Belt colleagues will try out gerrymandering of county boundaries to prevent future Negro political domination." He wants to preserve "white control at the polls." This is the type of mentality and ugly spirit which is symbolized in the re-registration bill. It so happens that Senator J. Miller Bonner of Wilcox who sponsored the re-written Boswell amendment is the father-in-law of Rep. Engelhardt.

In Mr. Bonner's Wilcox county there are no Negro voters. There have been none since 1901. More Negro than white citizens live in Wilcox. Senator Bonner has been quoted as saying that he does not believe any Negro, including Tuskegee Institute President F. D. Patterson, is fit to vote. Yet men of this type of thinking: men with

vicious anti-Negro ideas: men who preach racial disfranchisement had their way in the Alabama Legislature.

The Engelhardt Act and the Bonner Amendment are the two double-edged menaces to political democracy and economic fullness in Alabama today. Political freedom and economic freedom are twin freedoms in a democracy. When you stile one you smother the other. When citizens allow the restriction of the ballot on racial grounds they pave the way for the withering of business in the torrents of bigotry.

In contrast to what is happening in Alabama some other Southern states, notably Arkansas, are moving forward. Arkansas Gov. Sid McMath in an excellent speech, "The Changing South" delivered at the annual conference of the Urban League in St. Paul, Minn., said:

"In the past several primary elections, Negroes who are qualified electors have voted in increasing numbers. In some parts of the state they have exercised their right of franchise to a greater degree than in others, but there is no place in Arkansas today where the color of a man's skin determine his right to vote. The Democratic Party in Arkansas, since the 1950 convention, recognizes Negroes as full-fledged members of the Party, and their votes have considerable influence in state and local elections."

But Alabama lawmakers turned down opportunity to either abolish or modify the poll tax. Lowering of the voting age was beaten. Reapportionment on a valid re-distribution formula was whipped. However, the voters and the courts will rave the last word on at least two bad pieces of legislation, the Engelhardt Act and the Bonner Amendment.

December 11 – A Day Of Decisions

December 11, 1951 will be a day in which voters in Alabama will register their decisions on 23 proposals. Of these, only ten are of statewide application. Seventeen others are local bills in scope.

One of the finest services that could be served by our civic, civil rights, business, cultural and professional organizations is to make a careful study of the proposed amendments. An educational campaign is needed to acquaint the public with these measures. The educational campaign should be followed, it seems to us, by a plan to get out the full vote on election day, Tuesday, December 11.

Of the 10 proposals to be voted upon, one of crucial importance to every voter is the "Bonner Amendment" or the new voter-qualification substitute for the invalidated Boswell amendment. This amendment is dangerous because it would serve to curtail suffrage and would concentrate in the hands of three persons arbitrary powers. It seems to retain the worst features of the court-demolished Boswell amendment in setting up "understand the duties of good citizenship" as one of the yardsticks for selecting voters.

It should be borne in mind that the Bonner Amendment came, it was reported, into being as a swap for support of the so-called "67 Senator Amendment." It is reasonable to believe that neither bill by itself could have won the necessary votes to insure this passage.

Voters in Alabama on December 11 will have an opportunity to spike the backward march. We need a larger, not smaller, electorate in this state. Passage of the "Bonner Amendment" would tend to speed up the return to the dark days of shrunken suffrage. Ratification of it would give to those unfriendly critics of the South a new target and to our enemies abroad, propaganda, hurtful to America.

Voters should check the motives of those chief designers of this bill to see what irresponsible thinking was behind it. Many of the sponsors are members of the anti-suffrage bloc in Alabama. Their prime aim is to keep the vote rolls small because they fear the voice of the people as symbolized in full voting. What the voters must fear most is an unfair voter selection formula such as the "Bonner Amendment."

Alabama's present registration laws are so strict or administered so unfairly that in five or more counties Negroes have been successfully and systematically kept off the voting lists. This is true in Russell, Lowdnes, Monroe, Marshall and Wilcox counties. Hence it can be seen that in the home (Wilcox) county of State Senator J. Miller Bonner, one of the blueprinters of the proposed "Voter Qualification Amendment," Negroes are deprived of the ballot.

The lesson to be drawn from this is the possibility of making legal the methods which have been used illegally against Negro citizens so that they may from now on be used against poor white people, labor union groups and unpopular religious and geographical groups.

We do not believe that the voters, once they fully understand the implications and dangers of the Bonner Amendment, will allow it to become the law of this state. We do not believe the voters desire to ratify the injurious and undemocratic scheme engineered as the voter screening formula of this state. Although such a device may be directed chiefly at Negroes, once it is approved, it becomes a tool which can be used to grind away the suffrage of any citizen. No one is wise enough to say that such a vicious device will not one day be turned against him and his ottsprings.

Aside from the foregoing implications and dangers is the doubt of the constitutionality of the Bonner Amendment. Voters by marching to the polls and rejecting it would spare the courts for ripping it away from our body of laws. Should the voters reject this proposal, their decision would serve as instructions to the next Legislature to draft a better and fairer voter qualification formula. Our lawmakers have the skill by which to build a good registration law. All they need is the instructions from the voters on December 11. Reject the Bonner amendment at the polls.

Changes Affecting Registrars

The Jefferson County legislative delegation, having held public hearings on the subject, has now introduced identical bills in the House and Senate intended to centralize authority in this county's three-member Board of Registrars. Thus the County Commission and the probate judge would be deprived of certain powers and the board hereafter could "establish, change, consolidate or alter election districts or precincts" and would also designate voting places.

* * *

The makeup of the board would not be changed, or the method of appointment. All boards—one in each of the 67 counties—are appointed by the governor, the secretary of industry and agriculture and the state auditor, each appointing one member. Heretofore the member appointed by the governor was designated—at least in Jefferson County—as chairman. He received a salary of $2,700 annually. The proposed new law would permit the board itself to elect one of its members as chairman and his additional salary would be stopped; he would receive a *per diem* payment as do the associate members.

The bill also gives the board authority to hire clerical workers, and they would continue, as now, under the county merit system.

The board would be in session more days than it now is. It would be required to function regularly on Mondays, Tuesdays and Saturdays, thus giving working men opportunity to qualify on off days. On the last Monday, Tuesday and Saturday of each month the board would meet in Bessemer.

The News agrees that the salary paid the chairman was a "political plum," as indicated by the delegation; it sees no reason why the governor should have the right to name the chairman; it believes that the board, to be effective, needs more authority than it has had.

But this paper wants to point out again how extremely necessary it is that board members be carefully chosen for the work they have to do is of the utmost importance. It is semi-judicial in nature, for in deciding who is and who is not qualified to become a voter under state laws, the members have concentrated in their hands tremendous power to harm individuals and the state. The jobs most certainly ought not to be regarded as sinecures for political favorites.

The Voting Records Of Legislators On Major Bills

By Geoffrey Birt
Of The Alabama Journal

Here's a check made last week on how House members of the legislature voted on six of the major bills which were passed during the recent session.

Advertiser
Jue 9-18-51
$3.75 Auto Tag
Montgomery, Ala

The $3.75 tag is expected to become effective October 1, 1952, not this October.

FOR: Speaker Roberts Brown, Lee; Adams, Dale; Adams, Jefferson; Adams, Tallapoosa; Armstrong, Jackson; Baker, Lauderdale; Bamburg, Bibb; Bassett, Pike; Beatty, Jefferson; Brannan, Baldwin; Brassell, Russell; Burkhalter, Cherokee; Butler, Clay; Coburn, Colbert; Cole, Russell; Crocker, Wilcox; Davis, St. Clair; Denton, Blount; DeSear, Perry; Dodd, Winston; Dumas, Jefferson; Engelhardt, Macon; Eslick, Madison; Faulk, Geneva; Fite, Marion; Fite, Walker; Garrett, Monroe; Gentle, Jackson; Givhan, Dallas.

Grouby, Autauga; *Hall, Montgomery;* Hankins, Lamar; Hardy, Dallas; Harrison, Shelby; Harrison, Wilcox; Harvey, Sumter; Hawkins, DeKalb; Hawkins, Etowah; Huey, Jefferson; Johnson, Tallapoosa; Kaul, Jefferson; Kendall, Conecuh; Langdon, Pickens; Lee, Perry; Leonard, Talladega; McClendon, Chambers; McCoy, Escambia; McKee, Marengo; McNider, Clarke; Malone, Houston; Malone, Limestone; Mathews, Clarke; Mathison, Henry; Meeks, Jefferson; Merrill, Cleburne; Miller, Etowah; Molette, Dallas; Morgan, Jefferson; Morgan, Tuscaloosa; Oakley, Wilcox; Oden, Franklin; Payne, Talladega; Pfleger, Mobile; Plott, Chilton; Pruitt, Sumter; Reynolds, Chambers; Reynolds, Madison:

Roberson, Lawrence; Roberts, Morgan; Robinson, Lowndes; Romine, Lauderdale; Russell, Morgan; Selden, Hale; *Sellers, Montgomery;* Shelton, Tuscaloosa; Smith, Coosa; Solomon, Henry; Springer, Bullock; Stokes, Coffee; Summerlin, Crenshaw; Taylor, Butler; *Tennille, Montgomery;* Thomas, Barbour; Thomason, Calhoun; Tumlin, Calhoun; Ward, Lee; Weathers, Randolph; White, Covington; White, Cullman; Wilson, Hale; Wood, Washington.

AGAINST — *Dawkins, Montgomery;* Gallalee, Mobile; Martin, Greene; Wallace, Barbour.

Others not voting.

Sales Tax Increase

This raised the sales tax from 2 per cent to 3 per cent, effective two weeks from now. The increase will raise $20-odd million for schools. The tax passed 79-18.

FOR — Speaker Brown; Adams, Dale; Adams, Jefferson; Adams, Tallapoosa; Bamburg; Bassett; Beatty; Black; Brannan; Brassell; Burkhalter; Bush; Butler; Cole; Crocker; Crook; Davis; *Dawkins;* Denton; DeSear; Dodd; Dumas, Edgar, Eslick, Faulk, Fite, Walker; Gallalee; Garrett; Gentle; Givhan; Grouby; *Hall;* Hankins; Hardy; Harrison, Shelby; Harrison, Wilcox; Harvey; Hawkins, DeKalb; Huey, Kaul; Kendall; Langdon; Lee; Leonard; McKee; McNider; Malone, Limestone; Mathews; Mathison; Merrill; Miller; Molette; Morgan, Jefferson; Oakley; Oden; Payne; Pfleger; Pienezza Pruitt; Reynolds, Madison; Roberson; Roberts; Romine; Russell; Selden; *Sellers;* Shelton; Smith; Solomon; Summerline;

Tennille; Thomas; Thomason; Tumlin; Ward; Weathers; White, Covington; White, Cullman; Wilson.

AGAINST — Belcher, Pike; Coburn; Engelhardt; Hawkins, Etowah; Haynes, Lowndes; Johnson; McClendon; Martin; Morgan, Tuscaloosa; Reynolds, Chambers; Robinson; Scruggs, Marshall; Springer; Stokes; Wallace; Wilkins, Mobile; Wood; Simpson, Fayette.

Others not voting.

Doubling Drivers' Licenses

Effective Oct. 1 drivers' licenses are slightly more than doubled. Present cost is $1.10 every two years; new cost, $2.25 every two years Money goes to Highway Patrol for expanded services. Passed 61-19, 26 not voting.

FOR — Speaker Brown; Adams, Dale; Adams, Jefferson; Adams, Tallapoosa; Armstrong; Bamburg; Black; Brannan; Brassell; Bush; ;Butler; Coburn; Cole; *Dawkins;* Denton; Dodd; Engelhardt Faulk; Fite, Marion; Fite, Walker; Garrett; Hankins; Harrison, Shelby; Harvey; Hawkins, DeKalb; Kendall; Langdon; Lee; Leonard; McCoy; McNider; Malone, Limestone; Martin; Mathison; Meeks; Merrill; Miller; Molette; Morgan Jefferson; Morgan, Tuscaloosa; Payne Pfleger; Pruitt; Reynolds, Chambers; Reynolds, Madison; Romine; Russell; Selden; *Sellers;* Shelton; Solomon; Springer; *Tennille;* Thomas; Tumlin; Wallace; Ward; Wesley; White, Covington; Wilson, and Wood.

AGAINST—DeSear; Gallalee; Grouby; *Hall;* Hardy; Harrison, Wilcox; Haynes; Huey; Kaul; McClendon; McKee; Oakley; Oden; Roberson; Robinson; Scruggs; Stokes; Weathers, and Wilkins.

'City Industries Act'

This act allows cities to use public money to acquire and equip sites for industrial plants as bait for new industries. The State C. of C. opposed it, and called it "socialistic" but local C. of Cs, including and in particular, Montgomery, supported it. It passed 55-4, but 47 members were absent or "cabbage patched" — or both — on the day it passed the House.

FOR — Speaker Brown; Adams, Dale; Adams, Tallapoosa; Black; Brassell; Bush; Butler; Crocker; Crook; Davis; *Dawkins;* Denton; Dodd Engelhardt; Gallalee; Grouby; *Hall;* Hardy; Harrison, Shelby; Harrison, Wilcox; Hawkins, DeKalb; Hawkins, Etowah; Haynes; Johnson; Kendall; Lee; McClendon; McCoy; McKee; Malone, Limestone; Martin; Merrill; Miller; Molette; Morgan, Tuscaloosa; Oakley; Plott; Reynolds, Chambers; Russell; Scruggs; Selden; *Sellers.*

Shelton; Solomon; Springer; Summerlin; Taylor; Thomas; Wallace; Ward; Weathers; Wesley; White, Covington; White, Cullman; Wilson.

AGAINST — Faulk, Geneva; Kaul; Malone, Houston; Morgan, Jefferson.

67-Senator Amendment

This would increase membership of the Senate from 35 senators to 67, allowing each county a senator. The people will vote on this soon.

It is important to note that passage of this was tied with passage of a voter-qualification amendment, also to be voted on. Neither side had sufficient votes to pass either bill, unless both sides agreed to vote for each other's bill. Since those who wanted the 67-senator bill mainly objected to the voter-qualification bill and thought it unconstitutional, so those who were for the voter-qualification bill thought the 67-senator bill unconstitutional.

Both sides thought they could afford to pass their opponent's measure, and wait for the courts to knock out the other bill—if the people ratified either or both.

FOR — Adams, Dale; Adams, Tallapoosa; Armstrong; Baker; Bamburg; Bassett; Belcher; Black; Brannan; Brassell; Burkhalter; Bush; Butler; Coburn; Cole; Crook; Davis; *Dawkins;* Denton; DeSear; Dodd; Edgar; Engelhardt; Fite, Marion; Fite, Walker; Garrett; Gentle; Givhan; Grouby; *Hall;* Hankins; Harrison, Shelby; Hawkins, DeKalb; Hawkins, Etowah; Johnson; Kendall; Langdon; Lee; Leonard; McClendon; McKee; McNider; Malone, Houston; Malone, Limestone; Martin; Mathews; Mathison; Merrill; Molette; Morgan; Oakley; Oden; Payne; Plott; Reynolds, Madison; Reynolds, Chambers; Roberson; Roberts; Romine; Russell; Scruggs; Selden; Shelton; Smith; Solomon; Springer; Summerlin; Taylor; Thomas; Wallace; Ward; Weathers; White, Cullman; White, Covington: Wilson, and Wood.

AGAINST — Speaker Brown; Adams, Jefferson; Beatty, Jefferson; Crocker; Dumas; Faulk; Gallallee; Harrison, Wilcox; Harvey; Haynes; Huey; Kaul; Meeks; Morgan; Pfleger, Pruitt; Robinson; Sellers; Thomason; Tumlin; Wilkins.

Voter Qualification Amendment

To be voted on shortly by the people state-wide, same as 67-senator bill.

FOR — Adams, Dale; Adams, Tallapoosa; Bamburg, Bassett, Beatty, Belcher, Brannan, Brassell, Bush, Butler, Crocker, Crook, Davis, Denton, DeSear, Dodd, Edgar, Engelhardt, Faulk, Fite, Marion; Fite, Walker; Gallalee, Garrett, Givhan, Grouby, Hankins, Harrison, Wilcox; Harrison, Shelby; Harvey, Hawkins, DeKalb; Haynes, Huey, Johnson, Kendall, Langdon, Lee, Leonard, McClendon, McKee, McNider, Malone, Houston; Malone, Limestone; Martin, Mathews, Mathison, Merrill, Molette, Oakley, Oden, Payne, Pfleger, Pruitt, Reynolds, Chambers; Roberts, Robinson, Russell, Scruggs, Selden, *Sellers,* Smith, Solomon, Springer, Summerlin, Taylor, Thomas, Wallace, Ward, Weathers, White, Covington; Wilkins, Wilson and Wood.

AGAINST — Speaker Brown, Armstrong, Black, Coburn, *Dawkins,* Gentle, *Hall,* Hawkins, Etowah; Morgan, Tuscaloosa; Shelton, Thomason, Tumlin, White, Cullman.

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PUBLICATION of these House voting records is by courtesy of the House clerks, who made them available though busily working with them.

The corresponding records were not made available in the Senate, where the clerks were using them to compile the official journal of the session.

Sen Vaughan Hill Robison of Montgomery, however, supplied his own voting record.

He voted for the $3.75 auto tag bill, the 3% sales tax, the increased drivers' license bill and the bill to permit cities to acquire and equip industrial plants.

Robison voted against the 67-senator and the voter-qualification amendments.

Anti-Negro Measure

Alabama Passes Stiff Vote Bill

Courier
Sat. 9-29-51

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—The 1951 Alabama State Legislature which recently adjourned passed several bills which can be used to restrict further Negro voting and also reduce the existing number.

Among those passed are the Engelhardt Voter-Registration Act, requiring the reregistration of voters in sixty-four of the sixty-seven counties in Alabama. Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery Counties are exempted.

Political observers see in this a cutback of 40,000 Negro voters. The reregistration act has in certain features of the invalidated Boswell amendment by which boards of registrars have arbitrary power over reinstatement of voters.

BOARD HAS POWER

A second bill is the proposed "Bonner Amendment" which requires that prospective voters of (1) good moral character, (2) understand the duties of good citizenship, (3) take a non-Communist oath and (4) answer a list of questions prepared by the members of State Supreme Court.

Third among these pieces of legislation is the "Morgan Act" giving the Jefferson (Birmingham) County Board of Registrars wide and new powers.

Political analysts see in these bills a scheme to insure the Dixiecrats victory at the polls in 1952. The registration act became effective Sept. 5 and the "Bonner Amendment" along with nine others is to be voted on Tuesday, Dec. 11.

The Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches is on record as opposing the registration act and Bonner Amendment, both of which, the NAACP says, will be challenged.

Black Belt reapportionment bill gets Senate group okeh

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 23—(AP)—The House-approved "Black Belt reapportionment" bill, which leaves distribution of House seats just as they now are, squeezed out of the Senate judiciary committee today.

It got a favorable report by a slim 7-6 margin.

The bill will go on the Senate calendar next Tuesday for a floor vote if sponsors can get it on special order.

Earlier this session the upper chamber passed a bill by Sen. Alvin McCary of Calhoun County, to shake up House seats moderately, cutting down representation of a number of smaller counties.

McCary's bill was promptly killed by the House constitution and elections committee.

Also approved by the Senate judiciary committee today was Jefferson County Rep. Paul Meeks' reciprocal support bill to make it easier to bring bread winners back to Alabama who desert their wife and children and go to other states.

Meeks said 27 other states have like statutes and, if Alabama joins them, all would work together to enforce their family support laws.

The committee indefinitely postponed a bill by Rep. Jim Blott, of Chilton, to allow persons convicted of driving while intoxicated to keep their driver's licenses by making bonds ranging from $500 to $2,000.

James F. Brawner, chief of the driver's license division of the Department of Public Safety, opposed the bill. He said it would set his department back 12 years in enforcement work.

Under Alabama's law now revocation of driver's licenses is mandatory on the first conviction for D. W. I. Such persons can take out new licenses at the discretion of the public safety director after six months if the director feels their cases are worthy.

A bill to require convicts sentenced to death but communted to life imprisonment to serve at least 15 years before being paroled was awaiting final legislative action today.

Introduced by Sen. Preston Clayton, of Barbour County, the bill was voted out of the House judiciary committee yesterday and will get its second reading in the lower chamber tomorrow. That makes it eligible for a possible final vote next Tuesday.

Under the present parole law, convicts with communted death sentences are treated no differently from other prisoners when it comes to paroles or pardons.

COMMITTEE action was sparse yesterday with one group, the House judiciary committee, indefinitely postponing 40 bills which members believed had no chance of passing this late in the session. Only five more legislative days remain before adjournment.

A proposed constitutional amendment to cut off future salary raises of state officials during the term of office for which they were elected or appointed received enthusiastic support from the Senate constitutions revisions committee, however.

And the House ways and means committee approved some 12 remaining bills to bring certain state agencies under a budget instead of allowing them to spend what they want under open-end appropriations to accomplish their duties Several similar bills have already been approved by the Legislature

Registrars

Two Jefferson board members push meas...

BY EDWIN STRICK AND
News staff write

Power to upset scores of elected officials and apparently control the Democratic Executive Committee of Jefferson County, is contained in one section of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars bill scheduled for final passage in the Senate today.

Section 5 of the bill would give any two members of the board the power to abolish, change, establish or alter any voting precinct or district in the county.

This could mean that any two members—or one member with the agreement of a second—could gerrymander voting districts in such a way that present beat committeemen and members of the Democratic Executive Committee could be placed outside their present district.

It could also mean the unseating of constables elected in precincts. By altering precinct lines, in many cases, constables would be placed outside their jurisdiction.

The effect would be a long range one rather than one with immediate effect. The law apparently protects the constables throughout their present term.

THE NEW BILL takes all power over registration from the probate judge and takes from the County Commission the right and duty of changing, abolishing, consolidating or altering voting districts and precincts.

The powers formerly vested in the board, the commission and the probate judge concerning control of registration and elections are all placed in the hands of the Board of Registrars.

Control of the office itself is taken from under the board chairman and given to a majority of the board. Any combination of two members of the three-man board would be able to exercise the powers vested through this bill.

The chairman of the board, under the new bill, would be selected by the board itself.

THE BILL IS UNDERSTOOD to have been influenced by Gus Thompson, a present member of the board.

In the past Thompson has been found most often on the majority side of any issue arising in the office. Voting with him has usually been R. J. Creel.

Both Creel and Thompson have been much in evidence in Montgomery pushing for passage of the measure.

The implication of Section 5, has apparently not been fully realized by sponsors of the bill and other county officials who might be affected by its provisions.

A long list of changes and alterations in other districts and precincts were sought by Thompson at that time.

The County Commission declined to go along with the proposals.

Under the old law the board could recommend changes but the County Commission had the final word in making them.

The new law would change all that and leave the commission without power to block any changes de-

Proof that Section 5 should not

Brown Gets House Post Of Speaker

Senate Elects Boutwell; 1954 Bid By Folsom Seen By Legislators

By G. C. LONG, JR.

The Alabama legislature was organized Tuesday without a hitch and wth Gov.-Elect Gordon Persons's forces in the saddle—as had been anticipated.

And, in his report to the lawmakers for his four years in office, out-going Gov. James E. Folsom promised to continue his fight for reapportionment and other goals he failed to achieve during his administration.

After he had completed his address to the legislators, many said they thought it was his 1954 platform in his campaign for governor and that he was, in their opinion, still a force to be reckoned with.

Persons, speaking briefly to the legislature, said that "only history can say whether any administration has been good, bad or indifferent."

Will Take Blame

The next governor added: "I have surrounded myself with, I think, a group of good men and if my administration is not a success I will take the blame."

Rep. Roberts Brown, of Lee County, with Persons's full backing, was elected speaker of the House without opposition.

In the Senate, Senator Albert J. Boutwell, of Jefferson County, who also had the next governor's support, was elected president pro tem of the upper chamber, also without opposition.

At the opening of the 10-calendar day session which may not last beyond Wednesday, Rep. Pelham J. Merrill of Cleburne was re-elected speaker pro-tem of the House.

Also re-elected were J. Earl Speight as secretary of the Senate, a post he has held since 1923, and R. T. Goodwyn, Jr., was renamed clerk of the House. He has held that job since 1930.

Both houses come back to work at 10 a.m. Wednesday with the major item of business being the canvassing of votes for certain state officials.

The question of recess committees may also come up Wednesday but there was some speculation that it might not be taken up until the special session Persons has said he is calling Jan. 16, the day after he is inaugurated and the day he takes office.

A Finance and Taxation Interim Committee is generally considered to be a sure thing and another to take care of other matters a possibility.

It was revealed Tuesday that Persons will not stick to the idea of having one man to be his floor leader in the House.

Right now Rep. Noble J. Russell of Morgan, who was named chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and Karl C. Harrison of Shelby will carry the ball for the administration in the House and this pair may receive assistance later from others.

Lt. Gov. J. C. Inzer of Gadsden is presiding over the Senate. He will continue in that capacity until Lt. Gov.-Elect James B. Allen is inaugurated and sworn in next week.

W. M. Beck, of DeKalb, speaker in the Folsom administration, presided over Tuesday's session in the House until Brown was elected.

With activities that brought back memories of the 1947 and 1949 regular legislative sessions, the Senate Tuesday looked for a time like it might get crossed up in the adoption of its rules.

Senator Preston C. Clayton of Barbour introduced a resoltion for the adoption of the new rules, which have five major changes from the old rules, and approval was given only after a move by Senator Elvin McCary of Calhoun to amend the proposed rules was put off after considerable maneuvering.

Clayton said the changes in the rules were designed to speed up the Senate's work but would not eliminate filibusters.

Five Changes

The five major changes would:

1. Reactivate the Committee on Privileges of the Floor to cut down on crowds that jammed the upper chamber floor in the past two regular sessions.

2. Limit debate by a Senator to half an hour on any question. The old rule had a limit of an hour.

3. Require a majority vote of the Senate to dispense with the reading of the journal. The old rule provided that unanimous consent was necessary to dispense with the reading.

Provide that any member present in the Senate could be counted toward a quorum even if he refused to vote.

5. Provide that a motion to table is not debatable.

The House adopted its old rules with one major change.

In the future a member who is present in the chamber can be counted as present by the speaker even if he refuses to vote.

Lieutenant Governor-Elect Allen had previously announced his Senate standing committees but those for the House were announced by Speaker Brown Tuesday afternoon.

Members of the Senate were sworn in by Associate Justice J. Ed Livingston of the Alabama Supreme Court and members of the House and Speaker Brown by Associate Justice Thomas S. Lawson.

Speaking before the new legislature, Folsom said he would continue to fight as a "private citizen, and I do mean private," for reapportionment, a constitutional convention, repeal of the poll tax and wider exercise of the ballot.

Frequently in his report Folsom told the lawmakers to discount "propaganda" about his administration and to take the "facts" he was giving them.

The outgoing governor, who leaves office next Monday at midnight, also demanded that American troops be withdrawn from Korea and all other spots "beyond the seas."

Those sent beyond the seas, he said in his final report to the lawmakers, "should be brought within our own territory and not be sed to police the world."

Folsom, who has continually opposed intervention in foreign affairs and who once denounced the Marshall Plan as "dumping money overseas," said the way to end war is to "preach and practice economic and political democracy in our own backyard, then we can go forth and preach political and economic democracy with sincerity that will be forceful."

Although he said he will never run for public office again, Folsom's speech was interpreted by many as a forerunner of a second term campaign. And many of his close associates openly predict that he will be a gubernatorial candidate again in 1954.

Folsom's farewell speech touched on the progress he said his administration had made. He singled out his roadbuilding, higher revenues, more money for school teachers and old age pensions.

The governor also touched on paroles issued Alabama convicts in his administration, but he skipped any comment for or against the pardon-parole board or two of its members whom he appointed.

Some 2,034 convicts were freed in his administration, he told the legislature, and paroles for 5,129 were denied. Full pardons were handed out to 354 prisonres out of the 391 who applied, he added, while 291 received restoration of their civil and political rights.

The governor also said temporary paroles were granted to 710 convicts during the four-year period and that only eight failed to return.

As for his recent action in setting up a military review board to take up paroles for men who wanted to enter the army, Folsom said:

"Many of these boys are veterans who returned as heroes from the battlefields and made a few wayward steps. War taught them to kill and be ruthless Their overnight transition from soldiers was a drastic change. It is only natural for many of them to go astray.

"Society sent them to war," he continued," and I feel therefore that society must accept the responsibility to help rehabilitate them into proper citizenship."

Answering criticism of Alabama prison conditions, Folsom insisted that "vast strides of improvement" have been made since he took office.

Segregation has been put into effect, he said, by setting aside Draper prison for teen-agers, sending young boys and first offenders to six white road camps, assigning those with bad records to Atmore and putting the hardened criminals requiring maximum security in Kilby.

The Number Four and Ketona road camps, he added, have been set aside for misdemeanor cases.

Another thing that helps morale, Folsom said, is assigning road camp inmates to the one closest to their home.

He mentioned that the state's prison population was only 3,525 in 1947 but climbed to 5,300 in June, 1948. It's now 4,455, he told the legislators.

An immediate program of workable civilian defense—something Gov.-Elect Gordon Persons already has said he will present to a special session next week—also was urged by Folsom.

And the outgoing governor asked for a more tolerant attitude towards Negroes who, he said, "have been neglected too long."

"We cannot stick our heads in the sand," Folsom said, "and let the world march by without direction, without planning. The Negroes are a part of our state and our leaders have got to plan for their welfare, their needs along with the rest of their planning."

Too many Negroes, he said, have "maliciously" been denied the right to vote.

"That is not democracy in any man's language," he added.

Folsom also gave a financial report to the legislature and said, through the end of the past fiscal year Oct. 1, annual highway expenditures, exclusive of debt retirement, leaped from $12,799,000 in 1947 to $27,131,000 in 1950.

1950.

And annual federal aid and loans jumped from $2,842,000 he said, to $7,319,000 in the same period.

"Yearly net receipts to education," Folsom reported, "jumped from $32,786,000 in 1946 to $58,305,000 in 1950.

"Welfare expenditures from all sources rose from $8,922,000 to $26,026,000 per year.

"Total receipts of the general fund increased from $17,676,000 to $19,933,000."

The net indebtedness on Oct. 1, 1946, was $42,580,000, Folsom said and was down to $29,230,000 last October.

"The state of Alabama is today in a far superior financial condition than it was four years ago," Folsom commented.

Negroes To Map Strategy On Anti-Negro Registration Formula State Legislature

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — NAACP leaders from all over Alabams enraged over the anti-Negro voter-registration formula nearing passage by the State Legislature, are meeting here at one o'clock, Sunday, June 3 in a strategy conference.

The State Senate voted 29 to 3 May 25 to submit the stiff voter-qualification device as a constitutional amendment to the voters. It is that same bill which the Administration of Former Gov. James E. Folsom killed by filibuster at the last regular session of the Legislature.

The proposed voter-registration amendment would require that prospective voters be of (1) "good moral character," (2) show that they embrace the "duties and obligations of citizenship," (3) swear to loyalty oath, pass a written test prepared by the Legislature and give the Boards of Registrars power to determine fitness for registration.

The measure now goes to the House for consideration.

W. C. Patton, president of the Alabama State Conference of NAACP Branches, in calling the meeting, said that ways of implementing the Supreme Court decision on higher education would also be taken up.

Other matters to be discussed are: Election of a delegate to the Annual Conference which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, June 26 to July 1, 1951 inclusive; the place of meeting of the 1951 State Conference; organizing a fund raising campaign and finally to explore the possibilities of Negroes sharing equal benefits of the recreation and amusement tax now being collected by various cities and towns.

The statewide conference will climax with a monster mass meeting at the First CME Church where the Rev. J. L. Ware of Birmingham will be the feature speaker. Rev. Ware is pastor of Trinity Baptist Church and president of the Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference. The Rev. R. O. Brothery is pastor of the host church

Assist For The Black Belt

News reports credit state senators from the Black Belt with defeat of a proposal to submit to Alabama voters a constitutional amendment that would have lowered the minimum voting age from 21 to 19. By and large, the Black Belt deserves blame, or credit, for defeat of the measure, for of the 14 who voted in opposition, eight are from senatorial districts wholly or partly within the belt.

However, six non-Black Belt senators voted against the measure. Had any one of them voted on the other side, the proposal would have passed. As it was, 20 senators supported it, only one short of the three-fifths majority required for a constitutional amendment.

The Black Belt is not solely responsible for the defeat of the amendment. But the Black Belt senators, as a group, rather consistently have voted against any plan that promised to change the size and composition of the electorate.

The position of the six non-Black Belt senators—Boutwell of Jefferson, Johnston of Mobile, Skidmore of Tuscaloosa, Richardson of Lawrence and Morgan, Sollie of Dale and Geneva, and Johnson of Chambers and Randolph—is, of course, different. No regional feelings influenced them. For them the simple question was whether to submit a proposal to lower the minimum voting age.

Apart from the question of whether 19-year-olds should be permitted to vote, there is the point that it is hardly accurate to accuse the Black Belt of being able to defeat constitutional proposals at will. In this, as in several other instances, the Black Belt has had help.

Senate Rejects Bill To Permit Voting At 19

House OKs Measure For Re-Registration

MONTGOMERY, July 24 (AP)—The Alabama Senate today rejected an appeal that boys old enough to fight are old enough to vote.

They defeated a constitutional amendment by Sen. Judson Locke of Perry to lower the voting age to 19. The measure fell one vote short of the required three-fifths majority. The count was 20-14, with mostly Black Belt members against.

Then, the senaotrs passed a House-approved constitutional amendment to exempt veterans of Korea and any other future conflict from the state poll tax.

The House spent the afternoon passing non-controversial bills.

Among those approved and sent to the Senate was one by Macon Rep. Sam Engelhardt providing for a re-registration of voters when a county government body feels the voting list needs purging.

3 Counties Exempted

An amendment was tacked on exempting Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery counties which already have special local registration laws.

Nearest thing to fireworks came on a motion to send back to committee a bill limiting garnishment suits.

This measure, by Rep. George Hawkins of Etowah, proposed to stop such litigation except on debts for certain essentials including food, medicine, house rent and alimony.

The bill was recommitted over Hawkins' objections. Later, the House refused to reconsider its vote when Rep. Larry Dumas of Jefferson proposed a substitute to restrict operation of the bill to small loan firms.

Money Bill Compromise

A compromise general appropriations bill calling for $20,132,270 to be spent in the 1951-52 fiscal year and $20,499,379 the following 12 months was reported back to both houses today.

The action followed a joint meeting of the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance and Taxation Committees. Gov. Gordon Persons met with the committees when final approval was given.

The spending averages about $700,000 more than the appropriations measure passed by the 1949 Legislature.

Among other things, it provides for the first time in history, a specific amount to be spent by the Revenue Department.

Previously, the department could spend any amount it wished on enforcing tax collections.

Ala. Passes Vote Formula

By a 72 to 13 vote Tuesday, August 15, 1951, the Alabama House of Representatives approved an "anti-Negro voting formula."

How The Jefferson Legislators Voted:

Representative	67 Senator	Bonner Vote Bill
James G. Adams, Jr.	NO	Not Voting
William Henry Beatty	YES	YES
Lawerence Dumas, Jr.	NO	Not Voting
Hugh Kaul	NO	Not Voting
J. Paul Meeks	NO	Not Voting
Thomas E. Huey, Sr.	NO	YES
J. B. Morgan	NO	Not Voting

Conclusions: Only one of the Jefferson county solons voted in favor of the "unfair and undemocratic" 67 senator amendment. Not a single one of the seven solons voted against the anti-Negro "Bonner Vote Curb Bill." One voted for it and six others failed to register either for or against... The above roll call voting record figures were taken from The Birmingham Post-Herald, August 15, 1951.

The new proposal would require prospective voters to:

1. Understand and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the U. S. Constitution.
2. Be of good moral character.
3. Take a non-Communist oath.
4. Answer a questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court.

Killing A Bad Poll-Tax Bill

It is not often in the Alabama Legislature that a bill which has passed one house by a large majority is quietly killed by a committee of the other house without a word of explanation. But that is what happened to a Senate-approved measure which would have limited back poll-tax payments in all but 10 counties of the state to two years. Such action raises a suspicion that the bill in question was a bad one, as it was.

The Senate had passed the measure 21 to 8. It would have exempted 10 Black Belt counties, Wilcox, Dallas, Perry, Lowndes, Hale, Butler, Macon, Bullock, Greene and Barbour. Exemption of these counties had been sought obviously because of their heavy Negro populations.

In the House, the bill was referred to the constitution committee. After holding the bill about 10 days, the committee announced it had been killed. No hearings were held on the measure, and the decision putting it to death apparently was reached quietly.

But it is not hard to hazard a guess as to the reason for this procedure. The bill was clearly unconstitutional inasmuch as it tried to draw a distinction between two groups of counties based on race and race only. Such a distinction hardly squares up with the federal provision that no one shall be denied the ballot by reason of race. Placing a much higher maximum poll-tax payment in counties with large Negro populations, just because they had such populations, is the kind of discrimination the Supreme Court would not have tolerated. The House constitution committee probably thought this.

The way is still open, however, for genuine poll-tax reforms. Alabama today is one of only five states which still impose a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. It is the only state requiring payment for more than two back years. The maximum here is 24 years. Our poll tax is particularly onerous and hence a source of much irritation. Moreover, with all persons above 45 and all war veterans exempt, the tax is of little importance as a revenue producer.

Gov. Persons, while not always clear as to the details of his position, has generally opposed the cumulative provision of Alabama's poll-tax law. A study by the American Institute of Public Opinion indicates that most adult Alabamians dislike the poll tax in any form.

There is still time for the Legislature to pass a sound poll-tax reform bill about which there would be no constitutional question.

Would Strengthen Wool-Hat Counties

'Bama Politicos Seeking To 'Choke' Voting Power

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Black Belt and small county politicians formed an alliance to send to the voters a proposed "Negro-vote-choking" amendment to replace the invalidated "Boswell Amendment."

Voting 72 to 13 last Tuesday, Aug. 14, the Alabama House of Representatives approved the Senate-passed anti-Negro vote formula which was the brainchild of Senator J. M. (Bull) Bonner of Wilcox County.

Representatives from Jefferson (Birmingham) County either voted for the proposed voter-qualification amendment or abstained from voting. Lawmakers from Mobile did not oppose the new-style Boswell amendment.

OKAY CLAUSE

The same coalition passed in the Senate "67 Senator Amendment" and voted to redistribute the House membership on the same basis as it now exists.

The Alabama Supreme Court has said that a similar "senator-for-every-county bill" was unconstitutional because it fails to be guided by population figures. This amendment would have the same effect as the Georgia unit system because it would give the sparsely populated counties as much representation in the Senate as the large counties.

This is how the Jefferson legislators voted:

Representative	67 Sen. Amendment	Bonner vote bill
J. G. Adams Jr.	No	Not voting
Wm. H. Beatty	Yes	Yes
L. Dumas Jr.	No	Not voting
Hugh Kaul	No	Not voting
J. Paul Meeks	No	Not voting
T. E. Huey Sr.	No	Yes
J. B. Morgan	No	Not voting

NONE AGAINST

Conclusions: Only one of the Jefferson County solons voted in favor of the "unfair and undemocratic" 67 senator amendment. Not a single one of the seven solons voted against the anti-Negro "Bonner Vote Curb Bill." Two voted for it and five others failed to register either for or against.

The above roll call voting record figures were taken from The Birmingham Post-Herald, Aug. 15, 1951.

The new proposal would require prospective voters to:

1—Understand and embrace the duties and obligations of the U. S. Constitution.

2—Be of good moral character.

3—Take a non-Communist oath.

4—Answer a questionnaire prepared by the State Supreme Court.

Listed, along with their city and county respectively, are the following Representatives who voted "No" on a roll call:

Robert H. Brown, Opelika, Lee; Horace T. Armstrong, Scottsboro, Jackson; Chester M. Black, Jasper, Walker; Joe M. Lawkins, Montgomery, Montgomery; Paul Corbun, Tuscumbia, Colbert; H. James Hall, Montgomery, Montgomery; George C. Hawkins, Gadsden, Etowah; Edward F. (Ed) Morgan, Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa; Charles Thomason, Anniston, Calhoun; Lewis H. Tumlin, Anniston, Calhoun; Henry W. White, Cullman, Cullman. (One opposition vote was apparently missed.)

Twenty Representatives were recorded as "Not voting" which apparently added up to a "no" vote. Lawmakers from nine counties stood up and voted against the "Bonner Amendment."

The amendments will be submitted to the voters ninety days after the Legislature adjourns.

The Birmingham News in a hard-hitting editorial Aug. 13 criticized the three amendments, calling the acts "backward stands."

The voter qualification amendment is the same one that died in the 1949 legislature in a final-day log-jam in the Senate.

New Requirements

It would require prospective voters to be of "good moral character" and to understand and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship as set out in the U. S. constitution.

About the only requirement for registration now is that a prospective voter be able to read and write or own property valued at $300.

The state's Boswell amendment which set up qualifications for voters was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1948.

The bill passed by a vote of 72 to 13.

The bill to reduce the cumulative feature of the poll tax to four years lost because it failed to get the 64 affirmative votes required for the passage of a constitutiotnal amendment.

Vote on the measure was 49 for to 46 against.

As introduced the bill called for the cumulative feature, which now runs for 24 years between the ages of 21 and 45 and could mean a payment of $36, to be reduced to two years.

A House committee upped that to four years and the lower chamber concurred but then went on to kill the measure.

Earlier the House constitution and elections committee killed a bill that would have cut poll tax payments to two years except in 10 Black Belt counties.

Before the House passed the proposal that could pave the way for each county to have a senator it beat down two resolutions asking the justices of the Alabama Supreme Court for advisory opinions on the constitutionality of that measure and one that calls for reapportioning the House according to its present membership.

Referendum likely—

67-Senator bill lled by lt group

New 'Boswell' act is also passed during session

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 15—A combination of Black Belt and upstate small county legislators yesterday passed—in steamroller fashion—the so-called 67 senator and voter qualification amendments.

Then, for good measure, the same combination voted over a bill "reapportioning" the House according to Black Belt ideas. The bill approved merely reenacts the House reapportionment law which has been in effect since 1901.

Yesterday's action on the three bills, centering in the House, was the culmination of a so-called political horse trade staged two months ago intended to enable both the Black Belt and the small North Alabama counties to seize power.

It gave the Black Belt—if ratified—the long anticipated club which should enable the Black Belt counties to restrict voting largely to white residents.

And, on the other hand, the same deal resulted in passage of a device by which small counties hope to regain the whip hand over the larger and wealthier counties in the Senate.

* * *

ONE MEASURE, in other words, would accelerate the suppression of voting and the other would give the voter in the small counties many times the voting advantage in the Senate over the voters in the larger counties.

Both proposals would amend the constitution. They were passed in the Senate several weeks ago. As a result of the House's action yesterday, they will be submitted to the voters in a special election 90 days after final adjournment of the Legislature.

They will be submitted at the same time Gov. Person's $25,000,000 road bond amendment is submitted.

The so-called 67 senator proposal does not actually allow each county a senator. Its direct purpose is to knock out the constitutional provision requiring that the Senate may not be any larger than one-third the House membership nor less than one-fourth.

If it is ratified it is presumed the next move would be to pass a bill allowing each county a senator.

* * *

THE VOTER qualification amendment is similar to the invalidated Boswell amendment. It is the same measure that died on the calendar in the Senate in 1949. Among other qualifications would be tests to prove that the would-be voter understands the duties and obligations of citizenship.

The Supreme Court already has held that any reapportionment of the Senate must be on a population basis. For that reason, it has been widely predicted that if the so-called 67-senator amendment which passed yesterday could be construed by the high court it would be held invalid.

On the other hand, it has been predicted that the voter qualification likewise might be knocked out if the Supreme Court ruled on it.

Both sides in the Black-Belt-North Alabama county deal were particularly alert against efforts to ask the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion on the so-called 67-senator proposal.

* * *

IN ITS ACTION on the two amendments and the House "reapportionment" bill, the majority functioned in steam roller fashion.

They forced over at the start a motion calling for "the previous" question. Opponents, outnumbered, were helpless. Rep. Larry Dumas, Jefferson, read a substitute which he said would call for a reapportionment of the House on a population basis, along with the Senate proposal.

House members, however, would not give him a chance to put the proposal to a vote because the procedure of calling for the previous question not only blocked all amendments but arguments as well.

As a result of the "previous question" restriction, there was no debate whatever on three of perhaps the most controversial measures to come before the 1951 Legislature.

The so-called 67-senator amendment passed by a 77 to 21 vote. On the next proposal, the voter qualification amendment, the vote was even more decisive. The tally was 72 to 13.

The so-called House reapportionment bill passed 57 to 31.

Alabama's Brave 13

Here is the "Honor Roll' of the 1951 House of Representatives as shown by the roll-call vote on the infamous "Bonner Vote Restriction Amendment" on Tuesday, August 15 in Montgomery, Alabama. There were 13 lawmakers who had the courage and decency to vote against the vicious, undemocratic and impractical proposed voter-qualification amendment which passed the Lower House by a vote of 72 to 13. Voting "NO" on a roll call were these Representatives:

NAME	CITY	COUNTY
ROBERT H. BROWN	Opelika	Lee
HORACE T. ARMSTRONG	Scottsboro	Jackson
CHESTER M. BLACK	Jasper	Walker
JOE M. DAWKINS	Montgomery	Montgomery
PAUL CORBUN	Tuscumbia	Colbert
H. JAMES HALL	Montgomery	Montgomery
GEORGE C. HAWKINS	Gadsden	Etowah
EDWARD F. (ED) MORGAN	Tuscaloosa	Tuscaloosa
I. P. SHELTON	Tuscaloosa	Tuscaloosa
CHARLES THOMASON	Anniston	Calhoun
LEWIS H. TUMLIN	Anniston	Calhoun
HENRY W. WHITE	Cullman	Cullman

One opposition vote was apparently missed.

Twenty Representatives were recorded as "Not Voting" which apparently added up to a "NO" vote. Lawmakers from nine counties stood up and voted against the "Bonner Amendment."

The work of liberty loving leadership is cut out for them. The war drums of those would restrict political freedom along racial, economic and religious lines were sounded last week in the Alabama House of Representatives by the vote which submits to the voters a voter-qualification formula worse, in our opinion, than the invalidated "Boswell Amendment."

Those who believe in a fair ballot enrollment law must fight this evil amendment. The fight must be waged until a fair voter-registration law which can be evenly administered, presented and enacted. The "Bonner Amendment" can be beaten at the polls.

Out of this fight against the "Bonner Vote Law" is likely to emerge the new leadership which this state needs. Too many of our leaders sat back and said nothing while this bad law was being written and rushed to passage. The people must not be caught napping as were their leaders. The time is at hand to do the double job of building a new leadership and battering down the foul Black Belt vote formula.

MACON COUNTY
Advertiser-Wed.8-22-51

There Is Talk Of Partitioning Macon County To Preserve White Supremacy -

By Joe Azbell
Of The Advertiser Staff

IN MACON COUNTY there is talk of dividing of the county to preserve the white political structure.



AZBELL

Macon's troubled legislator, Sam Engelhardt, planter-ginner-merchant of Shorter, has announced that in 1953 he and Black Belt colleagues will try out gerrymandering of county boundaries to prevent future Negro political domination.

The idea, which would be based on the census, would give Macon and any other county an opportunity to "protect" themselves from the "dangers" that lie in the Negro populations in the counties being greater than the white population.

Under the plan, white control at the polls would be preserved.

Alabama magazine, in discussing the plan last week, pointed out that: "For example, by slicing off a portion of eastern Macon County and adding it to Lee, where Negro voting is not yet a problem, Legislator Engelhardt calculates a reduction in the proportionate strength of the Negro vote in his county."

Macon citizens are keenly aware that this year the county registered 24 Negroes to vote in contrast to 34 white registrants. There are 624 registered Negro voters in Macon.

Gerrymandering is not a new wrinkle. It has been used to retain or gain political control by forming voting districts of like-minded people.

As the most important sponsor of the gerrymanding movement, Engelhardt admits that he fears that his county might fall prey to the "monster" of Negro political domination.

A likeable, forthright Black Belter, he ran for his office with the slogan of "keep Macon white." He is an impassioned white supremacist.

ADVOCATES of partitioning Macon are looking to the future—5, 10, 25 years hence, when possibly Negroes would flock to the polls.

There is no "realistic" racial trouble in Macon County at present. Except for very scattered and infrequent instances, the races have lived and worked together here with a notable lack of physical friction.

The problem is political in nature at the present but there is fear that it could grow economic and social.

Some whites believe communists are trying to stir up Negroes here, but no one is able to prove that.

The actual clue to the fears of whites here is the guerrilla type methods of "gnat-fighting" Negroes are reported to be using to pester the white power.

Advertisements, placed in conspicuous positions in Tuskegee, Montgomery, Birmingham, and other newspapers, have demanded action against Macon County's board of registrars for disfranchising Negro voters. There has even been talk among Negro groups that Macon County would be used as a testing ground for ballot battles. Petitions, N. A. A. C. P. meetings, the so-called "sassy" ways of some Macon Negroes, have handicapped good relations.

That the Negro groups in Tuskegee are powerful is attested by the N. A. A. C. P. chapter there being recognized nationally for its work. Then, too, there is the Tuskegee Civic League and still other powerful, but smaller groups. The Southern Regional Council has many members among Macon Negroes.

It is the constant, unconfirmed declaration of Macon whites that Tuskegee Negroes vote in a "bloc"—that they are led by overzealous leaders.

★ ★ ★

THE biggest "gnat" that seems to plague Macon whites is Charles G. Gomillion, who constantly is accused of "agitating" for trouble. Gomillion is no Uncle Tom. Naturally he advocates political participation for members of his race.

As the dean of students at Tuskegee Institute, he has wide contacts. The label of "pink" has, of course, been placed on him by whites here. Whether he is a "pink" or not depends on one's definition. His biographical sketch in *Who's Who in America* shows he is a a member or official in these groups: People's Cooperative Association, Tuskegee Institute Federal Credit Union, Tuskegee Civic Association, Southern Regional Council, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Alabama State Teachers Association, American Association for Adult Education, American Association of Social Science Teachers, American Teachers Association, Association for Study of Negro Life and History, National Committee for Mental Hygiene Among Negroes, National Education Association, Rural Sociological Society, Southern Sociological Society, Tuskegee Mental Hygiene Association, and United Public Workers of America—CIO.

Three of these organizations have been cited as communist fronts by the Un-American Activities Committee.

The National Federation of Constitutional Liberties was called by the Un-American Activities Committee "one of the most viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."

Attorney General [now Justice] Tom Clark cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as "subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, USA."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a "communist front organization" by a special Un-American Activities Committee.

However, it should be noted that membership in one of these organizations does not prove anything.

Anyway, Gomillion is a symbol—not the cause—of the Macon problem. It has been in the making ever since the Civil War.

★ ★ ★

THE writings of out-of-state authors and newspapermen about Tuskegee and Tuskegee Institute has also strained the fabric of relations. One example, which was mentioned here to me, is John Gunther's book, *Inside U. S. A.*, in which he wrote after a visit to Tuskegee:

"The stores are owned by men with fine old Anglo-Saxon or Celtic names. Mostly—though I would not presume to generalize from this—the Negroes clustering at bus stops and in the village streets seemed more animated, better dressed, and had a higher level of courtesy than the whites."

Tuskegee has a Negro weekly, published by a white man and proclaiming the colored element's economic existence. White merchants solicit the Negro's business in it.

The copies examined by this reporter did not discuss any type of racial issues or problems..

While the fear in Tuskegee is that Negroes will become politically dominant, Tuskegee Institute, a main factor in the issue, has been criticized by many for remaining within the wraps of what is called the "Tuskegee Compromise." That is, the school is completely Negro, although whites sit on its board of trustees. As a 100% Negro institute, the school, by its action, recognizes segregation. It rejects applicant white students.

Tuskegee Institute and the Negro Veterans Administration Hospital here bring many dollars to merchants. They are so important, this reporter was told by whites, that merchants arrange their weekly half-closing day so that it will not fall on the same day that hospital workers receive their paychecks. While unconfirmed, there are rumors here that Negroes often boycott some merchants.

MACON COUNTY
Advertiser- Sun. 8-26-51

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must appear on the letter ★ But the name will be withheld on request at the Editor's discretion ★ Write legibly on one side of the paper only ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless the Editor knows who wrote it.

Partitioning Of Macon No Answer

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I read your article relative to the partitioning of Macon County to preserve "white supremacy", and I must admit that I was very much amused at the apparent frustration that possesses many people in Macon County, particularly Mr. Sam Engelhardt.

I can truthfully say that the prime objective of the Macon County Negroes who now vote is to achieve clean and honest government in the county, to achieve an equitable distribution of funds spent by the county government for the welfare of all county citizens regardless of class or race. This being true, with all the fuss and fear boiling up and the anguished cry being sounded that county government in Macon is being threatened by "sassy" Negroes, one can only conclude that we do not have honest and clean government in this county, that the expended funds are not made on an even basis.

If our challenge of county policy in reference to taxation without representation is detrimental to county government then perhaps Mr. Engelhardt has ample grounds for worry. Perhaps something has been going on under cover over a long period of time that would not set democracy in such a pleasant light throughout the world if brought to the surface, especially since democracy is on the defensive against the many world "isms".

As to bloc voting, all voters vote in a bloc for any candidate of their choice. This issue seems to me to be very weak. I suppose Mr. Engelhardt feels strongly on this issue since he received very few, if any, votes from Negro voters in the last election. This was true because he campaigned on the platform of "white supremacy", and allied himself with the Dixiecrats.

No self-respecting Negro would have voted for him knowing that he was anti-Negro, even anti-democratic.

To castigate Mr. Engelhardt for his views would be unfair, even brutal. After all he is just a symbol of a vast number of people who are victims of mental disease as a result of their hate, frustration, and fear. These people cannot adjust to the changing times and will become more and more encompassed by this tragic disease.

Just as there are millions of "Engelhardts" there are millions of underprivileged people that are "Gomillions" who are willing to fight, suffer, even die for those things they feel should be rightfully theirs. Mr. Gomillion is a cultured, highly respected gentleman who Macon County Negroes greatly respect. He is a fearless crusader, a man of firm convictions. Let there be no doubt in the mind of anyone that Mr. Gomillion is the only one of his kind in Macon and if he were forced out the issue would be settled. Every intelligent Negro, not only in Tuskegee, not only in Macon or Alabama, but in America, is a "Gomillion". And these "Gomillions" will continue to fight, by legal means, until the battle of freedom is won.

We are not communist but "red-blooded" Americans. We bore arms for this country with the hope that the coming of peace would bring a more enlightened citizenry; a citizenry that would see the fallacy of trying to maintain this vicious system of socio-economic segregation. This appears to have come about. The future looks bright.

The "Engelhardts", strong though they may be, will not be able to stop this rolling tide.

No, the partitioning of Macon County is not the answer. The South, as well as the rest of America, is in the process of social change. The preservation of democracy and human freedom will depend upon the re-education of those Americans who do not know the meaning of democracy and human dignity.

J. THOMAS WILSON.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Boswell not satisfied with Third District vote ruling

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 12—A States' Rights leader said "some Dixiecrats won't go along with" recent action of a subcommittee in kicking out four Democratic regulars in the Third District.

This "Dixiecrat stacked" subcommittee of four States' Righters and one national party loyalist had declared four States' Rights contestants elected in place of the loyalists to the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Geneva's E. C. (Bud) Boswell, long-time committee member from the Third District, said "They've got to convince some of us Dixiecrats yet that the subcommittee was right in taking the action it did without counting all the ballots." Boswell said he wanted to see Dixiecrats win, but "I want them to win fairly."

The subcommittee, headed by Birmingham's H. M. Abercrombie, had declared the four Dixiecrats elected without checking all ballots in Coffee County, none in Lee and only one box in Russell County. Voting irregularities were charged in these three counties.

MEANTIME, Coleman Long, Uniontown, one of the Dixiecrat majority on the subcommittee, said the group investigating the vote contests "acted on the known facts," in declaring four States' Righters elected.

"The law is mandatory and clear," said Long. "We followed it. We simply acted on the known facts in hand, such as the signing of returns by people who were not even qualified voters, and worse irregularities."

But one of the four States' Righters on the subcommittee had disagreed with Abercrombie, Long and Mobile's William E. Johnston, who signed the majority report.

Gadsden's Herbert Meighan, only national party adherent on the subcommittee, and Richard T. Rives, Montgomery counsel for the four Democrats kicked off the committee, have given notice the case will be appealed to the new state committee. Loyalists have a majority on it.

Outgoing State Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, States' Rights spearhead, has called a meeting of the old committee at Montgomery for 10 a.m. Monday. This is one hour before the time for members of the new committee to organize it and elect a new chairman.

* * *

BOSWELL, WHO has been mentioned as a compromise candidate for the chairmanship, said McCorvey's action in calling the old committee together for a last-hour session was unprecedented.

"Apparently he wants the old committee to ratify action of the subcommittee," said Boswell.

In his call, McCorvey said the old committee was being called "for the purpose of hearing the reports of officers and for disposing of any other business which may come before the said meeting."

Democratic regulars have enough votes on the new committee to elect one of their number as chairman. Ben Ray, Ninth; Cliff Almon, Eighth, and Roy Mayhall, Seventh, all have been prominently mentioned for the post.

LONG, in commenting further on the contests and the subcommittee's action, said:

"Personally, I do not believe any large scale, planned fraud condition existed in Lee County and I hope no stigma will attach to its good name.

"The most flagrant charges came in Russell County. Had the evidence not been suppressed, it was our purpose to take more time, subpoena a great many witnesses and, if the facts warranted, recommend prosecutions."

Court proceedings restrained, at least temporarily, the group from county ballots in Lee and Russell Counties.

May Recommend That Constitution Be Cleaned of Levy

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Declaring that Alabama's $1.50 per year poll tax has "outlived its usefulness," Gov. Gordon Persons Thursday said he was going to ask the Legislature to abolish the levy.

In announcing that he would recommend that the poll tax be erased completely from the statute books and the state Constitution, Persons went beyond his campaign promise.

In his platform, the Governor stated he would advocate a two year maximum payment instead of the present system under which new voters can be made to pay up to twenty-four years of the tax at $1.50 a year before being eligible to cast a ballot.

Persons came out for abolishing the pol tax, "which to me has outlived its purpose," at a joint meeting of the legislative committees on finance and taxation and revision of laws.

WOULD LIMIT TAX

The Governor said that if the Legislature would not abolish the poll tax in its entirety he would support a proposal to limit the vicious feature.

Persons also disclosed that he would "sponsor and push to the best of our ability" some form of legislative reapportionment, but declined to outline any specific plan.

Black Belt counties, with heavy Negro populations but few Negro voters, usually represented by rabid white supremacists, have consistently opposed reapportionment for fear of losing strength in the Legislature. Anti-Negro voter restriction schemes are usually sponsored by Black Belt members in the law-making body.

The poll tax aboliton and reapportionment issues were both high on the legislative program of former Governor James E. Folsom. However, he was unsuccessful in his effort to have them adopted.

AROUND THE TOWN

VETERANS

The 30-post, 1700-member Tenth District, (all-Negro) of the Alabama American Legion is holding its 1952 session in Tuscaloosa, Ala. There are approximately 100,000 Negro war veterans in Alabama. In Jefferson County alone, there are an estimated 20,000 Negro veterans. There are more than twice as many Negro veterans in Alabama as there are qualified Negro voters. In Jefferson County, there are four times as many Negro veterans as there are qualified Negro voters. Veterans do not have to pay poll tax. But they do have to register to vote. Less than 5,000 of the 108,000 Negro citizens of voting age in Jefferson County have their names on the voting rolls. This is a disgrace to the vote-age citizens and a reflection on the civic-minded leadership of the city. It shows up the lack of influence among our leaders, the ploddiness of voter-registration campaigns and the apathy of citizens generally toward the ballot, the core of first-class citizeship. One who desires to become a voter has an opportunity to register at the Courthouse now. What is the "Committee of 100 Women," the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, the Birmingham Interracial Committee, the NAACP, the Greater-Birmingham Negro Business League, and other organizations doing to assist, to prod, to induce, to lead citizens to the registration office? Check their record during this period.

Vote Restriction Act Signed in Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (NNPA) Gov. Gordon Persons has approved a re-registration act which was rushed through the legislature on Sept. 6, (Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile Counties being exempt from the provisions of the measure,) and which is designed to disenfranchise a large number of colored voters.

Introduced by Rep. Sam M. Englehardt Jr. of Shorter, Macon County, the seat of Tuskegee Institute, it calls for re-registration of all voters since 1901. It gives arbitrary powers to the boards of registrars in 64 counties to determine who will get their names back on the voting rolls.

40,000 May Lose Vote

It is estimated that under the provisions of the act, 40,000 colored voters will lose their right to vote unless a method is found to compel the boards to administer the measure fairly.

Representative Englehardt, son-in-law of State Sen. J. Miller (Bull) Gonner, an ardent "white supremacy" advocate, has advocated dividing Macon County so as to preserve "white rule."

At Tuskegge, the new law was discussed at a recent meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association. Officers of the association indicated that the act will be challenged in the courts.

"Surprised" by Governor

A number of colored persons expressed surprise that Governor Persons would sign the act which was widely seen as a device to get rid of colored voters on the rolls and prevent many colored persons from ever becoming voters.

At Birmingham, an NAACP spokesman, who asked that his name be not used, said the association's legal staff had examined the act and was of the opinion that it violates the Alabama State Constitution.

Rigid New Voter Curb Bill Passes Senate, But Final Outcome Of Measure Is Obscure

Advocates of white supremacy finally got a rigid new voter qualification bill through the state Senate Friday after several false starts. It passed by a vote of 29-3.

But the final outcome remained obscure. The measure, a constitutional amendment, still has to overcome possible stubborn opposition in the House. And if it gets by that barrier, it must be ratified by the people before taking effect.

First introduced two years ago as a substitute for the outlawed Boswell amendment, the present proposal would require new voters to satisfy county boards of registrars that they were of "good moral character."

They would have to show, too, that they embraced the "duties and obligations of citizenship, and also pass a written examination drawn up by the State Supreme Court.

Since the Boswell amendment was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, Alabama has had virtually no requirements for voter registration. Almost anyone is eligible if he or she can read and write or owns $300 worth of property.

The Boswell plan, admittedly aimed at Negro voting, had much stricted requirements. It required voters to be able to "understand and explain" the federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars.

It was knocked out by the Supreme Court on the ground that it gave the registration boards "unlimited discretion" to approve or reject any applicant for voting rights.

Opponents of the substitute proposal which passed the Senate Friday argued that its "good character" restriction would run afoul of the courts for the same reason.

The ease with which it cleared the Senate was in sharp contrast to the spectacular filibuster which throttled an identical measure in the 1949 session. It came up again in the series of special sessions last year, but with no success.

The bitter dispute over the issue of Negro voting that marked the Boswell Amendment campaign in 1946 was absent from Friday's debate. Neither does the proposed amendment mention either race.

But the proposed new amendment is sponsored chiefly by senators whose counties have a predominantly Negro population.

Approval of the "good character" bill left little hope for passage of another measure, by Senator Elvin McCary of Calhoun County, to set up voter qualifications.

McCary's bill, which would let the legislature establish definite educational qualifications for prospective voters, has been at the top of the Senate calendar for several legislative days.

The voter qualification bill that passed was signed by these Senators: John Pinson of Sumter, C. Mac Golson of Lowndes, J. Miller Bonner of Wilcox, George Quarles of Dallas, Robert Locke of Choctaw, Judson Locke of Perry, Thomas A. Johnston, III, of Mobile, Mike Sollie, III, of Dale, Herbert Byars of Hale, E. O. Eddins of Marengo, Sam High of St. Clair, Joe Foster of Madison, Werth Thagard of Butler and Lawrence K. Andrews of Bullock.

A New Board Of Registrars

One of the tasks facing the new state administration is the appointment of county boards of registrars. There are 67 boards in the state, one for each county, and each board has a chairman and two associate members. Their task is extremely important: the registration of qualified voters. Each board is appointed by the governor, the state auditor and the commissioner of agriculture. A board is normally appointed for a term of four years, but any or all members may be removed from office at any time by majority vote of the three appointing officers.

The new boards will be appointed sometime between now and Oct. 1, at which time they take office.

In Jefferson County the board is presently composed of J. E. Fleming as chairman and H. A. (Gus) Thompson and R. J. Creel as associates.

This paper hopes that when Gov. Persons, Auditor John Brandon and Commissioner Frank Stewart make the new appointments to the Jefferson County Board they will make a clean sweep. It hopes that the new board will be composed of men carefully chosen because of their fitness for this important task, part of which must, by its nature, be judicial. The board has to make certain decisions within the framework of the law, and those decisions, relating to the important matter of the franchise, need to be made by men who are unprejudiced and intelligently capable of deciding fairly and properly who shall be granted the right to vote.

In February, 1948, *The News* inquired closely into the qualifications possessed by the board at that time. Two of the members then on the board are still serving. Neither is a high school graduate. The board, according to the inquiry, functioned then with wide variations and inconsistencies in its practices.

> The greatest indictment against the board came on Feb. 10, 1950, when a Grand Jury charged "senile and bigoted bickering" among the members and held that its findings had shown failure "to perform the duties prescribed by law." It recommended dismissal of all three members. Then it urged appointing authorities in making future appointments to give careful consideration to the ability of such members "harmoniously to discharge their duties to the citizens of Jefferson County, irrespective of the personal prejudices or political affiliations of such board members, and that such appointees be of a caliber that they will be capable of impartially and promptly discharging their duties."

Nothing ever came of that report and recommendation. The chairman of the board shortly thereafter resigned to accept another political appointment, but the two associate members are still serving.

When the governor, the auditor and the commissioner make their choices, we hope they will bear in mind the report of the Grand Jury.

Appeal to Citizens, Governor

Tuskegee Civic Ass'n Deplores Inactivity Of County Registrars

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—Seeking to ferrett out why Macon County "does not have a functioning Board of Registrars," the Tuskegee Civic Association appealed to the citizens of Macon County, the Governor, the State Auditor, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries here last week in a pair of open letters.

The group told the Governor that no certificates have been issued and only a few applications have been accepted since the present chairman took office about twelve weeks ago. The association further avers that 153 applications are now on hand.

Asserting that "no satisfactory explanation has been received" the Tuskegeeans declared, "We wonder whether or not the registrars are being paid for what they are now doing."

In their missive addressed to Macon County citizens, the critics said that although eleven applications have been received by the board, none of the would-be voters has received a certificate of eligibility. They asked further, "Is this what the citizens of Macon County want?" and appealed to the citizens to inquire "into the practices of the present board, and help us to discover why certificates are not being issued."

Ballot Fraud Committee Gets A Chilly Reception In Coffee County

By Geoffrey Birt
Staff Writer, The Alabama Journal

DOWN in Coffee County the folks seem vexed because H. M. Abercrombie, Birmingham, and his vote investigating committee propose tossing out 40 or 50% of the May 2 ballots.



Geoffrey Birt

When Abercrombie's men arrived at the Elba courthouse two weeks ago they found the atmosphere chilly.

Faced with the job of counting almost 6,000 ballots, Abercrombie; Coleman Long, Uniontown; William Johnston, Mobile, and unwilling Democrat Herbert Meighan, Gadsden, asked Sheriff H. D. Tillman if he could get them some help. But no one came.

Later that day, Dixiecrat Long ruefully stated that "The sheriff has apparently been unable to find anyone." The committee buckled down to the task of counting the votes themselves. The job is still incomplete. Abercrombie's party found themselves segregated, while some courthouse officials played host to Democrat Meighan, and friends.

Abercrombie tried to soothe wrathful veteran F. M. Farris, a power around Elba, and chairman of the Coffee County Democratic Executive Committee, by telling him, "After all, we are all Democrats."

Farris, who had offered his testimony "on a stack of Bibles from the floor to the sky," refused to be soothed. He told the portly Abercrombie: "You are no Democrat and you're not getting into bed with me."

Circuit Solicitor Eris Paul glided in and out of the courtroom making little effort to disguise his known dislike of what he saw. The probate judge and other courthouse officials seemed to ignore the whole affair.

This investigating committee is composed of five men. Four of them are Dixiecrats. They question whether the election in the 3rd District of four Democrats instead of four Dixiecrats to the policy-making state committee was legal.

Democrat Atty. Dick Rives, Montgomery, has said he would not have contested the committee's efforts if two Dixiecrats, two Democrats, and a fifth man acceptable to both, had formed the committee.

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ABERCROMBIE is a friend of former Gov. Dixon and a walk-out delegate at Philadelphia in 1948.

Johnston is the son of influential Mobile Atty. Sam Johnston, about whom more later.

Long is a Black Belt cotton planter, a scholar and a gentleman, and once a track sprinter at Princeton.

Another member of the committee is Frank J. Mizell, Montgomery. He is a Wiregrass man and former solicitor of Covington County.

Mizell and Long are "lame duck" committeemen. Democrat Meighan did not seek re-election.

A LEADING sponsor for this investigation is Wallace D. Malone the Dothan banker, now touring Africa.

The nominal contestees are Ben Ray, Fred Garner, T. E. Buntin, Yetta Samford, R. H. Shelley, W. D. Adams and S. M. Ard. But they've only been heard from once, and seen once, in all the court proceedings and maneuverings which have taken place, though Samford took a private look-see in the Opelika courthouse, Thursday.

Rather late in this game it was pointed out that the law orders that money shall be put on the line when contests are filed.

It developed that Malone had put up the original $500 for the contests. Asked if he had been repaid, he said, on the witness stand, "Well, some of them 'scotched' a little."

It was Malone who played host to the 1948 Dixiecrat dinner in Dothan when Columnist John Temple Graves, principal speaker, threw out invitations to the Republicans to come and join the Dixiecrats.

It was Malone who put up $3,000 in 1948 Dixiecrat campaign funds.

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McCORVEY'S office is in a big Mobile building. At night visitors are required to register. A source in Mobile, after the contests had been filed, reported failure to find any likely-looking names registered who might be emissaries of the contestants, though such might have been there.

Later in court, it transpired, the contest papers had been handed to McCorvey, with the money by Sam Johnston, late at night outside Johnston's private residence, after McCorvey had returned from a political mission to Tuscaloosa.

But *The Mobile Press-Register had* earlier carried a story saying these papers had been found by McCorvey on his desk when he returned from this mission. The newspaper story was produced in court and was never denied by McCorvey or anyone else.

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THESE contests refer to elections to party offices from the 3rd District. It would be expected that they would therefore be district-wide investigations. There are 10 counties in the 3rd District. But only Coffee, Lee and Russell are being investigated.

It is alleged, and has been found, that some voters in these three counties voted for three candidates who withdrew a few days before the primary. These ballots, cast in good faith—all admit—are being voided, and the law on single-shotting is being quoted—and its application here contested by Democrat lawyers.

But a casual glance at the vote in the other seven counties shows that some voters there also similarly voted for these same men. Yet they are not being challenged.

But it is also noted that in Coffee, Lee and Russell voters elected all six Democrats on the slate. It is also noted and Rives has made a point of this, that more people voted for the three in Coffee, Lee and Russell than in other counties. Voiding of these ballots in these three counties could, though not necessarily will, change the result of the district-wide election in favor of the Dixiecrats. Asked about this, Dixiecrat lawyer Victor Smith said, in Latin, *"Ipse loquitur"* [It speaks for itself].

But back to Elba and Opelika.

After the Democrats had once more got the contest in Coffee County back into Circuit Court there, and so stopped the recount, both factions climbed into their cars and hastened to Opelika.

Testimony at the hearing there, the next day, disclosed there had been some fast political footwork accomplished before midnight Wednesday.

And next morning it was found that Arch McKee, chairman of the Lee Democratic committee, had taken a leaf out of veteran Farris' book, and bundled the Lee County ballots into circuit court custody. Both he and Sheriff E. E. (Gene) Lowe refused to hand them over without a court order, and there the matter stands at the moment, with the stalwart figure of Circuit Judge Albert Hooton in the background.

Late on Thursday, after a lengthy lunch at the Clement Hotel, Opelika, Abercrombie and his men left on a private mission to Phenix City. They wanted to check around a bit and see what-was-what in that third county, Russell, yet to be investigated.

Time is running short. On Jan. 15 the Dixiecrat-controlled state committee goes out of office, and a Democrat-controlled committee comes into being.

In May, 44 Democrats to 28 Dixiecrats were elected, so the loss of four Democrats as a result of this contest would not change the overall picture.

But the margin would be nicely whittled down.

And somehow the probe, which, frankly, McCorvey started and which was originally aimed at four suspicious-looking Phenix City boxes, has become greatly widened, yet strangely restricted, for reasons best known to persons unknown.

Poll Tax End Is Pushed By Ala. Governor

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Declaring that Alabama's $1.50 per year poll tax has outlived its usefulness, "Gov. Gordon Persons said last week he was going to ask the Legislature to abolish the levy.

In announcing that he would recommend that the poll tax be erased completely from the statute books and the state constitution, Persons went beyond his campaign promise.

In his platform the Governor stated he would advocate a two-year maximum payment instead of the present system under which new voters can be made to pay up to 24 years of the tax at $1.50 a year before being eligible to cast a ballot.

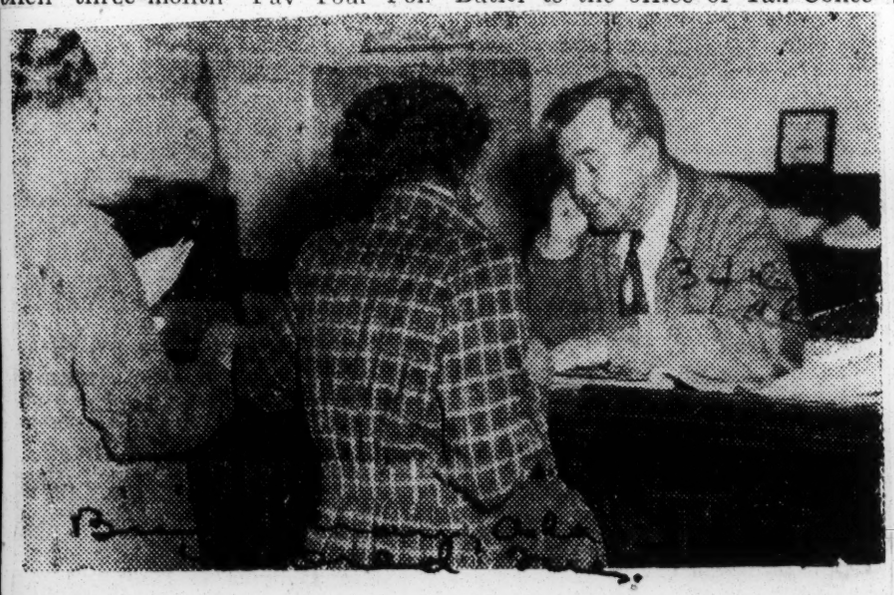
Persons came out for abolishing the poll tax, "which to me has outlived its purpose," at a joint meeting of the legislative committies on finance and taxation and revision of laws.



TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. —(SNS)— Above is shown a line-up of members of Booker T. Washington Elks Lodge at the climax of their three-month "Pay Your Poll Tax" campaign in Macon County of which Tuskegee, Alabama is the county seat. Elks and Daughter Elks were led by Exalted Ruler John C. Butler to the office of Tax Collector John H. Reynolds. Immediately behind Mr. Butler is William P. Mitchell, chairman of the Lodge's Civil Liberties Committee and Director of the IBPOE of W Civil Liberties Department.



TUSKEGEE, Ala. —(SNS)— Exalted Ruler John C. Butler is shown at the window of Tax Collector John H. Reynolds of Macon County paying his poll tax. Tuskegee Elks assumed the leadership in Macon County in getting members of the group to pay their poll tax in an extensive, three-month campaign. There are approximately 20 different Elk lodges in the state of Alabama but the Tuskegee lodge has outstripped any and all of the others in ballot-getting activities.



TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Drs. Thelma Lucas and Daisy Romby are shown paying their poll tax to Tax Collector John H. Reynolds of Macon County.

Legislators Give O. K. to Racial Bill

Measure Would End 'Negro' Tag On Ballots

OKLAHOMA CITY, May 9— A bill prohibiting use of racial labels on election ballots was ordered placed on the House calendar following a hearing last week before a House committee.

Under present law, the term "Negro" must be printed with the names of Negro candidates running for public office. Negro leaders hold that the treatment is applicable to Negro candidates only and that the law is therefore unconstitutional and undemocratic.

The present bill, introduced by Representative Wendell Barnes, Tulsa Republican, would amend the election law so as to prohibit differentiation between candidates on the basis of race or religion.

Supporters of the bill promised to seek priority for the measure on a House calendar already crowded with measures. They held little hope, however, that the bill could be advanced on the calendar sufficiently to bring it to a vote before the House adjourns.

At the committee hearing, a number of Negroes spoke in favor of the bill. Included were Dr. H.W. Williamston, of Idabel, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, F.D. Moon, principal of Douglass High School, Oklahoma City.

Also Ira D. Hall, assistant State director of secondary education; Mrs. Cenoria Johnson, executive director of the Oklahoma City Urban League; Rev. J.S. Johnson, of Oklahoma City, Presiding Elder of the A.M.E. Church; Jimmy Stewart, columnist for The Black Dispatch, and A. M. Tompkins, president State Teachers Association.

Also the following Tulsans, Attorneys Amos T. Hall and Primus C. Wade, and Edgar T. Rouzeau, Editor of The Oklahoma Eagle.

Another Unsound Voter Bill

We wonders how many members of the Oklahoma Senate have read the decision by Judge Rich three federal judges at Mobile declared unconstitutional the Boswell law that would have required prospective voters in Alabama to satisfy boards of registrars that they "understood" the constitution. Doubts on that score are raised by the 29-to-3 vote by which the Senate last week approved a new voter qualification measure.

This bill provides that before a voter can be registered he must be approved as of "good moral character" and must embrace the "duties and obligations" of citizenship. These provisions are as vague and as general as those in the Boswell law which the three judges, all Alabamians, said were inacceptable because they gave the boards of registrars arbitrary power that could be used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise.

The bill passed by the Senate obviously grants similar excessive power. In the rather brief debate which preceded Senate approval of the bill it was clearly indicated even by some of its supporters that doubt existed as to the legality of the plan. However, political considerations rather than calm logic seem to have dominated the vote.

Alabamians, especially members of the Legislature, should face up to the clear fact that any registration law which permits the arbitrary exclusion of would-be voters because of race or other reasons will not be permitted to stand in the courts. We must devise a law whose intent and operations clearly aim at fair and impartial treatment of all applicants for the franchise. Anything else will be a waste of time and effort and money. For the Legislature to submit to the voters the proposed constitutional amendment which has passed the Senate would be worse than useless.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Mr. McCorvey On Vote Contest

To the Editor:

My attention has been called to the editorial appearing in The Birmingham News of Friday, Jan. 5, 1951, captioned "A Dubious States' Righters' Victory," which related to an investigation by a subcommittee of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee of certain vote fraud charges in the Third District.

In view of the long championship of The Birmingham News of clean elections in the state of Alabama, this editorial expression comes as a distinct shock and surprise to me. However staunchly The Birmingham News may champion the election of Trumanite committeemen, it is hard for me to believe that a great newspaper such as The Birmingham News would not heartily denounce election frauds, despite its partisan position, if in the judgment of its editors such fraud was evident.

I don't see how anyone could read the election returns from Russell and some of the other counties without arriving at the conclusion reached by the subcommittee that fraud was flagrant and widespread. I am enclosing copy of a letter which I addressed to Gov. James E. Folsom, under date of Dec. 26, 1950, which I think presents convincing evidence.

* * *

In regard to your criticism that I did not instruct the subcommittee to examine the ballots in all 10 of the counties in the Third Congressional District, let me call your attention to the fact that Russell, Coffee and Lee Counties are the only three counties in the Third District in which there were specific charges of fraud. I have heard of no specific charges of fraud in the other seven counties in the Third District, and consequently did not request the subcommittee to check these counties. Your editorial contains the first intimation made to me that I should have instructed our subcommittee to examine ballots in the other seven counties in the Third District. The Trumanites had the same rights as the States' Righters to contest an election, and I am sure that if they had thought they would be able to uncover any fraud in the other seven counties in the Third District, they would have filed contests so that the votes in those counties could be checked. However, no such contests were filed.

I am sorry that your editorial did not go further and express some indignation at, and condemnation of, the tactics adopted by the Trumanites in their frantic efforts to prevent an examination of the ballots cast in the three counties in question. If they had nothing to conceal, why all of this fight to prevent our subcommittee from checking the ballots? You know, of course, that since last May a subcommittee of highly honorable members of our state committee have been diligently at work fighting for an opportunity to count all of the ballots in these three counties, but at every turn they have been met by injunctions, restraining orders, etc., prohibiting the committee from functioning. It was only after our circuit courts and Supreme Court, and finally the Supreme Court of the United States, gave these Trumanites a first-class licking by advising them that this was a matter to be settled by our subcommittee, that the subcommittee was able to make even a partial investigation. However, they found enough in the limited investigation which they could make to determine who were the legally elected members of the state committee.

You have sized the situation up very correctly when you state that there were only six Trumanites or so-called "national loyalists" running for the state committee from the Third District, and that numbers of the Trumanite voters cast their ballots for these six candidates, and then voted for two of the candidates who had withdrawn, thus trying to evade the clearly expressed provisions of the Alabama statute prohibiting the casting of a single-shot ballot. You suggest that possibly these disputed ballots, strictly speaking, were illegal. I don't understand why you should express any doubt about the ballots being illegal, as Section 361 of Title 17 of the Alabama Code expressly makes these ballots illegal, and no conscientious subcommitteeman could rule that such ballots were legal. Wherever ballots were found where eight candidates still in the race were not voted for, these ballots were thrown out, whether they were cast by Trumanites or States' Righters.

* * *

You refer to the whole proposition as being dubious and high-handed, a charge which I think totally unjustified by the record. I hope that after reading my letter to Gov. Folsom, stating facts which cannot be disputed, you will desire to, and will, correct this statement.

On the staff of The Birmingham News you have in Mr. Hugh Sparrow one of the ablest, most fair-minded and impartial reporters in the nation. Mr. Sparrow has rendered this state an outstanding service in exposing graft and malpractice and advocating clean and honest government. I, as chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, do hereby propose that you assign to Mr. Sparrow the task of making an impartial, factual survey of the vote in those counties where it is charged that fraud occurred in the elections, and publish for the information of your readers his findings and reports.

I sincerely hope that you will give this letter the same publicity as you gave the above-mentioned editorial which was so critical of me and the subcommittee which I appointed.

GESSNER T. McCORVEY,
Chairman, State Democratic Executive Committee.

Editor's Note: The decision of a majority of the investigating subcommittee did not, and does not, seem to The News to have been based on a conclusive showing of fraud. We cient to warrant the unseating of the challenged candidates. We would assure Mr. McCorvey that we continue opposed to election frauds.

We do not pretend to be able to speak with authority on points respecting the legality of ballots, but it seems to us that if candidates who withdraw after printing of ballots—their names remaining on the ballots—receive votes cast in good faith, it is questionable whether, in justice to the voters, law should provide for the throwing out of the ballots altogether.

The News' opinion that the procedure of the majority of the subcommittee was dubious and high-handed was based on the belief that no sufficient showing of fraud was made to the public to justify the decision that was announced.

We do not undertake to speak on the various legal moves made in behalf of the challenged loyalists, but our belief is that they were not motivated by any desire to cover up fraud.

Even though charges of fraud were advanced in only three of the 10 counties in the district, it seems to us that before any decision was taken to oust candidates who were winners on the face of the returns, it would have been well to make a survey of the whole district. Such ousting, in our view, calls for a clear and specific showing of the grounds for such drastic action.

The News carried a story outlining Mr. McCorvey's letter to Gov. Folsom.

A Secondary Reform

Gov. Persons now advocates abolition of the $1.50 poll tax. It is well. *The Advertiser* for years has advocated abolition.

But, we must say to be candid, we do not account it a major issue any longer. The poll tax reform today is mainly parlor patter for panting, posturing Librools. This we contend chiefly because the poll tax exemption for all veterans takes in so large an element of the population as to nullify the voter restriction originally calculated.

The problem primarily, is not qualifying more voters, but of inducing those already qualified to vote to go to the polls on election day—which they don't.

Nevertheless, the poll tax is a vanishing restriction on voting; we have come a long way from the un-American requirement of early America that one had to own land to vote. Even South Carolina has thrown up the sponge. It is true, moreover, that the requirement that arrears must be paid (up to $36) discourages or prevents many competent Alabamians from voting.

Only an inch or two between here and the millenium would be cut by liquidation of the poll tax, but every inch forward is desirable.

Tennessee Falls In Line

The Atlanta Journal

OUR NEIGHBOR Tennessee has fallen in line with the times and abolished the poll tax. It appears that the current legislative repealer will stick. A previous act dropping the tax was voided by the state's Supreme Court.

To avoid the legalistic pitfall created by seemingly conflicting provisions of the state constitution, the present Legislature has passed a law which probably has on counterpart in democratic government anywhere. The statute provides that "no person shall be assessed a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, *except for the year 1871.*" Since any such person would now be at least 100 years old, there will be few, if any exceptions.

The same Tennessee which has abolished the poll tax by its own due process of law resisted the misguided effort to remove it by federal enactment. That, of course, was true of Georgia and other Southern states which have acted.

Only five states are left in which the head tax is required for voting. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. It is only a matter of time before they will line up with the other 43 states. But the change will come through voluntary action of sovereign statehood, not by federal compulsion incited by politicians on the make.

Henry Registers 20 More Negroes

ABBEVILLE, ALA., April 16—(AP)—Twenty Negroes, including three who filed suit against the Henry County Board of Registrars charging discrimination, were registered to vote Monday, J. E. Dodd, editor of The Abbeville Herald said.

Two weeks ago, the board registered five other Negroes, the first ever made eligible to vote in the county.

J. B. Newman, C. B. Williams and Samuel D. Craddock are the three Negro plaintiffs in the suit which was filed in U. S. District Court at Montgomery.

They asked $5,000 damages and accused the registrars, Mrs. J. E. Searcy, Mrs. Anne Lee Spann and Jack Herring, of discrimination by subjecting them to tests not required of white applicants.

A motion by the defendants to dismiss the charges is set for a hearing at Dothan April 26.

The Way Of The Poll Tax

The poll tax in Alabama as a prerequisite for voting seems doomed. The end may come soon, it may be delayed, but it is as nearly certain as political decisions can well be. Gov. Persons' forthright declaration for abolition of the tax is another nail in its coffin.

Only five states now collect the tax in connection with voting qualifications. That is two fewer than the number at the first of the year. In the early part of February, the South Carolina Legislature, acting in line with an earlier advisory referendum of voters, abolished the tax. Within the current week, the Tennessee Legislature passed, with only one opposing vote, a measure that to all practical purposes ends the tax in that state. The governor signed the measure.

Only Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia still collect a tax for the privilege of voting. And in each of those, sentiment is strong for ending the practice. With so few states, even in the South, clinging to the levy, arguments as to its need and justification are waning rapidly.

Gov. Persons' statement indicates the growing sentiment in favor of abolishing the tax. When he ran for office, his platform favored dropping the burdensome cumulative feature of the tax. He said nothing then about dropping the tax as a whole.

That he has changed his position now is probably due to the actions in South Carolina and Tennessee and to increasing evidence of the tax's unpopularity.

Only a minority of adults in Alabama are subject to the tax. All persons above 45 are exempt. All persons who have served in the armed forces of the country during war are exempt. A few other minor categories are exempt.

As Gov. Persons said, the poll tax has outlived its usefulness. It is no longer helpful in protecting the franchise against ignorant voting. The need to encourage voting by more citizens is much greater. In the 1950 general election, only 12 per cent of the state's qualified voters participated. In the hotly-contested May, 1950, primary only 57 per cent voted. But the number of qualified voters in the state is less than half of the number of persons of voting age. In other words, scarcely 6 per cent of the state's potential voters went to the polls last November and only 28 per cent, or fewer, in last May's all-important balloting. This is an imperfect kind of democracy.

Abolition of the poll tax in other Southern states has brought out more voters. Quite often the greater percentage of increase has been among white voters. Abolition has also diminished opportunity to control elections through machine manipulation. And, of course, the poll tax continues as a talking point for those who for any reason would like to see more federal authority in elections. Gov. Persons is right when he says the time for its end has come.

In Birmingham

Teacher Leading Suffrage Fighter

BIRMINGHAM—Henry J. Williams, teacher at Parker High School, through his outside-of-classroom activities has furnished the material for a success story in suffrage expansion among the Negro group in Alabama.

His work in conducting voter-registration clinics and stimulating non-voters to become electors will be one of the chief social action exhibits of Alpha Phi Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity at the fourteenth annual meeting of the Seventh District in Mobile, April 19-21.

On street corners, in coffee shops, in club meetings, he has championed voter-registration among the group. Likewise he has helped to lay the groundwork for political education and the mechanics of voter registration and voting.

CLUB FOUNDER

So effective has been his work that eight of the twelve members of the Camel Club, a social organization, have become qualified voters. In many ways, this club serves as an outlet where political issues are discussed.

Mr. Williams was one of the club founders and has demonstrated his ability as a salesman of first-class citizenship.

He is chairman of the vote commissions of three organizations: the Alabama State Teachers Association, the Alabama Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the Birmingham Negro Teachers Association.

Some State Problems

Who should vote in Alabama? What kind of qualifications should be required of prospective voters? What kind of registration system should be maintained?

These questions present themselves to the Legislature for action. They are asked or implied in statements by Gov. Persons. They are inherent in recent developments both locally and nationally.

* * *

For one thing, there is the matter of poll tax. Alabama today is one of only six states that make payment of a poll tax a prerequisite to voting. It is the only state with a cumulative tax. Here a qualified person must pay $1.50 a year between the ages of 21 and 45 unless otherwise exempt.

Gov. Persons once indicated his belief that the tax as a whole was outmoded, but his latest official utterance, in his speech at the opening of the legislative session, advocated collection of only two years of back tax.

Apparently Gov. Persons believes this would not cause any net loss in poll tax revenue, all of which goes to the schools. More persons would pay the tax without the extreme cumulative feature, thus probably holding the total revenue from that source relatively unchanged.

The poll tax, however, has become of little importance either as a revenue producer or as a factor in influencing the number of qualified voters. Last year the poll tax brought in only $434,072, or a little more than two-tenths of 1 per cent of the total state revenue of $193,106,153. Poll taxes accounted for only six-tenths of 1 per cent of the state educational expenditures of $72,548,209.

Moreover, only a minority of voters today have to pay the tax. It has become a minority tax. All persons over 45 years old are exempt. All veterans of World Wars I and II are exempt. A bill has been introduced at the present session to exempt all veterans of the Korean war or any future war. Last year, it is estimated, fewer than 200,000 voters paid the tax, out of about 700,000 qualified. Nearly 400,000 votes were cast in last year's Democratic primary.

But the voting lists call for attention otherwise. Federal courts held unconstitutional the Boswell amendment. Qualifications of voters are back where they were when the 1901 state constitution was adopted. Those provisions are outdated and unrealistic.

Gov. Persons has said that "it is our county registration boards which determine the qualifications of all prospective voters." This is true only in some senses. County registration boards are set up to inquire into the qualifications of prospective voters, but it is the members of the Legislature and the people through constitutional provisions, who set up those qualifications. Local boards do not have autonomy in the matter.

A bill has been introduced in the Legislature which, after approval by the people, would empower the Legislature to set up educational qualifications for voters. Some of the details of that plan may be questioned, but its general purposes impress *The News* as good. The old property qualifications are now useless. Educational tests that could be fairly and impartially applied should serve to maintain a reasonable level of intelligence among voters while not denying the democratic principles of citizenship.

34e 1951 BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Suffrage Gain for Negro Tied to Boswell Decision

By Henry Lesesne
Special Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Columbia, S.C.

The fight for Negro suffrage in the South seems a never-ending one, with one gain being offset by another loss. But the decision of a three-judge federal court outlawing the Boswell amendment in Alabama is viewed generally as the turning point, although the white supremacists can be expected to employ delaying tactics, possibly for years to come.

Since the federal courts as far back as five years ago began declaring the "white" Democratic primaries unconstitutional, southern defenders of the status quo have regarded the Boswell amendment or something similar to it as perhaps the one means of holding the Negro vote to a minimum.

The Boswell amendment works this way: Registration is in the hands of a board of three registrars, all white men, in each county. The registrars are appointed by the governor. They are directed to register only those persons "of good character . . . who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government and who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States."

Absolute Authority

The registrars have absolute authority; there is no appeal beyond them. The wide discretion given them permitted them to deny the vote to thousands of Negroes or white persons whose beliefs ran contrary to those of the majority.

The Alabama court reaffirmed that the question of qualification for voting lies within state jurisdiction. Thus educational or other voting qualifications which southern states might set up would stand the acid test if they are fair and impartial standards and are not aimed at disfranchising the Negro.

The principle involved in the Alabama case also had been decided in another jurisdiction — that of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which said in affirming the decision of District Judge J. Waities Waring in the South Carolina white primary case:

"No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country or the state or community wherein he lives."

Decision Appealed

The South Carolina case has dragged through the courts for nearly five years. By removing all laws governing primaries from the statute books, South Carolina Democrats contended their primary was reduced to a "private club" status. The federal courts finally declared it unconstitutional. The South Carolina Democratic Party thereupon allowed some Negroes to vote in its primaries last summer but denied them any participation in party affairs or party membership, even to attending precinct meetings.

Judge Waring subsequently ordered all party privileges granted to the Negro, and the South Carolina Democratic Executive Committee has recently appealed this decision. In view of the federal courts' previous stands on the Negro suffrage question, observers consider the appeal no more than a gesture.

In the face of this status of the Negro suffrage issue, the Talmadge-dominated Legislature in Georgia convened this year, one of the uppermost items on its agenda being to do something to nullify the present or potential effect of the Negro vote. In Georgia these last few years, the Negro vote has amounted numerically to more than it has in any other state in the Deep South.

Georgia's Measure

The problem was to get around the decision in Alabama's Boswell case and yet to end what Gov. Herman Talmadge calls "bloc voting" by Negroes in Georgia. Whether, by the compromise measure it finally adopted, the Legislature accomplished its aim remains to be seen. Fairly and impartially administered, the law might be a good one; but the federal courts, on the Negro suffrage question, have had a way of examining the intent of a law, and it goes without saying that the law eventually will be contested.

The new Georgia law requires every Georgia citizen to register between now and May, 1950. Once on the new voters' list, he will continue on the permanent list as long as he votes at least once every two years. If he fails to vote this often, he will be notified by the registrar before his name is dropped. Originally the plan was to require a new registration every two years and to require a registration fee—restoration, in disguise, of the poll tax.

The new requirements are that an applicant must be able to read or write the Constitution of Georgia or the United States Constitution "intelligently or legibly." The county registrars will be the judge of whether he can do this. If, in the opinion of the registrars, an applicant is unable to do either of these, he must answer at least 10 of 30 questions dealing with the governmental setup.

110,000 Negroes Registered

About 110,000 Negroes are registered in Georgia, mainly in urban centers. They voted for the first time a few years ago toward the end of the Ellis Arnall administration. At that time their registration was largely a matter of how local officials wanted to interpret the rather loose registration laws. Generally Negroes were allowed to register in some larger counties but in many of the smaller, rural counties they were not permitted to register at all. And under Georgia's archaic county unit system, the big city vote counts for little.

There are about nine times more white voters registered in Georgia than Negroes, although the minority race makes up roughly a third of the state's population. It is undeniably true that the Negro has voted in a bloc in all the gubernatorial elections since his enfranchisement, for the primary issue in each contest was "white supremacy." In many county races, however, where such an issue was not raised, he voted pretty much along the same lines as the white voters.

Extension Voted

Presumably looking to the day when the general election may have some meaning in Georgia—at present the Democratic primary is the only meaningful election—the Talmadge forces got through legislation to extend the county unit plan to the general election. It has applied only to the Democratic primary. The change, however, involves a constitutional amendment, and the people will have to vote on it in the next general election — something in which Georgians as a rule do not vote in large numbers.

However, the vote on the county unit system should be interesting. Reformers have had to admit that the principle of the county unit system apparently is deeply ingrained in the average Georgian. Certainly no politician would or could champion its abolition. Not even Mr. Arnall dared to do that. The system gives great power to the amazing number of small counties in Georgia, and these counties jealously guard that power.

Georgia has 159 counties. By comparison Alabama, almost as large in area, has but 60. Each county in Georgia, no matter how small, has a minimum of two unit votes. The maximum a county can have, even the county embracing a city of 500,000 persons like Atlanta, is six. A vote in some of the smaller counties thus is worth many times the vote of a person in Atlanta, Savannah, or Macon. For each two unit votes a county is entitled to one member in the House of Representatives. In the Democratic primary a plurality of the popular vote wins the unit vote in a county and a majority of the unit votes wins the election.

Judges Weigh Decision In Poll Tax Suit

WASHINGTON—A special three-judge Federal Court in Alexandria, Va., has taken under advisement a suit by Mrs. Jessie Butler of Arlington, challenging the constitutionality of the State's poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

Mrs. Butler asked the court to force the Arlington County registrar to permit her to register without payment of a poll tax which she contends is "discriminatory" toward Negroes.

The same suit was dismissed last summer by Judge Albert V. Bryan of the Federal Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, but the Court of Appeals ordered a rehearing.

John Locke Green, attorney for Mrs. Butler, charged that the poll tax law was approved in 1902 "with the specific intent of depriving every Negro voter in the State of rights to vote."

Shame On Zora Neale Hurston

There is an old and true adage which says that "it is a bad bird that fouls its own nest," and one of the most sinister and harmful pieces of nest-fouling of which the Negro race has been the victim in a long time was the article spewed by Zora Neale Hurston in the November, 1950 issue of The American Legion Magazine, entitled "I Saw Negro Votes Peddled." She brazenly accuses the Negro voters of Miami, Florida of selling their votes for two dollars a vote. But she was not satisfied with smearing her entire race in last May's Florida senatorial primary elections. She went further to give new support to the long discredited lie that all Negroes during Reconstruction days were venal and without character or honor.

She says: "I was a freshman in college before I came upon any details of the Reconstruction. Then an elderly and very scholarly Congressman from Virginia described for me the political mechanics of that time in the South." Presumably this elderly and scholarly Congressman was white, and here is the story which he told Zora Neale Hurston and which she repeats approvingly as being typical of Negro performance during that period: "Come day of election, anywhere from a hundred to five hundred Negro voters could be found locked in a barn, with plenty of corn liquor promised them as soon as the voting was over. Also, they would get a whole dollar apiece to spend." She goes on to say that any white man who cared to do so "could now but for thirty cents" during Reconstruction just any Negro. Now back to what she says of the Negro in Miami.

Here she goes: "I am standing on the corner in Miami, Florida. It is a southern city with hundreds of very modern and comfortable Negro homes, lived in by Negroes of many professions, from the finest colleges and universities in the United States. Among them are physicians, dentists, lawyers, morticians, pharmacists, teachers, registered nurses, ministers, journalists, and the like. A Negro judge presides over a municipal court, and Negro policemen patrol the streets. Free public schools available for Negro children are ably staffed by Negroes. Negro business men control into the millions in wealth. Yet, here is the saddening picture of hundreds of Negroes, no thousands, being herded to the polls just as in 1870, and paid two dollars for votes."

Nowhere in Zora Neale Hurston's long, vicious article does she exempt any of these fine Miami Negro citizens whom she had immediately before identified, from her charges of unabashed political corruption and lack of simplest elements of human integrity. The Miami Negroes who have thus been smeared en masse should make a complete investigation of Zora Neale Hurston's article and publish all of the facts and let the chips fall where they will or may. Pending the publication of these facts here is a confident prediction that this wholesale blackening of the character and integrity of her entire race, both in the past and in the present, will be proved to be a lie of the same color.

Florida Bans Jim Crow Polls

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Jim Crow polling places were banned in Florida by recent changes in the state's election laws, Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin said last week.

The changes will enable whites and Negroes to cast their ballots at nonsegregated polls in Florida's next election.

Ervin said the revised election laws ban segregation at polls where paper ballots are used.

All Vote at Same Place

Florida Outlaws Separate Polls

By JOHN A. DIAZ

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Segregation at polling places was dealt a stunning blow here last week when Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin ruled that Florida's new election law makes it illegal to require Negroes and whites to use separate entrances and exits at polling places.

Asked by Registration Supervisor Roland Droit of Highlands County whether the law allows separate polling places for the races, the Attorney General cited an opinion made by former Attorney General Tom Watson which was that it is illegal to separate the races at polling places.

BUTTRESSED IN '51

Ervin said further that changes made in the law by the 1951 Legislature makes it illegal for there to be different entrances to polling places for Negroes and whites.

Stated the Attorney General: "A study of law reasonably leads to the conclusion that there may be but one place of entrance to the polls and one place of exit from the polls."

Thus an end is put to the discriminatory practices of whites against Negroes when they are exercising their franchise at election time.

HAIL RULING

Negro leaders of Florida look upon this opinion of the Attorney General as one of the most far-reaching in effect insofar as voting by Negroes in Florida is concerned. It will, stated one of these leaders, definitely stimulate interest in voting among Negroes who have in the past looked upon the discriminatory practices as an infringement upon their constitutional rights and privileges.

Divorce Negro Section From Town In Florida

All Tan Voters Disqualified— Judge's Order

Colored Section Ruled Outside Of City Limits

By STETSON KENNEDY
Special AFRO Writer

ALTAMONTE SPRINGS — The colored residents of this central Florida community have been ruled "out of town" by a court order without any precedent in the long history of white supremacist jurisprudence.

The judicial decree, handed down by Circuit Judge M. B. Smith at Titusville on Dec. 3, legally amputates that section of Altamonte Springs inhabited by colored people from the body of the corporate community.

Mayor John C. Goddard let the cat out of the bag when he told newsmen:

"I believe the move will greatly add to the harmony in the town in general as there will be no more rivalry and bidding for the colored vote."

Population Almost Equal

An examination of the registration books reveals that prior to the court order there were 210 whites and 205 colored persons registered to vote in the community.

Thus by the simple expedient of a court mandate, the whites have shifted the foundation for their political dominance from a five-vote majority to a lily-white electorate.

With the same stroke of the judge's pen, the colored citizens have been rendered political eunuchs, deprived of all voice in the conduct of the public affairs of the community.

They have been reduced to the status of wards, dependent upon the beneficence (if any) of the white city fathers.

Double-Edged Blow

Although no Florida newspaper made mention of the fact, the "legal" action not only effectively disfranchised the colored residents of Altamonte Springs on the local level, **It also cut them off from all legal claim to police, fire, sanitation, and public health services provided by the community.**

On the other hand, the Florida press made much of the fact that the court order "prohibits the town from exercising any jurisdiction" over the colored community.

Like Indian Banishment

Perhaps the closest historic parallel to this was the uprooting of the American Indian remnants from their continent and confining them to concentration camp - like barren reservations with "freedom" to govern themselves by tribal law, provided there was no conflict with United States law.

Or, for a European parallel, there were the miserable ghetts in which Hitler confined Jews as second-class citizens.

Until now, white supremacist elements in the United States have been content to gerrymander (slice up) voting districts in such a way as to insure white majorities in each; but this is the first time in history that colored people have been gerrymandered clear out of town.

U.S. Fails to Act

As is common knowledge, there are countless Southern communities where, through terrorism, no colored Americans are permitted to reside.

That this is contrary to the 14th Amendment of the Constitution does not seem to make any difference. Not since 1903 has the Federal Government ordered a municipality to open its doors to all comers, regardless of race.

While "Mr. District Attorney" of radio fame takes an oath as "defender of civil liberties and champion of the people," it remains to be seen what action if any will be taken by the United States DA in this Florida case.

Klux Originated Idea

The idea of excommunicating colored people from the community is of course nothing new.

It is but one step removed from the "send 'em back to Africa" school, the dean of which was the late and unlamented Sen. Theodore Bilbo, a confessed Kluxer.

As far back as 1937, the imperial wizard of the KKK in his treaties "Colored Suffrage — It's False Theory," proclaimed in Hitlerian style:

"The first essential to the success of any nation, and particularly of any democracy, is a national unity of mind. Its citizens must be One People.

"It follows that any class, race, or group of people which is permanently unassimilable to the spirit and purpose of the nation has no place in a democracy. The colored people must always remain a group unable to be a part of the American people."

Not One Man's Idea

Kleagle J. B. Stoner of Chattanooga, who tells me he "has nothing against colored folk as individuals, but only as a race," is as anxious to "send 'em back to Africa" that he would "offer every one a Cadillac if necessary."

Not so generous is Homer Loomis, fuehrer of the brown-shirted Columbians, who would "put time bombs on the ships as an economy measure."

Both Stoner and Loomis anticipated the use of legalistic devices as at Altamonte Springs.

Stoner has long been all-out for a Constitutional Amendment making it illegal to be Jewish in the U.S. — punishable by death; while Loomis has employed sound trucks to advocate legislative "enabling acts to bury all n—rs in the sand."

"Back to Slavery"

The action at Altamonte is likewise in line with the rantings of the lunatic fringe of the Klan.

The Commoner Party, for example, with headquarters at Conyers, Ga., has since 1946 been beating the bushes for a "white Gentile block to combat the colored and Jewish blocks in politics."

To this end, the Commoners would repeal the 15th Amendment and then set up "franchise court," which would extend the vote only to any colored persons who would swear allegiance to white supremacy.

White Front's Views

Should die - hard Dixiecratic politicos seize upon the Altamonte method of disfranchising colored persons, and the United States authorities fail to intervene, we might soon be just around the corner from the situation envisaged by the White Front of Miami, as follows:

"When the Federal Government recognizes superior biological values and proceeds systematically to solve the South's problem by expatriation, birth control and rigid segregation, the long race vigil will be over.

"That dusky race, which enslaved was happy and lovable, must today be recognized for the sullen revolutionary mass it is, and be disciplined accordingly.

"Racial nationalism demands that the colored man be made a ward of the nation and governed by special codes befitting the figuity of a white State."

WHAT IT MEANS

In a move which, it is feared might set a precedent, a Florida judge ruled that the colored community division of Altamonte Springs was outside the corporate limits of the town, thus leaving these citizens without a local government structure and without vital community services.

This was done in order to take away the political power of the minority group, which threatened that of the whites, inasmuch as the town's population had contained 210 white voters to 205 colored ones.

Kennedy sees this act similar to the banishment of the American Indians to reservations or the incarcerating of Jews in Hiterite Germany in ghettoes, and is of the opinion that unless the United States acts NOW to restore their local citizenship to ex-Altamonteans, the practice will be followed in other white Dixie-supremacist communitis.

Judge Rules Out Negro Sector

ALTAMONTE SPRINGS, Florida—In what appeared to be a growing move to disfranchise Negro voters and to eliminate a growing threat of strong Negro voting power in the South, a Circuit Judge in this little community last week, issued a five-vote majority to a lily-white electorate.

Registration books revealed that prior to the ruling handed down by Circuit Judge M. B. Smith at Titusville on Dec. 3, there were 210 whites and 205 colored registered to vote, giving whites a slim five-vote majority.

Meanwhile, in Birmingham, latest reports indicate that a voter amendment to the Alabama State Constitution, which would give county boards of registrars greater powers to determine who shall vote, was leading by a count of 40,082 to 37,996. Approximately three-fifths of the ballots were in when this count was made.

The Florida action was clarified when Mayor John C. Goddard, of Altamonte Springs, declared, **"I believe the move will greatly add to the harmony in the town in general as there will be no more rivalry and bidding for the colored vote."**

Thus, Negro voters in this southern community have been expelled from political importance and left to the mercy of whites. They have also been relieved of all legal claim to fire, police, sanitation and public health services formerly obtained on the basis of being a part of the corporate community.

Only mention in newspapers of the community concerning the effect of the act related to the fact that the decree "prohibits the town from exercising any jurisdiction" over the expelled Negro community. The ruling, as handed down by Judge Smith, is a definite violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Alabama election, if it results in passage of the new Amendment, will mean that county registrars will have wider leeway in setting up barriers against Negroes attempting to register to vote. The new Amendment would replace the Boswell Amendment which was outlawed by a federal court in 1949 as discriminatory against Negroes.

If passed, the new Amendment calls for a written questionnaire, requires voter to be of good character and to "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship," and to sign an anti-Communist oath.

Requirements under the old law were limited to ownership of $300 in assessed property, or minimum educational standards. A poll tax of $1.50 per year for voters between ages of 21 to 45 will not be affected by the new legislation, and persons over 45 will still be compelled to pay $36 to register if no previous poll tax has been paid.

Citizens throughout the nation feared that the Florida action might set a precedent for further intimidation of Negro voters in other southern communities.

LILLIAN SMITH TURNS PROPHET:

Predicts 1½ Millionto Vote in Dixie Elections in 1952

FRANKFORT, Ky. — Lillian Smith, author of "Strange Fruit," and "Killers of the Dream," turned prophet here recently as she delivered the commencement address at Kentucky state College, predict ing that 1½ million colord persons will vote in the 1952 elections in Dixie.)

"More than 750,000 colored citizens voted in recent elections in the South," Miss Smith declared, adding that "indications are that a million and a half will vote in 1952."

Continuing, the noted author, citing other recent changes in the South and scoffing at the dire prophecies made by those opposed to social progress, said, in part :

J.C. Signs Coming Down

Ten years from today, racial segregation as a legal way of life will be gone from Dixie. Although signs will still be nailed to a few people's minds and hearts, the signs over doors, those words 'WHITE' and 'COLORED' that have cheapened democracy throughout the world will be down.

It is a very important thing for us to remember today, that no government can **make men good;** even God cannot do that. What democracy can and does do is to protect men's right to make themselves as good as they want to be.

In A Nutshell

LILLIAN SMITH, GEORGIAN, author of the celebrated "Strange Fruit," becomes a prophet as commencement speaker.

Some 1000 now attending Dixie colleges, colored cops in many cities, 1,500,000 will vote in South in 1952.

Two big jobs ahead:

1. To hasten downfall of jim crow.

2. To provide a substitute for it.

Hundreds of colored students are now in Southern white colleges and universities. The figure is often placed as high as a thousand. And there has been no tension on the campuses of these schools, despite the demagogues' warnings that violence would come, were this to happen. Well, it has happened and there has been no violence.

It is going to happen more and more until every State school and university in the South opens its doors to students regardless of their color.

Slaps at Church Schools

I believe, in less than five years, all our graduate and undergraduate schools will be open to colored and whites. Five years? Let's make it three—I doubt that even my State of Georgia can hold out three years. Now as these State colleges open, our private colleges should open also—especially our schools supported by the churches.

Where else are the walls coming down? In interstate travel, changes have come rather swiftly. Because of the old taboo about eating, we Southerners know that the abolition of restrictions in dining cars is a profound cultural change.

Today, it is a pleasant thing to report that Southerners are now watching each other eat as they travel through Dixie and no one has felt violent about it, no one has fainted, no one has had acute indigestion. The sanity that our Southern people possess has prevailed.

"We Are Changing Down Here"

We are changing down here, changing rapidly, and without violence. Let us name quickly other changes:

Colored policemen on nearly every Southern city police force; colored trained nurses fully integrated now into the national association of graduate nurses with their full rights as to equal salaries, etc., protected; colored persons on civic boards of many Southern cities—the latest city to elect a colored representative to a city board is Greensboro, N. C.

The masks are off of the Klan in Georgia, in South Carolina, in Florida, in other Southern states also. Now, without secrecy, the Klan will soon die out.

More than 750,000 colored citizens voted in recent elections in the South. Indications are that a million and a half will vote in 1952. Many southern libraries have opened their research departments to colored scholars. A few city libraries have opened their front doors to all citizens who want to read, regardless of race.

Unsegregated audiences are becoming more and more widespread. In national sports, we have grown used to seeing colored and whites playing together.

Some Find Jim Crow Pays

In addition to the old-line politicians, there are white and colored people who do not want to give up segregation because they make money off of our jim-crow life. Colored business leaders of the South are, some of them, very sad about segregation going. They've grown rich in this segregated system.

But they should remember that all of us are still going to die someday—and all of us still need insurance, maybe more of it than ever, just now. Even if we are unsegregated, business will still be good!

There are white rural landlords in the backward counties who are unhappy about this, too, and certain white real estate groups in the North, and absentee landlords in the North—and a few Southern industrialists who want to control the race-baiting politicians.

Two Big Jobs Ahead

We have two big jobs ahead of us, now that profound changes are taking place in our South, now that segregation is crumbling. The first job is to hasten the crumbling, for **time is important.**

Our second job is a very important one, also. And I stress it here because it is so easy to forget it. We must give back to our people, white and colored, in this time of severe change, **something equal to or better** than that which has been taken away from them.

New Beliefs Necessary

We must give our people new beliefs, new images of themselves to substitute for the old "superior white" and the old "hurt, frustrated colored person," new outlets for their frustrations, new and **creative** outlets. (I am assuming that segregation is going to be as hard psychically for many colored people to up as as it is going to be for many whites.)

If we fail—we, the writers, the —New, and perhaps far less wise leaders, will take our place. The vacuum will be filled New words are going to be on the people's tongues. What these words are depends upon **us.**

The good people, the wise people, the talented ones, failed Germany in her time of great change.

Germany's poets, novelists and preachers and teachers could have filled this void, but they failed to do it. So Hitler filled it. He was the one who found words for the wounded German people. It was his images of "the German" that the people hugged to their minds.

No writer in the South after the Civil War, except George W. Cable, tried to give new images to our people. He gave us good words, but our people did not listen because only the one man spoke them. During Russia's great change, the new words were given the people by the Communist party.

"What a Sad, Tragic Thing"

What a sad and tragic thing this will be in our South if those who are gifted stay silent!

What words to use? What images to substitute for the old?

"While no writer or artist or speaker can tell others what to say, I think we can judge the rightness of our words, our feelings and acts, by checking and double-checking them with the shape that the world's future is taking, and checking that future with man's old dream.

What is this shape? What is the new image of our world and of mankind that is growing in our imaginations?

Each of us has his own dream, each puts his own words to his dream. To me, this future holds no room for segregation in any of its forms, whether it be racial segregation, or banning of books, and ideas, or political isolationism, or iron curtains or concentration camps or the split within men's own minds that isolate them from reality.

The ancient patterns of withdrawal are the patterns of death and destruction.

McGrath Testifies for Voters Riahts

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath last Friday urged stronger statutory protection of the right to vote in Federal elections as recommended by President Truman in his special message on civil rights to the Congress in 1948.

Mr. McGrath testified before the elections subcommittee of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee. The group, headed by Senator Guy M. Gillette, Democrat, of Iowa, is surveying election laws with a possible view of writing new legislation.

As a Senator, Mr. McGrath during the 81st Congress introduced an omnibus civil rights bill, part 2 of which was designed to protect the right to political participation.

Protect Voting Rights

In testifying last Friday, Mr McGrath directed attention to his bill, which, he said, would have provided amendments "of law essential to the protection of the right to vote."

The Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings on the McGrath bill in 1949, and one of the witnesses who appeared in support of it was Associate Justice Tom. C. Clark of the United States Supreme Court, who was then the Attorney General. The committee never acted on the McGrath bill but pigeonholed the measure.

Mr. McGrath told the elections subcommittee that his omnibus civil rights bill "would in several ways have afforded stronger statutory protection of the right to vote which the President of the United States urged upon the Congress in his civil rights message of 1948."

His proposal would have amended the section of the Hatch Act which makes punishable intimidation and coercion for the purpose of interfering with the right of another to vote as he chooses at elections for national office.

Applies to Primaries

The McGrath amendment would make the provision applicable to primary and special elections as well as to general elections for Federal office.

Attorney General McGrath also explained that his proposal would have amended the old 1870 Civil Rights Act, which presently declares it to be the right of citizens to vote at any election by the people in any state, territory, county, municipality, or other territorial subdivision without distinction as to race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Among other things, it would have broadened the application of that section to include primary and special elections, and would have modernized the protection so as to afford it to groups of diff-

INVITED EXAMINATION

Mr. McGrath commended to the committee an examination of his omnibus civil rights bill, which presently declares and nationalities of citizens to vote at any election by the people in any state, territory, county, municipality, or other territorial subdivision without distinction as to race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Among other things, it would have broadened the application of that section to include primary and special elections, and would have modernized the protection so as to afford it to groups of diff-

Senator Gillette, the elections subcommittee, Senators A. S. (Mike) Oklahoma and Thomas Jr., of Missouri, and Margaret Chase Maine and Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey, Republicans.

The Pending Southern Vote

WHILE the Dixiecrat movement is probably a dead letter in Democratic politics, the Dixiecrat spirit of antagonism to the Administration is very much alive, as Senator Byrd of Virginia indicated in his speech to Southern politicians last week.

The plan this time is not to attempt a third party movement but to place upon the ballot in each Southern state Democratic electors pledged to vote against the Truman wing in the Electoral College, with opposition based on the civil rights issue.

This move if successful will pose a real dilemma for Southern Negro voters in the Democratic party who favor civil rights but will find it difficult to vote for them where no candidate is committed to them.

At the same time this offers an opportunity for the Republicans to win the increasingly substantial Negro vote if they will take a strong position favoring the civil rights program instead of forming an alliance with the maverick Southern Democrats.

Negro Registration Sets Mark in 8 States

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

The largest number of Negroes ever eligible for participation in politics in the country's most important States were registered for yesterday's elections. In the eight most pivotal States, which control an overwhelming balance in the Electoral College, the Negro population totals 4,364,000.

These States, California, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, have 210 votes in the Electoral College, with a total of 266 necessary for election of a President of the United States. In addition, Negroes are politically pivotal in Maryland and Indiana with a total of 21 electoral ballots. Negro votes, therefore, if cast appreciably in any single direction, could possibly sway 231 of the total needed for election.

The report indicated, according to experts, that most of the gain in Negro population made in the pivotal States was at the expense of the South. In that 13-State area, Negro population declined in seven States. The South's white population showed an increase of approximately 16 percent as against a one-half percent gain for Negroes.

For yesterday's balloting, Negro registration in both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh reached new records. The Commonwealth's Negro population is above 600,000, with upward of 300,000 in Philadelphia. The Pittsburgh Negro total, while not yet officially tabulated by the Census Bureau, has been estimated as approaching 200,000.

Locally, yesterday's battle for Negro support on the part of both major parties centered in North Philadelphia, where unofficial estimates hold that upward of 80,000 Negroes live. The major portion of the area's Negroes centers in the 47th, 32d, 20th, 28th, and portions of the 15th Wards, where balloting was heavy.

NEGROES FAIL TO
VOTE AS A BLOCK

New York-(ANP) Although Negroes hold the balance of power in about six states, they do not vote as a block, but align themselves with progressive elements in both major political parties, Golden W.Brown told a forum last week.

The Catholic Inter-Racial Council sponsored the forum, which heard the former-director of boy scouts in Harlem trace the careers of Negro political personalities from Civil War to the present day.

Brown said the Negro men and women held office in more than half the states, and that they are found in judicial,administrative and foreign service positions.

He further said that it was a healthy sign that colored people did not pin their hopes of attaining full constitutional rights on any one political party.

World
Fri- 8-17-51
Memphis,Tenn.

Southerners Launch Bill On Poll Tax

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—(AP)—A Southern move to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections was launched in the Senate Thursday.

Legislation aimed at wiping out the tax, now effective in seven States, was introduced by Sen. Holland, Democrat, Florida.

It was endorsed by 11 other Southern Democratic Senators: Smathers of Florida, George of Georgia, O'Connor of Maryland, Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, McClellan and Fulbright of Arkansas, Ellender and Long of Louisiana, and Hoey and Smith of North Carolina.

The States where the payment of poll taxes is required as a prerequisite for voting are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Holland said South Carolina is ready to drop the poll tax.

"The poll tax requirement," he said, "has been accorded far greater importance than it deserves. . . . The amount of poll tax required to be paid is so small as to impose only a slight economic obstacle for any citizen who desires to qualify to cast a ballot."

But, he said, sponsors of the legislation feel that the poll-tax problem has been "so widely discussed and has been so generally regarded as the imposition of an undemocratic handicap on Negro citizens who comprise a minority group in our nation, that it would be good public policy and in the interest of sounder Democratic government" to remove it.

Is America Fooling the World About How She Treats Negroes?

How Negroes Are Kept From Voting Is Told to France

This is the first in a series of five articles written by the noted French author, Daniel Guerin, and published in installments in France in the Paris daily newspaper, Combat. These articles have been translated from the French and are being published in The Courier with Mr. Guerin's consent. The Courier wishes to point out that Mr. Guerin and his newspaper are anti-Communist and his views thus are not tainted with propaganda. Mr. Guerin lived among Negroes in America for two years, gathering his information first-hand.

Courier Sat. 3-31-51

By DANIEL GUERIN

(First in a Series of Five Articles)

PARIS—After a stay of a little over two years in the United States, during which I have had the opportunity of traveling up and down the former slave states, I should like to give the readers of "Combat" an outline of the present status of Negroes in the South: their political and social status.

This first article will deal with their political status. How do we stand? Does American democracy operate today with the effective participation of all its citizens? Or is the "government of the people, by the people and for the people," according to Abraham Lincoln's famous phrase, still but a "white government" in the South, a government of the white, by the white and for the white people?

Betrayal of the Negroes

The victory of the North over the South at the close of the War of Secession did not have as sole consequence the abolition of slavery; the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, passed during the evolutionary, so-called "Reconstruction" period, solemnly guaranteed to the Negroes the right to vote.

But, in 1876, a compromise was arrived at between Northern big capital and Southern planters. Federal troops were removed from the occupied areas. The Negroes were betrayed by their protectors of yesterday, "white supremacy" was restored in the South.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were treated like paper rags, with the complicity of the Supreme Court. The Southern states, one after the other, enacted laws which, by all kinds of devious methods, prevented the Negroes from voting. The so-called "grandfather" clauses prohibited the inscription on the register of voters of any person whose father or grandfather was not enjoying the right to vote on Jan. 1, 1867, that is to say on a date when Negroes had not yet been granted that right. The "poll taxes" made access to the ballot box subject to the payment of a tax, very burdensome for the Negroes. The "white primaries" permitted the designation of candidates before the elections themselves, in private assemblies of the Democratic party which were open to white men only. In addition to this, the Democratic party being, since the 1876 compromise, practically the only party existing in the South, the real elections took place without the Negroes.

The Ingenious System of the "Poll-Tax"

The system elaborated for the purpose of depriving the Negroes of their political rights has since been somewhat modified. But the breaks opened in its structure were immediately consolidated, generally in an effective way. The "grandfather" clauses were declared to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1915.

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The "white primaries" were invalidated in 1944 by the same authority, which confirmed its decision in 1948. The "poll taxes," however, are harder to kill. They have been voluntarily abolished (that is to say without intervention of the Federal authorities) by four states: North Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Georgia. But they are still in effect in seven states: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. In this latter state, at the beginning of 1949, a proposal to abolish the "poll tax" was rejected by a plebiscite.

(Editor's note: At this time, there are five states which require payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. They are: Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas. Tennessee recently passed laws invalidating the poll tax.)

Certain observers contest the fact that the "poll tax" prevents an important percentage of potential electors from voting. The amount to be paid is indeed not very large (between $1 and $2 per year, according to the state).

Tricky Collection

But it is especially the manner of its collection which, in certain states, deprives potential voters from the use of their right. Thus, in Alabama, the tax is cumulative: it must have been paid without a break since the age of twenty-one years: an individual who has never paid it and wishes to be entered on the register of voters must pay at once the whole arrears, which, for a person 45 years old, represents a relatives large amount ($36).

In Mississippi, the tax must have been paid during the three years previous to the elections. Moreover, the tax collectors in certain districts manage, under various pretexts, to "refuse" the payments of Negro applicants.

Serious Inequality

In addition to this, statistics prove that the percentage of voters as compared to the number of potential electors is much lower in the states which require the payment of a "poll tax" than in any others. At the time of the Presidential election of 1944, this percentage was 18.31 in these states (which were then eight in number) as against 68.74 in the forty other states. The enforcement of the "poll tax" in Texas reduced the number of voters from over 400,000 in 1900 to approximately 250,000 in 1904. Vice-versa, the rescission of the "poll tax" law in Louisiana resulted in a 44.5 per cent increase of the number of voters.

Up to this date, all bills laid before Congress for the purpose of removing the "poll tax" as far as the elections of Federal representatives or officials are concerned, were defeated.

"Qualifications"

Much more effective still than the "poll taxes" to prevent Negroes from voting are the laws which require of the electors certain "qualifications." As the old barriers ("grandfather" clauses, "white primaries," "poll taxes") progressively crumble, Southern legislators attempt to replace them with new ones. In Alabama, the Boswell Amendment which came into effect in 1946 reserves the privilege of inscription on the register of voters to "those who can read, write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language" and to those who "are of good moral character and understand the duties and obligations of a good citizen."

In Mississippi, the right to vote can be granted only to persons capable of reading or satisfactorily explaining the constitution of the state.

Since 1947, another potential voters will refuse to subscribe to it. Already, during the lifetime of the sworn enemy of the Negroes, those that ment with a "declara- ter were asked in certain dis- ciples" of the Demo- tricts: "If Bilbo were the party's of the State of Mis- candidate, would you vote for that declaration ex- him?" Those who refused were lems certain articles removed from the register of rights program in voters.

It is hoped that colored po-

In Georgia

In Georgia, since 1949, the potential elector must pass a test during the course of which he must reply, in a manner judged satisfactory, to a shower of arduous questions on constitutional law. The state legislators themselves, when questioned by reporters, were unable to answer them correctly. "Those are questions," wrote the New York Times, "which probably not one elector out of a hundred could answer."

South Carolina, since 1950, requires of potential electors that they be capable both of reading and writing any article of the state constitution and, moreover, that they should never have fornicated, hit a woman, practised sodomy, etc.

The Terror

But the most effective means for the prevention of Negro vote remains threats and terror. I brought back from New Orleans a photostatic copy of a letter sent on Jan. 15, 1948 (as witnessed by the postmark) from Lake Arthur (Louisiana) by anonymous white men to a Negro of the same community, Howard Higginbotham.

That letter warned him that if himself, his wife and six other Negroes whose names followed, dared to vote in the elections of Jan. 20, he "would pay for all of them." Underneath this threat was a death's head over two crossed tibias and the signature "K. K. K." (Ku Klux Klan).

In March, 1948, in Wrightsville, county seat of Johnson County in Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan organized a parade on the eve of an election. The "Great Dragon" announced to the crowd of his cowled followers that "blood would flow" if Negroes were treated on an equal footing with white men. The 400 Negroes entered on the register of voters (out of a Negro population of 4,500) did not dare to go to the polls.

On Sept. 8 of the same year, at Mount Vernon (Georgia), a Negro by the name of Isaiah Nixon was murdered on the night following the elections for having voted in spite of the threats which he had received. On the eve of the general elections of November, 1949, the Klan organized night cavalcades through the center of Florida. Negro electors considered it advisable to stay home on the day of the polls.

In short, in spite of the fact that certain former barriers have been abolished, the huge majority of Negroes are still prevented, in one way or another, from using their right to vote in the South. In 1948, out of 5,069,805 Negroes of voting age in the Southern States, 610,000 only were entered on the register of voters. The proportion between white and Negro electors was fourteen to one in Florida and 100 to one in Louisiana.

(To Be Continued)

Non-Voting as a Sin

LAST week Cardinal Elia della Costa of Florence, Italy, told his followers that failure to vote in certain critical circumstances is a far worse sin than missing mass or neglecting to receive the annual Easter communion.

The warning came thirteen days before the election of township and municipal officers.

These elections, the Cardinal emphasized, are gravely important because of the necessity of defeating the anti-Christian Communists who are so powerful in Italy that they administer many large cities, including Florence.

Said the Cardinal, "Whoever sustains from voting, or who votes for individuals who oppose Christian faith and morals, automatically makes himself responsible for all the damages that come after that to souls and consciences."

We strongly agree with this because year after year we see thousands of colored Americans who can qualify to vote very easily but who neglect to do so, even though they understand that this failure will place in power those who are their enemies.

There are only five states left in the United States that require payment of poll tax as a qualification for eligibility to vote, the amount of the tax is well within the means of every Negro adult, and yet only a handful of Negroes vote.

The other forty-three states do not require the payment of any poll tax as a qualification for voting, and yet hundreds of thousands, yes millions, of Negroes who could vote do not do so.

This is nothing less than a sin and there are far too many sinners among us. They scream and cry for their rights but fail to exercise the supreme right of all.

This negligence must end if we are ever to amount to anything politically.

High Court Blocks Stab At Poll Tax

WASHINGTON, May 28—(AP)—The Supreme Court Monday rejected a Negro's attack on Virginia's poll tax law but in two other civil rights actions it let stand lower court decisions that:

1. Negro and white segregation cannot be enforced because of zoning laws.

2. Railroads may not segregate Negro passengers by using so-called "Jim Crow" cars.

In the poll tax case, the High Tribunal upheld a ruling by a special three-judge Federal Court in nearby Alexandria, Va. That court had heard an attack on the law made by Mrs. Jessie Butler, Negro of Arlington County, Virginia. She charged the levy was adopted to prevent Negroes from voting and that the law was administered in such a way as to discriminate against Negroes.

The special court said the evidence in the case "failed utterly to show any discrimination against Negroes." The Supreme Court affirmed this decision by a brief order which noted only that Justice Douglas dissented.

In the zoning case, the Supreme Court refused to accept an appeal filed by the City of Birmingham, Ala., against a decision by the U. S. Circuit Court in New Orleans. That court held Birmingham's zoning ordinance violates the constitutional guarantee against depriving citizens of property without due process of law.

The ordinance makes it unlawful for a Negro to use or occupy a building in a white district or for a white person to use or occupy a building in a Negro district.

The city had contended the zoning plan was essential to peace and order and to property values. About 40 percent of Birmingham's population is Negro.

Validity of the zoning law was attacked by Mary Means Monk, a Negro who wished to build a house on a lot owned by her in a white district.

In the Jim Crow car case, the tribunal refused to accept an appeal filed by the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad from a decision by the U. S. Court of Appeals in Richmond that such segregation is a burden on interstate commerce.

White Speaks On Growing Power Of Negro Vote

BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

Executive Secretary Walter White told National Association for the Advancement of Colored People members Wednesday that the increasing power of the Negro vote can influence the next presidential election.

Mr. White said the increasing political power of the Negro vote is illustrated by the recent defeat in Congress of two proposals fought by the NAACP. He said:

"The increasing power of the Negro vote means we now have real political power. We can be an influencing factor in deciding the next presidential election."

White urged the NAACP convention delegates in Atlanta to put up an "insistent" fight to get favorable action on civil rights measures in Congress.

He said there are 41 bills and four resolutions on civil rights in the House and seven in the Senate.

Mr. White added:

"You must write your Congressmen and let them know what legislation you are for. If you don't do this, Senators and representatives who are fighting us, will tell other leaders that the Negro does not want the FEPC.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, who took part with Mr. White in a civil rights panel discussion, said:

"There is not a single Negro organization in this country that is in favor of segregation."

Mitchell pointed out that southern Congressmen have put up a vigorous fight for segregation in a number of recent bills. He mentioned the Winstead Amendment, attached to the Universal Military Training Bill, which he said "was designed to renew segregation in the Armed forces."

Voters Back Administration Slate In Lively Ward Election Wednesday

Daily World Thurs. 9-13-51 Atlanta, Ga.

BY C. W. GREENLEA

Atlanta's "new" citizens displayed keen interest Wednesday in choosing the persons who will represent them in the city government by turning out at the polls in a steady day-long stream that totaled more than sixty percent of the 27,997 eligible registered voters. On the whole, winners in the election were considered friendly to the Hartsfield administration.

In one of the most lively races Jesse Draper, Hartsfield friend beat Ben Camp, backed by Fulton County anti-Hartsfield forces. 2735 to 2236.

Many Negro voters were especially interested in the race of James C. Shelor against Carroll Schoen for 8th ward board of education post. Shelor has been considered a friend on Negro citizens for many years, having aided the Butler St. YMCA in its financial drives and serving as a definite influence on the Fulton County Board of Education in equalizing teachers salaries. He has served as president of the Fulton county board.

The "new" citizens are those of an 82 square mile area to be annexed to the city on January 1st, 1952, divided into three city wards, 7th, 8th, and 9th.

Thurs. 9-13-51

Negro voters in the three new wards exercised their civic duty to an extent that excelled the turnout of race voters in other elections in recent years. Although colored voters in the new wards totaled only approximately 2,000, spot checks indicated that more than one thousand (over 50 percent) of these cast ballots.

At the Anderson Avenue Elementary School where voters of the Dixie Hills section visited the precinct 9-A, 252 of the total 540 eligible voters turned out' Returns from the Lakewood School indicated that the voters of the Thomasville section had displayed a similar interest. Other populous Negro sections that are in the annexed area are Rockdale Park and Blandtown.

The voters made their selection from among 35 candidates who were running for positions as city councilmen, members of the board of education, members of the city Democratic executive committee. The vote was strictly on a "Ward" basis, with ballots being made for the candidates of that ward. Other voters of Atlanta were not eligible to vote in the Wednesday primary, but on December 5th, a general election will be held in which all city voters may pass on the elected candidates or any other opposition that might develop. All future elections will be on the "city-wide" basis.

In each of the three new wards voters chose one alderman, two councilmen, one school board member, and two executive committee members. Complete but unofficial returns showed the following winners:

Seventh Ward, Alderman, Cobb C. Torrence; Councilman No. 1, R. M. Clark; Councilman No. 2, Ogden Doremus; Board of Education, A. C. Latimer; Eighth Ward, Councilman No. 1, Jesse Draper; Board of Education, J. C. Shelor; Ninth Ward, Alderman, Lester Hardy; Councilman No. 1, Dean Calloway; Councilman No. 2, Charlie Leftkwin. P. L. Bardin, running for the ninth ward school board, had no opposition.

In two three-cornered races of the 8th ward a run-over election must be held because no candidate received a clear majority. Sam Jones must run against H. T. Sargent for the No. 2 council post, and Don Spicer must run against Collie B. Whittaker.

The newly annexed areas will give Atlanta a total population of 425,345 and 23rd place among American cities, according to the U. S. Department of Commerce division office here. The city's former total of 66,520 voters will be increased to 94,517. The relative strength of the Negro group vote has been decreased by the annexation. City colored voters formerly totaled 21,500, or roughly one-third of the old figure. The new sections have brought in only about 2,000 additional colored voters, dropping the voting strength to about one-fourth.

NEGROES VOTE EN BLOC ONLY WHEN FORCED TO

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn. Mon. 9-17-51

Their Balloting Only What Political Chiefs Make It

AUGUSTA IS AN EXAMPLE

By JOHN R. HENRY

International News Service Writer

AUGUSTA, Ga., Sept. 16.—What happened in Augusta's local elections serves today as new proof that the Negro vote is mainly what political bosses make of it.

If Negroes vote as a racial bloc, it is mostly because political leaders urge it.

Roy V. Harris thinks the rest of the South might do well to learn a lesson from his home-town politics.

Let it be said from the outset that Roy Harris is an outspoken champion of "white supremacy," but he also subscribes to this thesis:

"If the Negro vote ever becomes a balance of power in the South, it will be the fault of our political leaders."

Seen as 'King Maker'

Simple politics—Harris is former speaker of Georgia's House of Representatives. He is recognized generally as a "king maker" in state politics.

The chubby Augusta attorney, able to speak authoritatively on the Negro's role at the polls, does not fear the Negro vote as, indeed, many Southern political leaders indicate they do.

Harris is apprehensive, however, about a bloc vote of any sort, whether it be cast by Negroes, all the people named Jones, or by any specific group for specific interests.

To prevent such lumping of the Negro citizens' ballots, Harris recommended:

"It's simple politics to treat the Negro voter as a voter, not as a Negro. If candidates for office wouldn't 'play up' to them, then their vote would be split." Harris added:

"It also is the duty of the Negro citizen not to let his vote be herded. That invariably puts him on the spot, making him the victim of an issue."

Issue Becomes Prime Point

Augusta did it—the election of a new mayor in Augusta this week marked the second time that the so-called "Negro issue" has figured heavily in the town's recent politics.

Augusta has two political parties —the Crackers and the Independents.

A prolonged reign by Crackers ended five years ago with an Independent victory. The Independents counted most of the Negro precincts in their corner.

The Negro vote was regarded as particularly heavy in that election. The defeated Crackers claimed the Negroes tipped the decision in favor of the Independents.

Cracker leaders this time went after the Negro vote. Again the Crackers lost but the racial issue became a prime feuding point in the campaign.

Harris significantly pointed out, however, that in an interim election, neither the Crackers nor the Independents made a specific bid for the Negro ballot. The result was that the Negroes favored their individual preferences, and fewer of them voted, according to Harris.

Understandable — it should be clear, meanwhile, that it is not only the political leader who "plays up" to the Negro vote, if we may borrow a phrase, who stampedes Negroes into bloc balloting.

Political Boss Guilty

No less guilty is the political boss who defies the Negro to go to the polls. The candidate who rants and raves about the danger of Negro power in politics also shares the blame for bloc voting.

This is the view of Dr. George Mitchell, director of the Southern Regional Council, which devotes itself to Dixie's sociological problems. Dr. Mitchell explained:

"As long as the Negro is deprived, because of racial prejudice, any highly desired constitutional right, such as the right to vote, then we certainly may expect them always to vote as a bloc."

Dr. Mitchell drew an example. He said:

Memphis

"If your name was John Doe, and an office-seeker proclaimed if he were elected, anybody named John Doe could not vote, would you vote for him?"

Tenn.

Dr. Mitchell waited for no obvious answer. He continued:

"Everyone who has honestly studied the question is impressed by the integrity of today's Negro voters.

"The very vast majority are guided by conscience and principle.

"It is our firm belief that there is no reason whatsoever to expect Negro voters to cast their ballots in a lump after they are assured of their rights to go to the polls."

Voters League Starts New 51-52 Program

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 9-27-51

The Atlanta Negro Voters League Wednesday night elected officers for the year 1951-52, adopted a permanent constitution and by-laws, and set forth its program for the ensuing year, keynoting its plan to build the registered voters strength up to 40,000 citizens.

Unanimously adopting a nominating committee's report, League members named Attorney A. T. Walden and Masonic Grandmaster John Wesley Dobbs as Co-chairmen of the organization.

Co-vice-chairmen named were C. A. Scott and A. S. Holloman; jointly named as secretaries were W. J. Shaw and Warren R. Cochrane; assistant secretaries were J. H. Calhoun and C. W. Greenlea; treasurer, C. R. Yates; chaplain, Rev. W. M. Jackson, Jr.; chairman of the voters registration committee, Dr. C. A. Bacote; and chairman of the program committee, Jacob R. Henderson.

In setting forth the main objective of its program, the League instructed Prof. Bacote to begin the effort to raise Atlanta's Negro voters to 40,000 in number.

J. H. Calhoun, who served as chairman of the League's effort to get a representative turnout of voters in the recent city new ward election, reported that colored voters of the newly annexed areas were highly active and carried out their political programs successfully. On a motion of Claude George, the League decided to hold a special observance after the first of next year and welcome these new citizens into the city limits.

A committee headed by C. A. Scott reported its activity toward securing Negro appointments to the Atlanta Fire Department.

While congratulating the League for its successful program in obtaining a new library for Negro citizens, Mrs. A. A. McPheeters, director of Negro branches, warned League members that citizens are not patronizing library facilities in appreciable numbers and making it difficult to justify mantenance of present branches or construction of new libraries in colored communities.

Race Voters Issue In Augusta Ga.

AUGUSTA, Ga. —(ANS)—Believe it or not, the Negro who was once said undeserving of ballot in Georgia, is definitely in and recognized here.

At least this seems to be the indication as Augusta setles down to elect a mayor Wednesday (this week), with the city divided between the Cracker Party and the Independents, who a few years ago, staged a major political upset by beating the Cracker Party and putting it out of business.

Newspaper advertisements on the last leg this week appealed to the 5,500 qualified Negroes to vote for former mayor W. D. Page, regarded as choice of the Cracker party, whom as promised more colored policemen, representation on city council and several other recognitions..

But workers for councilman Hugh Hamilton, choice of the Independents, were equally as busy trying to swing these votes behind their candidate, which is believed to be "the" votes since the city is about divided among the 16,000 white voters.

Observers feared, however, the open Cracker Party bid would cost it some white support. Roy V. Harris, outspoken leader of white supremacists, is a keystone of the Cracker Party, and opposed to Negro integration.

Completely absent is the old customary "Negro issue". Both sides say publicly what the plan to do for Negroes, if elected, and they publish it in newspapers.

The Court Speaks Again

Once again, the Federal Court has spoken on the question of the right of qualified Negroes to participate in the Primary elections of the South. This week the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans slapped down the so-called "private white primary" scheme, which its sponsors claimed was like unto a private social club. The position of the three-man tribunal is the same as that of the United States Supreme Court; viz the primary cannot be construed to be a private club in that it allows no other means or mode through which the Negro can express his choice for candidates running for elective offices.

The question, is therefore, to all intents and purposes, settled. Negroes or any other minorities qualified to do so, must be allowed to vote. Many schemes and devices may be resorted to, even after the Negro has been permitted to register, to prevent him from exercising the franchise. But, like the infamous Boswell Amendment, all of them will be knocked down once they reach the court.

With that, the court will probably be called upon to give a decision upon the question of membership of Negroes in the Democratic Party itself. There is really no good reason why Negroes should not have full representation and membership in the Party. In South Carolina the Court ruled that Negroes should be admitted. That time will come, we believe, and it will be mutually helpful to both Negroes and whites.

South Carolina Ends Poll Tax

Tennessee House Also Approves Measure To End Vote Levy

ATLANTA, Feb. 13 — (AP) — South Carolina discarded the poll tax as a requirement for voting in general elections Tuesday.

And the Tennessee House unanimously passed and sent to the Senate a bill which a representative said "absolutely kills the poll tax."

South Carolina's action came when the General Assembly ratified a constitutional amendment approved by the people last year. It knocks out the old provision that men aged 21 through 60 must prove they had paid their current $1 a year poll tax before they could vote in general elections.

The Tennessee bill provides that a male between 21 and 50 would only have to pay the poll tax assessed against him in 1871, the year after the constitution was adopted.

Rep. H. Sanders Anglea, of Nashville, said the bill indirectly killed the $1 poll tax because a resident would have to be of voting age in 1871 and nobody in Tennessee is now that old (101 years). And furthermore, he added, there was no poll tax in 1871. Te poll tax wasn't levied until 1890.

Under present law, poll tax payment is required for the year preceding an election." Veterans, women, the blind and those over 50 are exempt.

Other southern poll tax states are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. Alabama Governor Gordon Persons has said he'll recommend modification of the cumulative feature which can require payment of up to $36 in back poll taxes to vote. He suggested it be cut to two years or $3 in back tax. Action this year is unlikely.

Voters League Charters 1951 Program Here

The Atlanta Negro Voters League met Thursday night, February 1, at the Butler Street YMCA, and adopted a program for 1951. Included were plans for two programs during the year, which would be open to the public.

The first public meeting will be the Lincoln Douglas Day program, to be held on February 25. It was announced that Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, has accepted and agreed to be the principal spaker at Big Bethel Church during this meeting. This program will also include discussions on the subject of mobilization and foreign relations.

The second public program will be the Labor Day public outing with an address by what they call "a citizen of national prominence."

Another phase of the year's program is the formation of a public relations committee, headed by C. T. Perkins. The group also discussed setting up what is called a permanent organization, which would be established by wards, precincts and blocks.

The plan further call for a committee on mobilization and civilian defense to intercede for the integraton of Negroes in these activities of the community. There will also be a committee on police and firemen, which will work toward securing additional Negro policemen, and the establishing of a fire station on the west side of the city.

Voters League Adopts New Constitution

Promulgating itself as a permanent organization, the Atlanta Negro Voters League Friday night officially adopted a constitution and agreed to elect officers Tuesday, April 25, 1951 to serve until the next annual meeting in January 1952.

Among the features outlined in the new constitution are: qualifications for membership; registered voters living in Fulton and DeKalb counties; purpose; "to encourage, stimulate and develop non-partisan permanent organization will be di- Negroes in Metropolitan Atlanta;" annual and special meetings. The permanent organiation will be directed by an executive committee composed chiefly of officers.

The league, which was formed in 1948, in the interest of non-partisan participation in political campaigns, has, in the eyes of many observers made the greatest contribution to the advancement of suffrage among Negroes in recent Atlanta history. The harmony which has prevailed among Negro leaders, and the respect which has been accorded to the group have been cited many times by the press and by public figures as an outstanding example of the rapid maturing of Negro voters.

It is expected that the establishment of a permanent organization will help to solidify the gains which have been made by Atlanta leadership.

New Vote Campaign

The Georgia Negro Voters League, at its recent meeting in Macon, outlined plans for an intensive Vote Registration campaign to add another 150,000 Negroes to the voters rolls. The idea is to bring to the Negro a consciousness and importance of his place and his responsibility in promoting responsible, democratic government. It is a difficult task both for white and Negro people to appreciate fully this important duty. As a consequence, less than 80 per cent of the American eligible voters take the trouble to vote in a presidential election. That figure grows smaller in accordance with the interest and the issues in local campaigns. In Georgia the Negro eligible voters show even less interest. Part of this of course, is due to the scare campaign by the Klan and those working with the Klan to keep the Negro voters home on election day. And part is due to the lethargy of the Negro.

But in this campaign, we trust that all eligible citizens will get registered and prepare to cast a ballot for good government. We have no right to sit around and complain about conditions. No one is obligated to purchase another's freedom for him. Each man, and no person is allowed to vote until he is grown, should win his freedom. That freedom will come in proportion to the interest we take in helping to elect capable men to office.

County Unit System Hit In Second Suit

GREENVILLE, Ga. — (INS)— A Cherokee County farmer Friday declared Georgia's County Unit System discriminates against white voters and asked a court at Greenville to declare the system unconstitutional.

Attorneys said the suit filed by W. M. Cox is the first one in memory in which a white Georgian seeks the protection of the 15th amendment, which guarantees the right to vote regardless of race.

Cox contended that the County Unit System gives an advantage to 'black bloc" counties at the expense of counties with small Negro populations, such as his own.

He said that last year Georgia had 46 counties with more Negroes than whites. Since 1930, the suit maintained, 38 of those counties have voted together so consistently that politicians have named them "the Black Bloc."

The 67-year-old farmer seeks $100 actual damage and $100,000 punitive damages for the alleged devaluation of his vote through use of the County Unit System of counting ballots.

Named as defendants are State Democratic Party Chairman James Peters and former Party Secretary Mrs. Iris Blitch. They also were named as defendants last week in a similar suit filed by Dodge County Editor Edwin Methvin.

ALBANY, Ga. — (SN—

MAYOR, TWO COMMISSIONERS TO BE NAMED BY VOTERS

In what has been called "Albany's most important election,' 'a record turn-out of 8,000 voters are expected to represent one-third of the balloting with nearly three thousand expected to trek to polls. Negro leaders are begging that registered voters go to the polls and vote. "One leaders stated 'If we fail our friends now we might as well stop voting, so urgent is the need-to cast a large number of votes."

Each candidate is expected to get some of the Negro vote. Just who they will throw their strength is not known. Leaders have been silent as to their choice. Negroes who have been voting in the Democratic Primary since 1945 and in most instances do not know the politicians who offer for public office. They are forced to take advice from their leaders.

Atlanta Voters Boil Over Auditorium 'Side Door' Incident

ATLANTA—The Negro Voters League threatened to make the City Auditorium "side door" incident the main factor in a registration drive for 40,000 Negro voters in Atlanta and Fulton County.

A league committee, headed by Atty. A. T. Walden and John Wesley Dobbs, called on Mayor William B. Hartsfield, who assured them the incident "would never happen again."

Negroes had been required to take a side door entrance to the Duke Ellington-Sarah Vaughan-Nat King Cole show. Many refused to enter the jim-crow doors to a Negro attraction. Several thousand did see the show, however.

The Voters League representatives called on Mayor Hartsfield to carry out more promises of the administration still lagging, although the last election was held in 1949.

The league plans a systematic campaign to register every available and eligible person of color in the Atlanta environs as a "buckle of freedom."

Manager H. H. Niebruegge disclaimed total responsibility in the "side door" affair, but a spokesman said he expressed regret of erring in judgment.

A later opinion expressed by committee members was that pressure of more Negro voters must be made to gauarantee that Negroes not be shunted to the side door for Auditorium engagements.

Rumors have it that all of the white people who came to Albany in the last five years will vote "on bloc" for one candidate because they do not know the candidates very well.

The pre-election battling has been furious with the candidates for Mayor taking verbal punches at each other with lefts and rights. Each camp predicts a clear-cut-decisive victory.

Louisiana Negro Suing For Vote Killed by Deputy

By the Associated Press

OPELOUSAS, La., Nov. 19—A Negro seeking Federal Court action for the right to vote was shot to death during a fight with a deputy sheriff.

Sheriff Clayton Guilbeau identified the man as John Lester Mitchell, 33, and said he was shot by Deputy Sheriff David Lanclos yesterday.

Sheriff Guilbeau said the shooting occurred this way:

Deputy Lanclos, assigned to keep order in Negro night spots, found Mr. Mitchell "acting rowdy and out of control" at "the Chicken Shack." He ordered Mr. Mitchell to leave.

A scuffle occurred. Deputy Lanclos, the sheriff said, fearing he was about to be overpowered, drew his revolver and fired.

An inquest was ordered for Wednesday by Coroner Gerald Bertinot.

Mr. Mitchell and two other Negroes recently filed suit in Federal Court here asking that George Blanchard, registrar of voters, be required to allow them to vote. They claimed they were denied registration solely because of their race and contended they were being denied civil rights guaranteed under the United States Constitution.

The suit was scheduled for hearing before Federal Judge Gaston L. Porterie on November 29.

VOTE ROLLS SHOW JUMPS IN CITIES OVER LOUISIANA

Registration Below 1948 in Some Rural Areas

(The Associated Press)

Baton Rouge, La., Dec. 19—Louisiana's vote registration, with more than half the parishes counted, Wednesday showed cities had vaulted to new highs while many rural areas had fallen off compared with 1948.

Thirty-six of the state's 64 parishes have reported final figures. In 24 of the 36, Negro registration soared from 8803 in 1948 to 35,125 last Saturday.

In comparison, white registration in the same 24 parishes rose from 277,528 four years ago to 366,695.

The books closed last Saturday, a month before Louisiana's nine Democratic candidates for governor step into the Jan. 15 first primary.

Orleans Total Awaited

Orleans, the largest population center, is unheard from so far. It alone usually provides about one-fourth the state registration. Parish returns are coming in slowly, the office of the state director of registration said here.

Examination of the Dec. 15 final totals in the 36 parishes show:

A total of 487,016 registrations, compared with 466,810 in October, 1948, available registration figures for that year.

The December, 1951, total of 487,016 includes 451,891 whites and 35,125 Negroes. No Negroes were registered in 12 of the 36 parishes.

The 36 reporting included the cities of Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, Alexandria and Monroe.

City Parishes Gain Most

Most of the city parishes showed strong increases, such as:

Caddo parish (Shreveport), from 43,136 in 1948 to 48,809 in December, 1951.

East Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge), from 45,323 to 54,241.

Calcasieu (Lake Charles), from 29,694 to 38,386.

Rapides (Alexandria), from 29,899 to 35,964.

However, Ouachita (Monroe) showed a slight decline, from 28,219 in 1948 to 26,947.

Eighteen of the 36 parishes, mostly rural, showed less registration than in 1948, according to the October, 1948, table printed by the secretary of state's office.

Most of the parishes showing a decrease were off only slightly, as for instance, Acadia had 23,726 in 1948, as against 22,451 this year; St. Landry had 22,391 four years ago compared with 22,040 this year, and Tangipahoa, 19,081 compared with 18,778.

Negro Registration Up

Negro registration in some parishes showed huge increases. Take Vermilion. In 1948, only two Negroes were on the rolls. The figure Wednesday is 1085, compared with 17,599 whites.

And in Natchitoches, the Negro total rose from 720 to 2409 in the four-year period.

In Rapides, Negro registration soared from 78 in 1948 to 4929; Calcasieu showed 1018 Negroes registered four years ago, compared with 5080 Wednesday.

The Negro total more than doubled in East Baton Rouge, from 2271 to 5876. In Caddo, it increased from 1500 to 4712.

The Dec. 15 registration deadline was for the Jan. 15 primary. Citizens will find the books open again between Jan. 16 and noon, Jan. 19, to register in time for the second primary on Feb. 19.

218,559 ORLEANS VOTERS REGISTER

New Record Set; 216,000 Enrolled as Democrats

A record number of 218,559 persons have registered through Dec. 21 to vote in New Orleans, William S. Farrell, Orleans parish registrar of voters, announced Friday.

Persons who register after Dec. 21 will be ineligible to vote in the Jan. 15 Democratic gubernatorial primary, he said.

Farrell estimated that — although he had not completed a recent breakdown on party affiliation—approximately 216,000 of the total registrants are registered as members of the Democratic party and therefore will be eligible to vote in the Jan. 15 Democratic gubernatorial primary.

About 575 Republicans

He explained that at the time of his last previous check of party affiliation on Nov. 16, there were 475 persons registered as Republicans.

Since that time about 100 more persons have registered as Republicans and there are over 1000 persons on the rolls who are listed either as members of other parties and factions, or as having no party affiliation, he said.

The previous registration high was recorded on Oct. 7, 1950, when a registration of 212,895 was reported, Farrell said.

Figures by Wards

Total registrations by wards follow:

	White	Negro	Total
Ward 1	4,015	575	4,590
Ward 2	3,511	1,299	4,810
Ward 3	13,863	1,275	15,138
Ward 4	14,193	721	14,914
Ward 5	9,788	1,920	11,708
Ward 6	5,609	333	5,942
Ward 7	19,787	3,681	23,468
Ward 8	19,933	217	20,150
Ward 9	22,116	2,619	24,735
Ward 10	7,462	1,744	9,206
Ward 11	7,969	3,749	11,718
Ward 12	11,200	1,579	12,779
Ward 13	10,095	1,150	11,245
Ward 14	17,621	548	18,169
Ward 15	9,174	1,837	11,011
Ward 16	5,615	741	6,356
Ward 17	11,495	1,125	12,620
	193,446	25,113	218,559

State Vote Registration

The 20,000 net gain in voting registration in 36 of the 64 parishes over 1948's total of 467,000 in the same parishes does not in itself augur fulfillment of predictions of a 1,000,000-vote registration for the coming primaries. This group accounted for 50 per cent of the state's 1945 total. The group includes five of the urban parishes, while the gain in Orleans is yet unknown and uncertain. Orleans had 208,000 registered in October, 1948, and 213,000 in April, 1951; but the total was down to 207,000 last July and to 209,000 last September.

The partial "complete count" shows that most of the urban parishes are doing well indeed in pushing up registration, their increases ranging as high as 29 per cent. Their average gain over 1948 is 16 per cent, or 5 per cent per year—quite a contrast to the 1.35 per cent overall population increase for Louisiana recorded between 1940 and 1950.

On the other hand serious maladjustment, in population, registration response, or both, during the past three years, is reflected in 12 of the 36 parishes. These have dropped altogether from 180,000 to 85,000 (all white registrations). To offset this heavy loss, it was necessary for the other 24 parishes in the group to gain 89,000 white and 26,000 Negro registrants. Considering white registrations alone, the 36 parishes combined actually show a loss of 6000 for the past three years.

We hope that this does not indicate a "what's-the-use" voting attitude among Louisianians, arising from certain complexities in the gubernatorial race. A vote always has use; but the time for disputing that point and deciding negatively certainly should not come earlier than the day of election, and certainly not as soon as 30 days before. Life is full of surprises; and the notion that a "vote can be wasted," under certain circumstances, is one of the foolish instances of self-deception that immemorially have blocked or handicapped the republican process.

Gives Alibi That Victim 'Was Rowdy'; Opelousas Is Tense

OPELOUSAS, La.—The determination of Negro citizens to secure their constitutionally guaranteed rights of franchise and the vicious insistence of whites that Negroes shall be denied have transformed this community from the "Sweet Potato Capital of the United States" of a few weeks ago into a virtual powder-keg of race hate and violence.

John Lester Mitchell, 33, one of three persons to sue for the right to register and vote, was shot to death Nov. 17, by David Lanclos, a white special deputy, who was exonerated Wednesday by a coroner's jury.

Mitchell, who, with Joseph Hubert and Joseph Donatto Sr., sued Registrar of Voters George Blanchard several weeks ago in Federal Court for refusing to register Negroes, was shot through the heart and killed late Saturday night outside of the Chicken Shack, a local night club.

DEPUTY BEATEN

Noey Brown, another white special deputy, was reportedly severely beaten by four Negroes here Sunday. The reasons were undisclosed, however, police arrested Freddie Guillory and an unidentified man on a charge of "aggravated battery with attempt to kill."

Brown was taken to the Charity Hospital, New Orleans, for treatment.

Concerning Mitchell's slaying, Lanclos said Mitchell was "acting rowdy." He allegedly called Mitchell outside the building where he said, "the man became uncontrollable" and was "about to overpower" him when he fired the shot which struck Mitchell in the heart.

Several Negroes are said to have witnessed the affair but are afraid to talk.

DEPUTY CLEARED

Lanclos and Brown are special deputies who are not on the sheriff's payroll but who are given commissions to carry firearms as "peacemakers" or "bouncers" in St. Landry Parish night clubs.

Dr. Gerald Bertinot, coroner, returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide" in Mitchell's death Wednesday following an inquest.

Testifying before the coroner's jury, Lanclos said he shot Mitchell because "he had me worn out and was trying to get my gun."

Another white witness, King Black Jr., Baton Rouge, testified that he saw Lanclos holding a pistol in one hand and pushing Mitchell with the other, and heard Lanclos say: "Go home before I have to shoot you."

Black said he heard Mitchell say, "Well, shoot." He said Lanclos replied, "You're asking for is, so here it is," before firing the fatal shot.

NAACP ASKS PROBE

Mitchell was the second Negro to die in the fight for the franchise for St. Landry Negroes.

Alvin H. Jones, prominent New Orleans educator, while touring for the Louisiana Progressive Voters League, was set upon and beaten in the registration office here June 5, 1950, when he and several other Negroes went to inquire about registering.

Jones, who was severely injured, died Oct. 30, 1951, in the Veterans' Hospital, New Orleans, as a result of an operation necessitated by the beating.

In New Orleans, last week, the NAACP described Mitchell's slaying as a "deliberate murder" and "another step toward creating a reign of terror among all Negroes in St. Landry Parish who are desirous of becoming voters."

The NAACP, in a letter to U. S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, asked for a thorough probe into Mitchell's death as well as other conditions surrounding the registration issue in St. Landry Parish.

Records of the Secretary of State disclose that there are 17,061 white persons registered as voters but no Negroes.

A 'New Day' Dawns In La. Politics

A "NEW DAY" in the political life of the Negro in Louisiana saw its beginning in Alexandria Sunday, September 30. On this day more than 150 political leaders from 44 parishes in the state met "to evaluate the political situation that faces the Negro of Louisiana", and "to direct votes which will be more than leaves cast upon political waters to drift out to sea."

Tired of being disorganized, quietly and effectively a steering committee chaired by Dave Dennis, New Orleans ILA Longshore leader, set out about five months ago to organize the Negro vote on a statewide basis and stimulate registration. More than 12,000 miles were covered by members of the steering committee seeking out the political leadership of Negroes in the state.

This Herculean effort at political unity on a statewide basis was hailed by many at the meeting as the "second emancipation."

Gubernatorial candidates were discussed but more important was the observation by several delegates concerning registration of all eligible Negro voters in the state. Aware of the unrelenting fight we must make for first class citizenship and the desire of an oppressed minority for respect and fair play in accordance with the principles of democracy, these delegates significantly pointed out that the closer we reach the 300,000 registered voters mark the more respected and considered we will become as citizens in Louisiana.

Though a gubernatorial candidate will be endorsed that the entire body will support throughout the state, emphasis is on **Registration.** The entire assembly deplored the fact that Negroes, in the many parishes where they encounter no hostility or intimidation, fail to avail themselves of the opportunity. Efforts will be concentrated upon these people who, due to lack of interest or a feeling of fear, do not register.

They regarded the task as a day to day job done year in and year out and not just for the coming election at which time 100,000 voters are expected to be on the poll books.

The Statewide Political and Registration committee also plans to give legal assistance to those in parishes who are denied the right to register. It was disclosed at the meeting that ten or more suits are in the process of being filed.

Without a doubt the meeting in Alexandria was a memorable one from many angles. First it brought the many statewide political leaders together for the first time, to this writer's knowledge, to counsel and exchange experiences in the field of politics. Second, the leadership present was in complete accord that there should be unity within our own political ranks in the support of one and only one gubernatorial candidate. Third, it was clear to everyone present that the assembly meant business about the political future of the Negro in Louisiana. And finally because these political leaders met and expressed themselves in regards to political unity and increased registration, it is safe to say that demagoguery in Louisiana politics insofar as insulting remarks about Negroes is at an end. The politician or candidate seeking office now cannot afford to ignore your vote. He has pitch and frame to his speeches so as to include you, too, in his general appeal for votes and support.

With an all-out registration drive now under way in the state and political unity in the making the Negro vote will be reckoned with in the coming gubernatorial election and future elections. The Statewide Political and Registration committee is well on the way to make democracy work in Louisiana and refute its imperfections which the Communists use as propaganda against the United States.

Negroes Say They Will Vote In Louisiana

OPELOUSAS (ANP) — Lured on by the qualification of Negro candidates for office next January, when the Democratic primary will be held, defiant Negroes last week filed notice through the press that they intended to present themselves daily for registration at the office of the registrar George Blanchard.

Their action came after about 20 or 25 filed into the courthouse, Friday morning, to register but found the registrar out, and no excuse given for his absence.

The group is backed by the parish chapter of the NAACP, which advised the U. S. attorney at Shreveport in writing last week that Negroes would attempt to register and asked for "federal protection." A copy of the letter was sent to Sheriff Guilbeau.

The Negroes filed into the courthouse lobby. Several of their number tried the registrar's door, found it locked, then stood in the rows on either side of the corrido for about 10 minutes, then filed out.

In announcing their intention to register daily, the Negroes said they did not know if any federal officials were there at the time.

Last summer several Negroes attempting to register were beaten severely. Also a Negro desiring to know where to register for volunteering into the Armed Forces, applied to the registrar's office by mistake and was beaten by a deputy who thought the Negro wanted to vote.

Negroes Say They Will Vote In La.

Sat - 11-10-51

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In the coming January 15 Democratic primary, a Negro, Kermit Parker, has qualified as a gubernatorial candidate; two have their hats in the ring for the state senate and several for the legislature. Unless registration is stepped up, the running of candidates will be futile.

Succumbs to Injuries After 17 Months

Dies in Behalf of Vote Registration

Distinguished La. Educator Victim Of Mob Beating in Registrar's Office; Sought Right of Negroes to Vote in State

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU

NEW ORLEANS—Blind race hate and the vicious determination on the part of St. Landry Parish officials to keep Negroes from becoming registered voters are believed responsible for the death here, Oct. 30, of Alvin H. Jones, 55. The nationally prominent educator and principal of the South Town High School, Houma, La., with five residents of Lebeau, La., was brutaly beaten by a white mob in the registrar of voters' office in Opelousas, La., June 5.

Mr. Jones, former instructor at Xavier University, New Orleans, and Southern University, Baton Rouge, died following an operation in the Veterans Administration Hospital for a spinal ailment which he said was caused by the 1950 beating.

DEATHBED STATEMENT

Acting as representative of the Louisiana State Progressive Voters League, Mr. Jones was making a tour of Louisiana in the interest of having Negroes registered when attacked by the mob.

Interviewed in the hospital by Jackson V. Acox, executive secretary of the Orleans Parish Progressive Voters League, about thirty-six hours before his death, Mr. Jones disclosed that he had undergone an operation for a blood clot on the spine which he said was caused by the beating he suffered in Opelousas.

In an exclusive statement to the Courier, Mr. Acox said:

"Alvin H. Jones is truly a martyr to the Negro registration cause. His death is a severe loss to the Negro race as a whole and must serve as the stimulus for greater registration in all parts of Louisiana. The Louisiana State Progressive Voters League will use every legal means at its command to avenge his death and to urge that the guilty parties be punished. He shall not, he must not die in vain!"

NO FBI REPORT

Mr. Jones, with a group of prospective Negro voters entered the office of Registrar of Voters George C. Blanchard, Room 110, St. Landry Parish Courthouse Building, Opelousas, La., about 10:45 o'clock on the morning of June 5, 1950.

Kell Rachal and Charles Nash. All were attacked and beaten by a group of white men in the office.

The case was reported immediately to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, however, no action has been taken against the registrar nor has any report been publicized placing the guilt.

TELLS OF BEATING

Interviewed by the Courier on the day of the incident, Mr. Jones told the following story:

"I entered the registrar's office with five men from Lebeau, La. Four or five men dressed like farmers were in the office at the time, as well as several white ladies.

"I walked directly to the desk where the registrar was seated. He appeared to be busy so I stood there waiting. In the meantime, the white men asked the Lebeau group what they wanted. They said they had come to register.

"One white man said, 'N——r's don't register here. You'd better get out of her.' Then they began beating Moore, Simien, Rideaux, Rachal and Nash, who ran from the office.

USED BRASS KNUCKLES

"Without asking me a word, they began beating me with their fists, blackjacks, brass knuckles and the butt of a revolver. I fought my way to the door despite the shower of heavy blows rained on my head and face.

"The white ladies in the office pleaded with the men to stop beating me."

Mr. Jones related, in a telephone interview with the Courier, how he escaped into the corridor of the courthouse and, bleeding profusely from nine cuts on head and face, went to the office of Dr. A. C. Terrence for treatment. He reported the incident to Sheriff Clayton Guilbeau and Police Chief Roland Chachere.

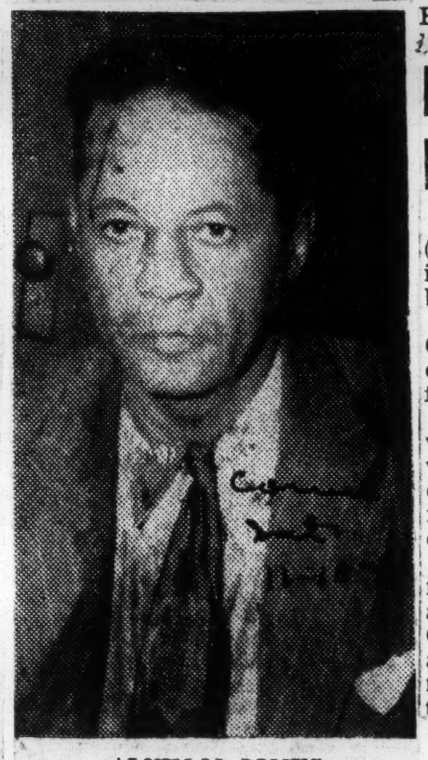
The Courier made an immediate complaint to the New Orleans office of the FBI and Mr. Jones, on his return to New Orleans, signed a statement.

CHAMPION OF RIGHTS

Known as a champion for Negro rights, Mr. Jones served for a while as executive secretary for the New Orleans Urban League.

A native of Napoleonville, La., Mr. Jones was the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. August Jones. He received his early education in New Orleans, went to New York to graduate from the DeWitt Clinton High School, took his Bachelor of Arts degree from Columbia University, and his master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania.

The funeral was set for Nov. 5, awaiting the arrival of his son, Geddes Alvin Jones, now studying in Paris, France. Other survivors are a daughter, Alva Jones; two brothers, Sawyer Jones, New Orleans, and Evard Jones, Napoleonville, La.; four sisters, Mmes. Naomi Parnell and Althea Heins, New Orleans; Marion Williams, Napoleonville, and Velma Brewer, Pittsburgh, Pa., and a host of other relatives.



ALVIN M. JONES
. . . died for his people

Negroes eligible, Reds barred in Louisiana

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 3—(AP)—Negroes may now vote legally in Louisiana Democratic primaries but Communists are barred.

The State Democratic Central Committee meeting here yesterday changed its rules of qualification for voters and candidates.

Where the rules formerly said a voter or a candidate "shall be a white person," the new rule says only that he or she "shall be registered as a member of the Democratic Party."

But it adds that the voter must never have been "a member of or associated with any Communist or Communist-front organization listed as such by the congressional committee on un-American activities or the Department of Justice."

Negro Voters At Alex Officials For First Time

Alexandria, La. (Special)—The Rapides Parish Voters League in a series of "know your public officials" meetings featured several of the city's leading citizens last week. It was the first time in the history of the city that public officials had ever appeared before Negro voters.

They were Gertie Kelly, Jr., sheriff; Ben J. Thompson, district attorney, and Walter M. Hunter, Jr., judge of the ninth judicial court.

These officials explained their duties to a crowd estimated at 500 persons that braved the inclement weather to be present.

J. E. Hines, director and first vice-president, served as master of ceremonies.

Attorney Louis Berry, president of the league, said that the meetings are to serve as an orientation course in the community to acquaint the citizens with local and state government officials.

He also stated that the next meeting will be held on Friday, December 28 when other officials of the city, the parish and the state will be presented.

MANHUNT UNDER WAY:

More Racial Violence Flares Up in Louisiana

OPELOUSAS, La.—(ANP)—Apparently colored citizens in this race-hating community, where a man who wanted to vote was shot recently, are in for more violence. In the latest development a manhunt is under way for three men accused of attacking a white night club employee who holds a "non-salaried sheriff's commission."

Two other persons have been jailed as accomplices and all will be charged with beating and attacking the "club bouncer" with a knife. However, only one of them, Freddies Guillory, has been identified. He is charged with aggravated battery with attempt to kill.

Voting Rights Case Up

Meanwhile, Nov. 29 has been set as the date for George Blanchard, registrar of voters, to appear before Federal Judge Gaston L. Porterie and show why he should not be restrained from preventing colored citizens from registering because of their color.

Sheriff Clayton J. Guilbeau of St. Landry Parish, said the beating of the bouncer took place 24 hours after the killing of John L. Mitchell, a colored man who had registered to vote, by another non-salaried commissioned "club bouncer," David Lanlos. Club bouncers are privileged to carry weapons and are stationed in colored clubs to keep order.

Probe Asked

Just what inveigled the five men to jump on Noey Brown, the supposedly injured "bouncer," Sheriff Guilbeau did not make clear. The only thing coming from his office is that the "club bouncer" was attacked. In the case of Mitchell, however, the excuse for killing him was that he was about to overpower Lanlos, and the latter killed him.

NEGRO WHO SUED FOR RIGHT TO VOTE SHOT TO DEATH BY DEPUTY DURING ARREST AT NIGHT SPOT

Black Dispatch P. 7

Is Second Negro to Die in Year After Attempt Is Made to Register and Vote

Dat. 12-1-51

OFFICIALS CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE

Oklahoma City Okla

OPELOUSAS, La. — (ANP) — A Negro who less than two weeks ago filed suit for his voting rights, was shot and killed, Sunday, by a deputy sheriff of St. Landry parish.

Dead man is John Lester Mitchell, 33, of Opelousas. His killer was Deputy David Lanclos who shot him at a local night spot, supposedly after he became "rowdy."

Mitchell, along with Joseph Joubert and Joseph George Donatto Sr., was a plaintiff in a suit against George C. Blanchard, registrar of voters for St. Landry parish, in which they charged they were not allowed to register because they were Negroes.

Sunday's shooting appeared to Negro observers in this parish to be another of a long series of brutalities by parish officials against Negroes who demand their constitutional right to vote.

Speaking for Lanclos, Sheriff Clayton Guilbeau said his deputy shot the Negro in self defense during a fight with him. Here is what the sheriff says was the story:

"While Deputy Lanclos was at a Negro night spot to help maintain order, Mitchell began to act rowdy and out of control. The deputy ordered him to leave. As they reached the outside of the building they began to fight.

"Afraid that he would be overpowered, Lanclos drew his revolver and shot."

Only two weeks ago, Alvin Jones, one of eight Negroes beaten up a year ago because they wanted to vote, died at a government hospital in New Orleans as a result of the beating.

Eight men tried to register in the summer of 1950, and instead of the right to vote, the men received brutal batterings. Jones never recovered from the whipping he received.

An FBI inspection revealed that two of the suspects were deputy sheriffs of St. Landry parish.

It is said that not one Negro is registered to vote in this parish. The registrar uses three sections of the Louisiana voting law to keep colored persons from registering, sections 35, 36 and 37 of title 18 of the Louisiana revised statutes of 1950. They require for registration:

Ability to read and write any clause in the state or federal constitution and give reasonable interpretation.

Give reasonable interpretation of either constitution when it is read to them in case the voter cannot read or write.

Must be able to positively identify themselves with the additional factor that the registrar "may require the applicant to produce two registered voters of his precinct to make oath to that effect."

In their suit, the three Negroes claimed that these sections violate the 14th and 15th amendments of the federal constitution.

OMEGAS MEET

Eta Iota chapter of Omega Psi Phi fraternity held its regular meeting Sunday, Nov. 18, at 807½ Fourth street, with Bro. Grant Jordan as host.

Bro. Jordan served a very delicious repast of turkey with all the trimmings that was enjoyed by all. The meeting was called to order by the basileus, Bro. Bridges, roll called and minutes read. The chapter held its regular business.

The chapter discussed its annual project of making donations of groceries to needy families or underprivileged children. The basileus selected a committee to work on this project and was requested to make a report to the chapter at the next meeting which will be with Bro. Hyva Griffin.

Ask Louisiana Slaying Probe

Cncl

Victim Plaintiff In Voting Case

Dis. 11-30-51

NEW YORK.—A "thorough investigation" by the Department of Justice into the killing of John Lester Mitchell, Negro complainant in a voting case, by a special deputy sheriff in Opelousas, Las., was urged last week by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mitchell was slain by Special Deputy Sheriff David Lanclos early Monday morning, Nov. 19, in front of a night spot from which he had been ordered by the officer. Claiming self-defense, Lanclos said that Mitchell was rowdy and disorderly and was shot in a scuffle.

Coming on the heels of the murder of Samuel Shepherd by a Florida sheriff, the killing of Mitchell has aroused bitter resentment among Negroes throughout Louisiana, according to reports received here.

The slain man was one of three Negroes on behalf of whom the NAACP had filed suit in the Federal District Court against election officials who, they alleged in their complaint, had denied them the right to register solely on the basis of their race in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. A hearing on preliminary motions in the case was set for the week of November 26.

"We believe this incident requires a thorough investigation by the Department of Justice," Mr. Marshall said in a telegram to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. "If your investigation discloses a connection between the suit and Mitchell's killing, a clear violation of the Civil Rights Act would appear to have occurred. This incident, coming close on the heels of the killing and shooting in Eustis, Fla., warrants special and immediate attention of your office."

In an action letter to NAACP branches throughout the country, Gloster B. Current, director of branches, urged them to mobilize local support against the recurrence of slayings by law enforcement officers as in the Florida and Louisiana cases.

LOUISIANA SHERIFF STARTS MANHUNT OF NEGROES ACCUSED OF BEATING NIGHT CLUB BOUNCER

Black Dispatch Dat. 12-1-51

Violence Breaks Out 24 Hours After Another Negro Is Killed by Deputy Sheriff

P. 7 Oklahoma City Okla.

TWO ALREADY JAILED AS ACCOMPLICES

By James B. Lafourche

OPELOUSAS, La. — (ANP) — Apparently Negroes in this race-hating community, where a man wanted to vote was shot recently, are in for more violence.

In the latest development here a manhunt is under way for three Negroes accused of attacking a night club employee who holds a "non-salaried sheriff's commission."

Two other Negroes have been jailed as accomplices and all will be charged with beating and attacking the "club bouncer" with a knife. However, only one, of them, Freddies Guillory, has been identified. He is charged with aggravated battery with attempt to kill.

Meanwhile, Nov. 29 has been set as the date for Geo. Blanchard, registrar of voters, to appear before Federal Judge Gaston L. Porterie and show why he should not be restrained from preventing Negroes from registering because of their color.

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Just what inveigled the five Negroes to jump on Noey Brown, the supposedly injured "bouncer," Sheriff Guilbeau did not make clear. The only thing coming from his office is that the "club bouncer" was attacked by the Negroes.

In the case of Mitchell, however, the excuse for the "club bouncer" killing the former was that he was about to overpower Lanlos, and the latter killed him. Mitchell according to Lanlos had been acting "rowdy' and he called him on the outside where he became "uncontrollable."

This is the same sheriff and the same parish where there is a jail from which several white men two years ago entered and took a Negro, James Honeycutt, charged with rape, into the woods and flipped a coin as to which of the

men should kill him.

During the gamble on his life Honeycutt escaped and later surrendered. The men who took part in the jail break were identified. One was a former deputy sheriff, but neither the sheriff nor J. Y. Fontenot, the district attorney, ever brought the men to justice.

Honeycutt lived nearly 2 years after his narrow escape from the St. Landry would-be lynchers, but he was eventually electrocuted.

Last year eight Negroes were beaten here because they sought to become registered voters. Some weeks ago one of them, Alvin Jones, died.

In the meantime, the NAACP through its special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, urged the U. S. Department of Justice to make a thorough investigation into the killing of Mitchell. Atty. Marshall said:

"We believe this incident requires a thorough investigation by the Department of Justice," Marshall said in a telegram to J. Howard McGrath, U. S. A. attorney general. "If your investigation discloses a connection between the suit and Mitchell's killing, a clear violation of the Civil Rights Act would appear to have occurred. This incident, coming close on the heels of the killing and shooting in Eustis, Fla., warrants special and immediate attention of your office."

The shooting of Mitchell has brought response from another source. The national headquarters of the Civil Rights Congress in New York said in part:

"The CRC calls for the widest demands to President Truman and Atty. Gen. McGrath for immediate federal action to prosecute Deputy Sheriff Lanlos of Opelousas for murder . . ."

Negro Voting Strength Centered In Southern Louisiana, Report Shows

Recent registration statistical data submitted to The Louisiana Weekly reveals that the bulk of the Negro voting strength in the coming gubernatorial election will be centered in the heart of Southern Louisiana where more than 50 percent of the Negro voters are registered.

There are 62,659 Negroes registered in the eight Congressional Districts of Louisiana. The largest number of Negro registered voters (25,854) is centered in the First and the Second Congressional Districts which comprises Orleans Parish and portions of Jefferson Parish in the metropolitan New Orleans area.

Portions of the First Congressional District—or that portion lying on the left bank below Julia St. and the New Canal, comprises the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, ninth and 15th wards of Orleans Parish.

The remainder is that of Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes where no Negroes are registered and which comprises the other portion of the First Congressional District.

The Second Congressional District comprises a portion of Orleans Parish lying above Julia Street, and the New Canal, and consists of the first, second, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, sixteenth and the seventeenth wards of the City of New Orleans. The other portion includes Jefferson Parish, Gretna, 2507; St. Charles, Hahnville, 673; St. James, Convent, 836; St. John, Edgard, 1532.

Third Congressional District: Assumption, Napoleonville, 786; Iberia, New Iberia, 0; Lafayette, Lafayette, 561; Lafourche, Thibodeaux, 68; St. Martin, St. Martinville, 0; St. Mary, Franklin, 0; Terrebonne, Houma, 126; Vermillion, Abbeville, 1.

Fourth Congressional District: Bienville, Arcadia, 85; Bossier, Benton, 0; Caddo, Shreveport, 5000 Claiborne, Homer, 2; DeSoto, Mansfield, 0; Red River, Rayfield, 0; Webster, Minden, 636.

Fifth Congressional District: Caldwell, Columbia, 6; Catahoula, Harrisonburg, 0; Concordia, Vidalia, 0; East Carroll, Lake Providence, 0; Franklin, Winnsboro, 0; Jackson, Jonesboro, 817; Lincoln, Ruston, 262; Madison, Tallulah, 0; Morehouse, Bastrop, 590; Ouichita, Monroe, 2548; Richland, Rayville, 257; Tensas, St. Joseph, 0; West Carroll, Oak Grove, 0; Union, Farmerville, 400.

Sixth Congressional District: Ascension, Donaldsonville, 389; East Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, 4753; East Feliciana, Clinton, 1; Iberville, Plaquemine, 923; Livingston, Springville, 0; Pointe Coupee, New Roads, 0; St. Helena, Greensburg, 0; St. Tammany, Covington, 166; Tangipahoa, Amite, 0; Washington, Franklinton, 0; West Baton Rouge, Port Allen, 0 and West Feliciana, St. Francisville, 0.

Seventh Congressional District: Acadia, Crowley, 2268; Allen, Oberlin, 532; Beauregard, DeRidder, 512; Calcasieu, Lake Charles, 3444; Cameron, Cameron, 76; Evangeline, Ville Platte, 0; Jefferson Davis, Jennings, 1000 and St. Landry, 0.

Eighth Congressional District: Avoyelles, Marksville, 58; Grant, Colfax, 673; LaSalle, Jena, 0; Natchitoches, Natchitoches, 1498; Rapides, Alexandria, 3381; Sabine, Many, 0; Vernon, Leesville, 0; and Winn, Winnfield, La., 249

Open Registration Rolls In Abbeville Without Contest

Abbeville, La.—The State-wide Political & Registration Committee, through the office of its Secretary, Attorney Earl J. Amedee reports that it has been successful in helping a group of Negroes living in Abbeville, Vermillion Parish, Louisiana, to achieve the greatest right that citizens have under the American Constitution —the right to vote.

Attorney Amedee stated that he, along with Rev. A. C. Alexander, State-wide Co-ordinator, and Dave W. Dennis, Chairman, recently helped organize 50 Negro citizens of Abbeville into a chapter of the NAACP. After various contacts with interested white political leaders in the State, and several speaking tours in interest of registration in the Southwest area of Louisiana, Attorney Amedee and Attorney Louis Berry were prepared to file a suit against the Registrar of Voters in the U. S. District Court for the Western District of Louisiana on or about October 10, 1951.

However, on or about October 3, 1951, the Registrar of Voters in Abbeville began registering Negroes—registering six the first day and as of this date twelve hundred and fifty (1250) have been registered.

The counsel stated that among others the following citizens of Abbeville deserve commendation: Esau Sawyer, William Bowie, M. A. Dora, and John Reaux.

Restraining Order Denied

3 Judge Federal Court To Hear St. Landry Vote Suit

Opelousas, La. (Special).—Following the denial last Thursday of a petition filed by St. Landry Parish Negro citizens seeking the right to register and to vote, the appointment of a three-judge court and the fixing of the date for the convening of court, are eagerly awaited.

The hearing by Judge Gaston L. Porterie was held in the United States District Court, but the judge explained that the hearing was to pass on only one item, namely,—that the court issue a temporary restraining order, restraining defendant George Blanchard, registrar of voters, from enforcing sections 35, 36 and 37 of the statutes, or that the court issue a temporary restraining order restraining the defendant from administration of the said sections in the arbitrary, capricious, and discriminatory manners mentioned in the petition.

The suit was filed by Joseph Hubert and Joseph Donatto, and the late John L. Mitchell, asking for the appointment of a three-judge court to hear the case and that a temporary restraining order be issued against Blanchard.

Declining to grant the restraining order, the judge ruled that granting the restraining order would be a premature declaration because it would be issued by a court of one-judge with questionable jurisdiction.

The Chief Justice of the circuit court will determine who will sit on the case and attorneys will be notified, Judge Porterie announced.

The Federal court room during the hearing was jammed packed with standing room only, the majority of which were Negroes. Before recessing court for 30 minutes, the judge asked that there be no demonstrations.

Negro attorneys held that since the registration books close December 15 for the forthcoming January primary, they would suffer an irreparable loss in being denied the right to register to vote. They were Vance Lacour and Edward Patterson and Richard Milspaugh of this city.

Austin L. Fontenot, Sr., and Edward Dubuisson of this city represented the defendant. They were assisted by Carroll Buck, first assistant attorney general's office.

They claimed that no irreparable loss would be suffered because there is no monetary loss.

Federal Appeals Court reaffirms Negroes' right to primary vote

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 24—(AP)—The right of Negroes to vote in Texas primary elections has been reaffirmed by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals here.

In a decision handed down yesterday, the court held that qualified Negroes must be allowed to vote in primaries of the Citizens Party of Harrison County, Tex.

The decision was in the case of James E. Perry and James McCrary, Negroes, vs. J. W. Cyphers and others.

Cyphers was chairman of the Citizens Party of Harrison County, a political group created during Reconstruction days, designed to overcome carpetbag rule.

* * *

ELECTIONS conducted by the party frequently were referred to as "the white man's primary." Citizens Party leaders contended that Negroes, or any other group, had the right to form their own local party.

Perry and McCrary complained in their suit that they had been denied the right to vote in the Citizens Party 1948 primary because of their race. They argued this was contrary to the 15th Amendment to the federal constitution.

Cyphers and his co-defendants argued the two Negroes were not entitled to vote because they were not party members and could not become party members because they were Negroes.

The defendants admitted barring the Negroes from voting in the party primary because of their race, but contended they were acting as heads of a non-public group, not as administrative officers of the State of Texas.

* * *

A TEXAS JUDGE, U. S. District Judge T. Whitfield Davidson, ruled in favors of Cyphers. He dismissed the Negroes suit on the ground they had not been deprived of a voice in Harrison County affairs. The court pointed out that the Negroes still retained the right to vote in the general election.

Judge Davison found they had failed to take advantage of other voting privileges available under the law, such as forming their own party.

In the Appellate Court, the case was heard by Chief Judge J. C. Hutcheson and Circuit Judges Leon McCord and Wayne Borah.

NEGROES' RIGHT TO VOTE UPHELD

Texas Party Ordered to Hold Open Elections

The United States fifth circuit court of appeals handed down an opinion Tuesday in which it ordered the federal district court for the eastern district of Texas to restrain a political party in Harrison county, Texas, from excluding Negroes from voting in primary elections.

Suit was brought by James E. Perry and James McCary, both Negro residents of Harrison county, on April 22, 1949, alleging that the Citizens party had denied them the right to vote in two primary elections. The suit was directed against J. W. Cyphers, chairman of the party, and others.

The circuit court's opinion pointed out that the defendants admitted having refused the plaintiffs the right to vote but denied that in doing so they had acted as administrative officers of the state of Texas. The opinion also explains that for over 50 years the party is the only one which regularly has held primary elections for county and precinct officers and that only qualified white electors are permitted to vote. The population of the county is predominantly Negro, it is stated.

The trial court held that the Negroes had been denied the right to vote because of their race and color, but dismissed the action on the grounds that they had not been deprived of a voice in the political affairs of the county because their right to vote had been preserved in the general election.

In this respect the appeal court, through Judge Leon McCord said, "Ours is not the province to step down into the forum and debate with open minds the issues here presented. This is a government of laws and not of men. We are sworn to uphold and defend the constitution of the republic, and our oath embraces the duty and obligation to adhere to the mandates of our court of last resort as to the proper construction and interpretation to be placed upon it."

He added, "We believe it settled that the right of appellants and other legally qualified electors to vote for publicly elected officials is an individual right secured and protected by our federal constitution."

It was held that the Citizens party is an integral part of the election machinery of the state of Texas and the exclusion of the Negroes "must be characterized as the type of discrimination forbidden by the Constitution of the United States."

The court ordered the case reversed and remanded to the district court with directions to enter judgment enjoining and restraining the party and its officials from excluding Negroes from their primaries.

Must Keep Vote Bias Suit On File

NEW ORLEANS. — (INS) — A federal district court was ordered Friday to keep on file a suit in which 15 Negroes charged they were denied the right to register as voters in Mississippi.

The Forrest County, Miss., group alleged it was asked questions on interpretation of the state constitution which were not asked white registrants, and denied registration when the group could not answer. The district court dismissed the suit without hearing evidence on grounds that state appeal remedities had not been exhausted.

The U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with this contention. The appeals court said, however, that the suit should be held until the complaining citizens had an opportunity to perfect appeal, first to the county voting commissioners, then to the state courts.

If no relief is provided by these appeals, then the case may properly be heard by the federal court, the appeals tribunal said.

60 PER CENT HELD DISABLED VOTERS

Farrell Estimates Number for Uptown Area

Approximately 60 per cent of 1015 persons registered as illiterate or disabled from four city wards have established their legal right to be so registered, William S. Farrell, Orleans parish registrar of voters, said Tuesday.

Farrell said that his deputies have not finished tabulating the number of voters registered as illiterate or disabled from the 12th, 15th, 16th and 17th Wards who had established their right to be so registered and therefore entitled to assistance in voting.

However, he estimated that about 60 per cent had done so, after their right to be registered as disabled or illiterate had been challenged, by appearing at his office within 10 days with three witnesses and executing an affidavit declaring that they were disabled or illiterate.

The 1015 persons from these four wards who were registered as entitled to assistance at the polls represented the first batch of approximately 9000 persons so registered challenged in a blanket challenge recently in a letter from the Voters' Registration League.

Ten Days Allowed

Farrell agreed that on the basis of the letter challenging the registration of all persons in the city registered as disabled or illiterate, he would mail out official challenges to each person registered as entitled to assistance and that each would have 10 days as specified in the law to prove his right to be so registered.

The 10-day period for 1015 challenged from the 12th, 15th, 16th and 17th Wards expired Friday night, he said.

"Those who didn't come in and establish their right to assistance are now automatically scratched," Farrell said.

Last week challenges were mailed to more than 900 persons in the 11th, 13th and 14th Wards and Friday night of this week will be the deadline for them to come in and establish their right to be registered as disabled or illiterate, Farrell explained.

"Last night I mailed out challenges to approximately 1300 people in the Ninth Ward and the deadline for them to come in will be Friday night of next week," Farrell continued.

Must Bring Witnesses

On Monday of next week he plans to mail challenges to approximately 1500 alleged illiterate or disabled persons in the Fourth, Fifth and 10th Wards, the registrar said.

"I am requiring all persons registered as disabled or illiterate to bring three witnesses to my office with the exception of blind people," Farrell explained. "If I am convinced that a man is blind and if he is marked in the book as blind that's enough for me."

Farrell expressed the belief that it will be necessary to challenge somewhat less than the approximately 9000 originally registered as disabled or illiterate, since he has canvassed the wards for changes in residence and believes that some of those so registered were eliminated that way.

Court Ordered Not To Dismiss Suit For Vote

NEW ORLEANS— (INS) — A federal district court was ordered Friday to keep on file a suit in which 15 Negroes charge they were denied the right to register as voters in Mississippi.

The Forrest County, Miss., group contends they were asked questions on interpretation of the state constitution which were not asked white registrants and denied registration when they could not answer. The district court dismissed the suit without hearing evidence on grounds that the state appeal remedies had not been exhausted.

Mississippi Roundup—

Ruling Voiding Negroes' Suits Is Reversed

Claimed They Couldn't Register To Vote

NEW ORLEANS, June 21 (U.P.)—The U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals today reversed a Mississippi District Court ruling which dismissed a suit by 15 Negroes trying to force the Forrest County registrar to register them.

The District Court at Hattiesburg had dismissed an injunction suit in which the Negroes maintained that they were being kept from registering to vote because of their color, in violation of Mississippi law and the 15th amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

Circuit Judge Samuel H. Sibley delivered the opinion in the appeals court today.

* * *

2 Candidates Flay Prohibition Laws

JACKSON, Miss., June 21 (U.P.) — Two candidates for governor of Mississippi today condemned the state's prohibition laws with one of them charging that "dry candidates are talking of spending money we don't have."

Jesse M. Byrd of Hattiesburg said today at Amory that "It's utterly and completely asinine to talk of spending money we don't have. I'm telling the people how I'll finance everything I'm promising. I want my so-called 'dry opponents' to do the same."

Byrd said the state could raise old age assistance and teachers' pay with revenue from legally controlled liquor.

In Laurel, Jimmy Walker of Jackson, said that "the prohibition laws of our state are a rotten mess and a farce and most of our law enforcement officers are being corrupted by bribery, graft and payoffs."

"I know this question should be decided by the people," Walker said, "and if elected your governor I shall demand of the legislature a referendum vote by the people for or against the legalization, regulating and control of the sale of whisky in Mississippi."

Ross Barnett of Jackson advocated the formation of a women's forum to meet quarterly with the governor and discuss moral and social problems of the community.

At Winona, Lt. Gov. Sam Lumpkin of Tupelo said that with proper planning and management, Mississippi farmers could lift the state's economy to "a high."

"We must give our farmers aid and encouragement," Lumpkin said. "They must have electricity and telephones. Ready markets must be maintained. We must continue to provide farm-to-market roads. Haphazard management must be replaced with intelligent planning."

Former Gov. Hugh White of Columbia told a Hazlehurst audience that during his former administration he had signed into law the state's homestead exemption law and the first old age assistance plan. White also stressed the difficulty of providing equal and separate educational facilities for whites and Negroes, and urged acceptance of recommendations advanced by the Mississippi Citizens' Council on Education.

Paul B. Johnson Jr., said in Meadeville that he favored a "farmer voice program whereby every interest of the farmer can be quickly taken up with the governor personally."

In Yazoo City, Mrs. Mary Cain of Summit called for a drastic reduction in state administrative costs, saying that "Mississippi can do without federal aid."

"My opponents are trying to slap Uncle Sam with one hand, saying 'keep your nose out of our business . . . we believe in states rights', but the other hand is still boldly out in front demanding federal aid with which to supplement state funds," she said.

Negroes To Vote In Louisiana Demo Primaries

BATON ROUGE, La. - (SNS) - For the first time since the Reconstruction, Negroes in Louisiana will vote in the Democratic primaries. The announcement was made by the State Central Democratic Committee which adopted a resolution to that effect.

The gubernatorial primary was set for January 15, 1952. Candidates must qualify before October 12. The newly-adopted resolution will strikes out the ancient phrase in the rules which reads:

"He shall be a white person." The phrase substituted is: "He shall be registered as a member of the Democratic Party."

In the same meeting, the committee also closed the door on Communists are members of extreme left-wing organizations branded as subversive by the Un-American Activities Committee of the Department of Justice.

The resolutions were adopted without controversy or debate.

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THREE FILE SUIT FOR REGISTRATION

St. Landry Trio Charge Denial of Rights

(The Associated Press)

Shreveport, La., Nov. 6—Three Negroes have filed suit in federal court here against George C. Blanchard, registrar of voters of St. Landry parish, charging that he refused to allow them to register to vote because they are Negroes.

The St. Landry parish residents, Joseph Joubert, Joseph George Donatto Sr. and John Lester Mitchell, say they are being deprived of their civil rights under the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution.

They ask that a three-judge court be convened and a restraining order be issued against Blanchard forbidding him from enforcing three sections of a Louisiana law which they say is being used to deprive them of their rights.

They claim the law is unconstitutional, in addition to being misused by Blanchard.

Federal Judge Gaston L. Porterie Monday ordered Blanchard to appear in court in Opelousas Nov. 29 and show cause why the restraining order should not be issued.

The plaintiffs charge that they are qualified in all respects to vote except that they have not registered with the parish registrar of voters, as required by law.

Blanchard has deliberately prevented them from registering, they charge.

The laws in question are sections 35, 36 and 37 of title 18 of the Louisiana revised statutes of 1950.

The sections require that applicants for registration:

Must be able to read and write any clause in the state or federal constitution, and give a reasonable interpretation.

Must be able to give a reasonable interpretation, if unable to read or write, when any section of the state or federal constitution is read to them.

Must establish beyond doubt that they are the identical persons they represent themselves to be—the registrar "may require the applicant to produce two credible registered voters of his precinct to make oath to that effect."

3 Sue In Louisiana For Vote

SHREVEPORT, La. — (ANP) —Three Negroes, Joseph Joubert, Joseph George Donatto Sr., and John Lester Mitchell, have filed suit in the federal court here against George C. Blanchard, registrar of voters of St. Landry parish, alleging that the latter refuses to allow them to register because they are Negroes.

The trio insist in their petition that they are being deprived of their civil rights under the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution.

The petition further requests that a three-judge court be convened and a restraining order be issued against Blanchard forbidding him from enforcing three sections of the Louisiana law which they say is being used to deprive them of their rights.

Louisiana Negroes File Suit For Right To Register

INDEPENDENCE, La., Oct. 22. — (Special) —Charging that they were denied the right to register as qualified first-class citizens, nine residents of Independence, La., filed a suit against the registrar of voters here Tuesday in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, asking that the barriers of disfranchisement be removed and that Negroes be permitted to register in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

The defendant is Malone Williams of Tangipahoa parish at Amite, La.

The plaintiffs seeking a permanent restraining order against the registrar are Thomas W. Williams, Alvin K. Holden, Leonard P. Holden, Eddie Gordon, Burnell Stevens, Sr., Robert E. Jackson, Clarence Benard, [illegible] Watts and John Alvin Clark.

They charged that they presented themselves along with other qualified Negroes seeking registration at the office of the registrar and that the registrar refused to register them.

House Passes Jim Crow Repealer in Md., 70-40

ANNAPOLIS, Md—Anticipated Eastern Shore resistance fizzled in the House of Delegates, Tuesday afternoon, as a determined Baltimore City Fourth District delegation pushed through the Jim Crow repeal bill by a decisive 70 to 40 vote.

The long-sought legislation which would repeal Maryland's Jim Crow transportation law now goes to the Senate, where, observers predict it has a 50-50 chance of passage.

Just before the third and final reading of the bill in the House, Tuesday, Delegate Carroll Lowe, Talbot County Democrat, made a last-minute effort to kill the measure by suggesting that action on it be "postponed indefinitely."

. . Parliamentary Procedure

Expecting such a move, Delegate Albert L. Sklar of Baltimore's Fourth District, was on his feet as soon as the motion was seconded. He insisted that a voice vote be given on Lowe's motion to table the bill.

Delegate Jerome Robinson, also of Baltimore's Fourth District in explaining his vote against tabling the measure, made a dramatic plea for passage of the repealer.

He told the House:

"It is with great reluctance but out of a feeling of duty that I explain my vote. This measure has been before the House on other occasions, but there are new members here who haven't had an opportunity to hear a discussion of the issue.

. . . . Calls Bill Moral Issue

"This is not a political, but a moral issue, one of the few to come before this assembly. I remember the time when leading religious and educational leaders denounced the Jim Crow bill as a stigma upon the State of Maryland.

"It has been said that the mental hospitals are Maryland's shame. I contend that the Jim Crow bill is Maryland's shame. Jim Crow is inconsistent with great institutions of learning like Johns Hopkins University and the University of Maryland.

"We take pride in being the first State to adopt an Act of Toleration. The best tribute we can pay our forefathers who passed the Toleration Act is to take similar action in 1951.

. . . . Challenges Group's Courage

"This is not a vote on the issue of Jim Crow. It determines whether we have the courage to permit a fair debate on a great moral issue, pending before us.

"Are we going to permit the Bay Bridge and the ingenuity of engineering to repeal Jim Crow, or are we as legislators going to repeal it? Since when are we in the House of Delegates afraid to listen to debate on an issue?

"When democracy is being threatened in all quarters of the world, we lay claim to leadership. Yet we lay a stigma on our citizens by having first-class and second-class citizens. I don't believe this is right; and I don't think the House of Delegates believes it."

Eastern Shoremen Disagree

The roll call on the motion to table the repealer revealed that the Eastern Shoremen, who formerly presented a solid front against repeal, were not in agreement.

The motion was defeated 64 to 46, with five of the 26 Eastern Shore delegates voting against sidetracking the bill.

J. Paull Marshall, Republican of Montgomery County, in explaining his vote for repeal of jim crow declared:

"We can't reach a millenium for our colored citizens overnight but we can make a start in that direction.

. . In Line With High Court

"On these issues we should give some recognition to the United States Supreme Court, which has consistently upheld the rights of minority group citizens.

"When the jim crow law was passed, colored people were unprepared. Now with educational advantages, they have made remarkable progress."

As the roll call on Mr. Lowe's motion to table the bill came to an end, Delegate John W. Logan, Democrat of Caroline County sought to delay a vote on the repealer.

As he jumped to his feet and yelled, "Mr. Speaker," John C. Luber, speaker of the House, said "The clerk will call the roll."

Logan's Maneuver Defeated

Mr. Logan continued:

"I am on the floor and demand to be recognized."

"The roll call is already announced," the speaker said, ordering the clerk to continue.

Delegate Logan, outspoken opponent of the jim crow repealer, had tried unsuccessfuly Monday night and Tuesday morning to get someone to join him in a filubuster in an effort to kill the bill.

Another opponent of the measure, John J. Nowakowski, Democrat, of Baltimore's First District, made a futile effort to have Delegate Logan recognized as the vote was under way.

. . House Former Stumbling Block

The last bill to come before the House on Tuesday, the repealer, House Bill 93, was before the delegates for 40 minutes. Eight other bills had been disposed of by the delegates in an average of ten minutes each.

In recent years the Senate has passed jim crow repeal bills only to have them killed in the House. A similar bill has been introduced in the upper chamber by SEN. HARRY T. Phoebus of Somerset County.

Delegation Introduces Bill

The House repealer was introduced by Baltimore's Fourth District delegation, which includes S. Pete Pollack, Jerome Robinson, Earl I. Rosenthal, Aaron W. Shapiro, Albert L. Sklar and Maurice J. Soypher.

The 47-year-old segregated transportation law was enacted Jan. 21, 1904, under the regime of Gov. Edwin Warfield.

Maryland Segregation Law Repealed

By Roger B. Farquhar
Post Reporter

ANNAPOLIS, Feb. 15. — The long fight to erase Maryland's "Jim Crow" law ended in victory today.

By a decisive 22-7 vote, the Senate approved repeal of the law after the House on January 30 did so by a 70-40 vote.

Sources close to Governor Theodore R. McKeldin said it is certain he will sign the measure.

Conspicuous by their absence today were acrimonious debates and last-ditch parliamentary maneuverings which inevitably accompanied previous efforts over the decades to kill the law.

It was first enacted in 1904. It required segregation of whites and Negroes on steam railways. In 1908, an amendment was added making it apply as well to certain electric railways and the Chesapeake Bay ferries.

Recently, the segregation has been enforced only on bay ferries.

Ironically, it was not the merits of the repealer which led to the final favorable vote but a realization that a new bridge over the Chesapeake Bay next year would end the ferries and thus make the law useless.

Repealers of the law date back to 1927, according to Dr. Horace A. Flack, director of legislative reference.

Frequently, they have been passed by one house or the other, but opponents, principally from the Eastern Shore, have always blocked final passage.

"I think the General Assembly of Maryland has earned the capital 'F' in the Free State of Maryland," commented Senator Francis X. Dippel (D., Baltimore city) after today's action.

Senate President George W. Della (D., Baltimore City) joined six Eastern Shore Senators in voting against the repeal. "My people told me to vote against it," he explained.

In another development today, House Majority Leader A. Gordon Boone (D., Baltimore County) said he would not revive his proposal to change House rules so that finally-passed bills would be speeded to the Governor, allowing the House more time to consider overriding possible future vetoes.

20,000 NEGRO VOTERS AGAINST WHITE

(An Editorial)

I.

In the Memphis Commercial Appeal of July 21st, Kenneth Toler, veteran Jackson correspondent of that paper, and one of the keenest and best-informed political observers in the state, estimated that over 20,000 Mississippi Negroes are now qualified to vote. Commenting on this he added:

In Hinds county (Jackson) the Negro strength is estimated at between 5000 and 6000 votes, while in Washington county (Greenville) in the heavily Negro populated sector, it is around 1500 votes.

Down in Jeff Davis county (Prentiss) in South Mississippi, one official has estimated up to 500 Negroes are qualified, and along the coast the strength in that less highly Negro populated sector, it is about the same. That number of votes even on the local level could wind up as the "balance of power."

Those situations may lead to a lessening of the factional lineups in Mississippi. They could bring about "bloc" voting.

At the moment, they strengthen the forces of those who demand immediate equalization of educational opportunities and facilities if the dual public school system is to continue.

There is substantial evidence that not only has Mississippi 20,000 registered Negro voters, but they did actually vote in the August 7th primary and are getting ready to vote again in the August 28th primary.

The fact that a total of 408,000 votes were cast for Governor in the first primary, or fully 25,000 more than anybody expected, is proof conclusive that Negroes turned out in large numbers on election day.

II.

A majority of the estimates of the August 7th vote made by veteran political observers were below the 375,000 mark. Secretary of State Heber Ladner, who keeps close contact with such matters, did not believe it would go above 360,000.

The number of absentee ballots voted was surprisingly large and they came in large batches from the city of Washington where thousands of former Mississippians are employed by the Federal government. Who dominated that absentee balloting can best be left to the imagination.

It was the Negro votes, however, that swelled the total to such enormous proportions.

At the Mount Carmel precinct, in Prentiss county, located near the Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute, and in a section largely populated by Negroes, 143 votes were cast and 102 of the number were for Paul Johnson.

In the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou in Bolivar county, Paul Johnson led the ticket with a good-sized plurality. The Mound Bayou vote, by the way, was thrown out by the county Democratic executive committee because of proven charges of irregularities and illegal voting.

A scrutiny of returns from practically all the large cities and towns of the state show that in precincts largely populated by Negroes Paul Johnson led the voting.

Here in Jackson the influence of Percy Greene, Negro editor who journeyed all the way to Washington to attend a Trumancrat Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner and eat with the white folks in one of the swankiest hotels at the national capital, was quite evident in several of the large Negro wards, especially the precinct in which Jackson College is located. where Johnson received a good plurality vote. In the 41st ward of Jackson, located in the southwestern part of the city, and largely populated by Negroes, Paul Johnson also received a nice plurality.

III.

Put on your thinking cap and figure out for yourself for whom those 20,000 or more Negroes voted on August 7th and for whom they are going to vote August 28th.

Practically all of them are followers of President Truman and want to see social equality rammed down the throats of the people of Mississippi.

They want anti-segregation, anti-polltax, anti-lynching and FEPC laws enacted by Congress. They haven't sense enough to know that enactment of such laws would result in riots, revolutions and bloodshed throughout the South and in many Northern cities with large Negro populations.

It is quite certain that those 20,000 politically minded and social equality Negroes who went to the polls on August 7th did not vote for Hugh White, champion of States' Rights for many years, a man who has fought numerous valiant battles for true Democracy and never one against it.

It is quite certain that the Negro Trumancrat voters in Mississippi did not support Hugh White before and will not support him this time. They at least have gumption enough to know that the defeat of Hugh White would give President Truman cause for great rejoicing.

Mr. and Mrs. John Voter, now is the time of all times to use your common sense and the discerning judgment with which God endowed you.

IV.

If you want to make President Truman, Gen. Harry "Deep Freeze" Vaughan, "Mink Coat" Young and other White House occupants very happy, vote against Hugh White.

If you want to make the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People very happy, vote against Hugh White.

If you want to make the Political Action Committee of the CIO happy, vote against Hugh White. That organization also advocates social equality.

If you want to make the National Negro Congress very happy, vote against Hugh White.

If you want to make the Southern Conference of Social Relations, another social equality organization, very happy, vote against Hugh White.

If you want to make the Civil Rights Congress hilariously happy vote against Hugh White. That's the organization that hates Gov. Fielding Wright so bitterly and favors everything he opposes. That's the organization that kept the rapist, Willie McGee, out of the electric chair for more than five years. That's the organization that made justice a sad joke in the courts of our commonwealth and the nation through the free use of Communist money.

Now, Mr. and Mrs. John Voter, you will be hearing Paul Johnson supporters saying that their candidate has done nothing whatever to incur the favor or get the support of the above named organizations.

If you grant that to be true, still the ugly fact will remain that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Political Action Committee of the CIO, the National Negro Congress, the Southern Conference on Racial Relations, the Civil Rights Congress, and minor organizations of the same nature, and serving the same sinister purposes, are now fighting tooth and nail against Hugh White and will continue to do so until election day on August 28th.

It is not a question of who they want to see elected. On that point they don't give a damn. It's the man they want to see defeated.

They want to make a vicarious sacrifice of that big, courageous, high-minded Christian gentleman who was in the forefront when the Mississippi delegation walked out of the Democratic national convention more than three years ago, and has since been stubbornly fighting Trumanism and all it implies.

They probably know very little, if anything, about what has been going on in the mind of "Johnny Come Lately" Paul Johnson, who did not declare himself on the subject of States' Rights until he saw defeat staring him in the face. They don't regard Paul Johnson as an issue in this campaign.

What goes on in the mind of Paul Johnson doesn't matter.

The man they are out to defeat is Hugh White.

They do not want in the Governor's chair in Mississippi a man who is, and has been ever since the split in the Democratic party — and even a long time prior to that — emphatically against anti-segregation, anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and FEPC laws.

An element of personal revenge is involved in this matter, reaching from the White House all the way down the line.

The civil rights and social equality champions don't want to take any chances whatever with Hugh White, and that's the reason they are herding 20,000 or more Negro voters and intend to send them to the polls on August 28th.

Make no mistakes and accept no alibis or denials on this subject, Mr. and Mrs. John Voter.

Yours truly,

W. Calhoun Lamar

In Mississippi today agents of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and agents of the Political Action Committee are traveling over the highways and by-ways of Mississippi, mingling among Negroes, and urging them to vote against Hugh White.

That these agents were sent out from Washington and have the blessings of the Truman administration on their mission cannot for a moment be doubted.

"Vote Against White" is their whispered message to Negro voters

wherever they can find them.

Don't say "that can't happen in Mississippi." Folks, it is happening, right under your noses.

There are more than 20,000 registered Negro voters in Mississippi today and they have been made intensely politically minded by the civil rights propaganda of the Truman administration — promise of anti-segregation, anti-polltax, anti-lynching and FEPC laws, and Truman's own "must order" to Congre that legislation of this sort must be enacted. Don't let anybody lull you into believing the Truman administration has abandoned its civil rights program.

VI

We are giving you the ugly facts — facts that are unpleasant from any viewpoint; facts we would rather not print, but it happens to be our solemn duty to do so.

The Daily News cherishes no hatred of these 20,000 or more Negroes who have forced their way into the ranks of the Democratic party in Mississippi. They have a newly-granted legal right to vote in Democratic primaries heretofore held exclusively for white persons, and still limited by our own statutes to white persons. They are supported in that right by the United States Supreme Court, a body that in recent years has been sneezing every time President Truman takes a dip of snuff. They are also supported by the Democratic party organization at Washington, a body that seeks to trample Southern Democracy under its feet and deny us all our traditional and long-cherished states' rights.

These 20,000 Negroes were herded and taken to the polling places on August 7th just as the ignorant Negroes of Reconstruction days were herded and voted by the scalawags and carpetbaggers for the overthrow of white supremacy in the South.

These 20,000 Negroes are not following safe and sane leadership. They are dominated by a new and vicious leadership that has developed in the race in recent years — the leadership of Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate, social equality agitator, the Negro who gave aid and advice to Aubrey Grossman and Mrs. Anna Abzug, attorneys for the Communistic Civil Rights Congress, when they came to Jackson to wage a fight to save Willie McGee from the electric chair.

That's the picture, Mr. and Mrs. John Voter. Look it over. Think for yourselves in the light of facts before you.

But bear this in mind:

A vote against Hugh White on August 28th will be a vote to make happy the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Political Action Committee of the CIO, the National Negro Congress, the Southern Conference on Racial Relations, the Civil Rights Congress and other sordid organizations that oppose our Southern way of life.

This is a time, Mr. and Mrs. John Voter, to strike for your homes, your altars and your firesides.

TRUMAN CIVIL RIGHTS AND RACE ISSUE KEEP NEGRO VOTERS INTEREST HIGH DURING RUN-OFF CAMPAIGN

See No Violence As Result Of Bitter Racism Of Jackson Daily News

State Voters To Elect Governor In Run-Off Voting Tuesday

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 21.— (DSN) — Mississippi's estimated 20,000 Negro voters are ready to go to the polls again on Tuesday, August 28, to cast their votes in the second primary run-off, their interest in the campaign since the first primary voting on August 7, having been kept at its highest possible point by the Truman Civil Rights Program and the states Negro problem becoming the most important subject to challenge the oratorical talents of the two run-off candidates for Governor of the state.

Out doing either of the candidates, the Jackson Daily News, which is working for the election of Ex-Governor Hugh White, as the campaign drew to a close, kept the Truman and Civil Rights, and the Negro issue alive and uppermost in the campaign with the mounting bitterness of its editorial attacks on the Negro citizens of the state and its bitter personal attack on Paul B. Johnson, Jr., opposing Mr. White for the Governor of the state.

Despite the mounting bitterness of the anti-Negro editorials of the Jackson Daily News, seasoned observers said that there would be no violence against Negro voters as they go to the polls on Tuesday, pointing out that in the communities where Negroes have qualified to vote their participation has already been accepted as a fact by the white people of the community.

While observers said that there would be no violence or intimidation of Negro voters when they go to the polls to vote Tuesday, the editorial attacks on the Negroes was causing mounting and widespread resentment among Negro citizens, and a movement to boycott the paper was reported to be spreading among Negroes throughout the state.

In Jackson, according to reports, a number of families stopped the paper from coming to their homes after the bitter anti-Negro editorial on the front page of the paper last Sunday.

A number of prominent club women are reported to be calling friends for similar action throughout the state.

Basing his campaign almost solely on the Negro issue 69-year-old ex-Governor Hugh White has forced his younger opponent to defend the issue, but despite efforst to disclaim interest in the Negro votes, up to this writing the ex-Governor has not said that he did not want any Negro votes as most anti-Negro candidates in the past.

While defending the issue raised by the ex-Governor and disclaiming support for President Truman, and the Civil Rights program, Mr. Johnson, who is the son of a former Governor of the state, says that he favors state's rights, with state's responsibility, and charged ex-Governor White with inciting race against race, creed against creed, and class against class, by bringing a false issue into the campaign.

When the voters go to the polls and vote on Tuesday, they will not only elect the Governor of the state but also in the run-off voting are: Jimmy Arrington, ex-Mayor of Collins, and William Carroll Gartin, Mayor of Laurel in the run-off for Lieutenant Governor; William D. Neal and Tom G. Roper, for State Auditor of Public Accounts; Potts Johnson and Walter L. McGahey, for State Land Commissioner; Isham Beard, and Walter Dell Davis, for Commisisoner of Insurance; Alton Massey and Henry C. Wood for Middle District Public Service Commissioner; W. F. Dearman and John T. Smith, for Highway Commissioner.

The most important run-off for a local or county office in the state is the contest between retired Jackson Police Chief Joel D. Holden and Carroll Robinson, who has been connected with Hinds County law enforcement for the past twelve years.

While those named above are the most important offices at stake in the election, there are a number of other local and county offices throughout the state to be filled by the voters when they go to the polls and vote on Tuesday, August 28, in the run-off Democratic Primary.

MISSISSIPPIANS MAKE VOTE RESULT OFFICIAL

White And Gartin Indorsed Without Opposition

ONLY THREE CONTESTS

By The United Press

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 6.—A small number of Mississippians went through the motions of voting Tuesday and formally elected Hugh White, 70, to a second term as governor.

Carroll Gartin, 38, former mayor of Laurel, was named lieutenant governor.

No Republicans

Voters also elected a full slate of state officials and an entire Legislature and made official the election of numerous district, county and local officials. All those elected are Democrats. There was no Republican or independent opposition for any post.

Voting was extremely light in all but five counties, three of which had contested elections to fill three legislative posts made vacant by deaths and resignations. The other two counties had contested races for supervisor.

Bitter Truman Foe

The election of White and the other Democratic nominees was assured since write-in candidates are banned under Mississippi law. They will take office in January for a four-year terms.

White, a stanch States' Righter and bitter opponent of the Truman Administration, was governor from 1936 to 1940 during which time he fathered Mississippi's "Balance Agriculture With Industry" program, which has succeeded in gaining many new industries through offering five-year ad valorem tax exemptions. White is the first man to be elected to a second term as governor since the late Theodore G. Bilbo.

State Negro Vote Only Fractional As Compared To Negro Population

Candidate Charged With Stopping Negro Voters At Natchez Courthouse

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 8 — Mississippi qualified Negro voters went to the polls again, Tuesday and cast their Ballots in the States Democratic Primary where light candidates, seven men and one woman were seeking the democratic nomination for Governor of the State, with some 5,000 candidates all tall seeking the nomination for the various lesson State and County offices.

As a result of the famous constitution of 1890 which brought about the total desfranchisement of the States Negro citizens, and of the equally famous, if not so well known "Unwritten Compromise" which lead to the development of the State's "One Party System," which kept its Negro citizens desfranchised until recent decisions gave them the right to vote, nomination in the democratic primary is equivalent to election.

The general election which follows the primary in States having the two party System, in Mississippi is something a little less than perfunctory as few if any citizen bother to go to the polls and vote on General Election Day.

Negro vote issue flares up again in Mississippi politics

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 18—(AP)—The Negro vote—hardly mentioned in Mississippi politics since the 1947 death of Sen. Theo (The Man) Bilbo (D., Miss.)—is flaring up again as an issue in a hot run-off for governor.

The candidates in the Aug. 28 Democratic runoff primary are former Gov. Hugh White, who will be 70 years old Saturday, and Paul Johnson, Jr., 36-year-old son of Mississippi's 1940-43 governor. Each taunts the other with having the backing of Negro voters in this white supremacy state.

* * *

THEY ALSO ARGUE which is the better States' Righter but even that is the given secondary emphasis in their campaign for chief executive of the state where the States' Rights movement was born.

White, governor from 1936-40, in speeches to political gatherings asserts that a vote for Johnson "will be a vote to return to the carpetbagger days."

Johnson warns that White, if elected, would "lead you out the back door into the Republican Party."

WHITE, CITING a majority vote given Johnson over seven other first primary candidates in all-Negro precincts at Mound Bayou and Mt. Carmel in the Delta, has said:

"The Negroes and Truman want to see me defeated. They want a man in the governor's office who will be friendly with Truman."

Johnson, saying White "is trying to make much of the Negro vote he says was given to me," added:

"Mr. White tries to tell you that I am the favorite of the Negroes. He does not tell you how many Negroes voted for him. As a matter of fact, White has carried the Negro votes for years."

Push Door Open, Mississippi Negro Voters Told By Priest

NACHEZ, Miss.— (SNS) — "The way is opening in the South for escape from bondage. Negroes must take advantage of the present trends; they must help push the door that today's social forces have set ajar."

Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., of New Orleans thus advised members of a voters' league here last week.

"There are important and inescapable forces at work in the South that will mean great social changes of all kinds," he said to the group in Holy Family parish hall. "Most of those changes that will be based on a recognition of the fundamental worth of all men."

Father Fichter listed the strong drive toward industrialization, the growth of city living, the development of liberal thinking among educators and other leaders and sail they were among the strongest of the social forces.

He has studied them as head of the sociology department of Loyola University, New Orleans, and director of the Commission on Human Rights. He is also an important leader in the Catholic Committee of the South. The Commission on Human Rights is a subsidiary of the New Orleans unit of the Catholic Committee of the South.

The sociologist was called to Natchez by the voters group formed by Rev. Amos F. Gaudette, S. S. J., pastor of Holy Family Church, to sparkplug the drive to get out the vote in Natchez. Father Fichter discussed the mechanics of registering and voting and helped to plan means for the league to spread the conviction that "a voteless people is a hopeless people."

"Those peolesples who are subject to taxation without representation are in political bondage," he said. "Those who are forced to obey laws that they have had no hand in making are in political bondage. But the days of political bondage are coming to an end.

"We must all join hands in helping each other escape from the past and the present bondage."

The Holy Family Voters league was formed some months ago by Father Gaudette's parishioners with the aid of Father Fichter, John McCann, chairman of the CCS Race Relations department, and Philip S. Ogilvie, CCS executive secretary.

Since that time it has developed a strong movement in Natchez for study of political issued and wise use of the franchise.

NEGROES LOSE FIGHT TO REGISTER TO VOTE

High Bench Sends Mississippians Back To State Courts

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Brueau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11.—Fifteen Negro residents of Forrest County, Miss., Tuesday lost at least temporarily their fight in the Supreme Court to force county officials to let them register to vote in Mississippi elections.

The case pits Rev. I. C. Peavy against L. M. Cox, registrar of Forrest County.

Rev. Peavy and his 14 associates contend that although Forrest County has a population of almost 50 per cent Negroes only about 50 Negroes are registered voters. He claimed that under the Mississippi Constitution that when they applied to register they were required to explain in a "reasonable" manner certain sections of the Constitution. The suit claimed the explanations were rejected by Mr. Cox.

The Supreme Court said the appeal would be set aside until the case has been fully considered by the state courts. The appeal will be kept on the Supreme Court docket until then.

Forrest Negroes Lose US Supreme Court Appeal On Register-Vote Case

WASHINGTON —(AP)— The United States Spreme court Tuesday refused to examine Mississippi's appeal procedure for persons kept off the voting list.

Fifteen Forrest County, Miss., Negroes told the high court that colored citizens are, in effect, disfranchised by the legal steps required. They brought suit without complying with the law after they were refused permission to register.

Tuesday's decision leaves standing a lower Federal court ruling that the complainants should have gone through the appeal procedure before challenging the statute in court.

The complainants told the Supreme Court that only about 50 Negroes have been permitted to register, although there are almost as many colored residents as white. They said this is because the registrar asks them the meaning of certain sections of the state constitution and rules their answers unsatisfactory.

The law requires that an applicant be able either to read any section of the constitution or to understand it when read to him. The Negroes said white applicants never have to pass the reading test.

A rejected applicant is allowed to appeal to the county election commissioners and thence to the county circuit court and the state Supreme Court. But bonds of $100 and $500 respectively must accompany the court appeals to take care of costs in case of an unfavorable decision.

The Negroes said the several thousand Negroes of Forrest county could not afford this "enormous" expense, which they said was fixed solely to keep them from voting.

The fifth U. S. circuit court of appeals ruled the Negroes must go through all the appeal steps first before bringing suit to challenge them.

The appeal was filed by Rev. I. C. Peay, B. F. Bourn, Rev. J. H. Mays, R. C. Jones, Dr. Charles W. Smith, B. L. Neal, C. S. Kelly, Rev. C. P. Payne, Dr. J. T. Fikes, J. E. Knox, Jr., Milton Barnes, Alfonso Clark, R. H. Howze and E. H. Smith.

On The Negro Vote: An Open Letter

Ruby E. Stutts Lyells

The Negro vote in the August 7th Primary was divided among most of the Gubernatorial candidates. Both former Governor Hugh White and Atty. Paul B. Johnson, contestants in the second primary, had enthusiastic supporters among Negroes.

Political observers among Negroes view this as a healthy sign. They hold that unless the real issues are so clearly drawn as to make a material differences along racial lines, Negroes should not and will not vote in a block. Thinking Negroes, like thinking white folks, differ in their opinions of preferances for, and loyalties to persons and programs.

Even the ordinary Negro knows that in the governorship of Mississippi it will not yet make much real difference one way or the other. Intelligent Negroes reason that as long as it is necessary for candidates to seek votes by disclaiming interest in people because their skin is dark, or, to tag an opponent with unfitness for office because he is the likely choice of working people who happen to be black, every candidate is so "fenced in" that he cannot speak or act as a free man. They also reason that when the political climate in Mississippi is favorable to rejoining the National Democratic Party or forming a coalition with northern Republicans, any governor or politician will gladly lead the procession, irrespective of 20,000 Negro votes.

For that reason and for the sake of our country's welfare in the international arena, Negro voters deplore the injection of race as an issue in this campaign. It makes no difference who is elected, he will be the Negro's Governor, too. Because it is not customary in Mississippi for white people to show preference to Negroes in the courts or in the provision of tax-supported facilities, etc., the Negro is not wasting energy anticipating empty promises aimed as bait for his vote. Because they know what benefits one, benefits all, Negroes want a Governor who is interested in government for the sake of the people as evidenced in good roads, good schools, good law enforcement, goodwill, etc., provided for all the people without discrimination on the basis of race or class. The man in this campaign who most nearly approaches this ideal will get the Negro's vote. To some it will be Paul Johnson; to others it will be Hugh White. Some Negroes, like some white folks, will be influenced by sentiment and inconsequential considerations. (But that is one of the privileges of a democracy.) Some disappointed over the present situation, will begin working for a two-party system in Mississippi.

Those 20,000 loyal Mississippians of color, law-abiding American citizens, Christian men and women—dubbed "politically minded and social equality Negroes"—who went to the polls August 7th will go again August 28th as free men to cast a free ballot for the man they, as individuals, think will make the people of Mississippi —white and black—the best governor. Not only will they go as free men to participate in their own government, they will go as men free from malice, free from hatred for any man, free from a guilty conscience, thus free from injury. They can go free because God made them free; because in their hearts they do not deny to other men the rights and privileges they seek for themselves. They are free because they have no ambitions that will defile the homes and the altars and the firesides of other people.

Negro voters will be free next Tuesday because they (most of them) are church-going people who have heard that "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and say all manner of evil against you, falsely . . ." As church-people they are remembering how the Master prayed on one occasion, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

There is a whispering campaign going the rounds among Negroes. It is that on next Sunday special prayers will be offered for their enemies and for those who spitefully use them. There will be prayers that God will bless both the winner and the loser in the governor's race; that the man chosen will be God's choice to give the people a leadership sufficient for our time.

Ask Supreme Court for Right to Vote

Would-Be Voters in Mississippi Want to By-Pass State Tribunals

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The U.S. Supreme Court is being asked to allow 15 colored petitioners to by-pass Mississippi courts and have their right to register and vote determined by the Federal courts.

The petitioners are the Rev. I. C. Peay, B. F. Bourn, the Rev. J. H. Mays, R. C. Jones, Dr. Charles W. Smith, B. L. Neal, C. S. Kelly, the Rev. C. P. Payne, Dr. J. T. Fikes, Joe Knox Sr., Joe Knox Jr., Milton Barnes, Alfonso Clark, R. H. Howze and E. H. Smith.

All are residents of Forrest County (Hattiesburg), Miss.

In a petition filed last Tuesday, they asked the Supreme Court to review the judgment of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals that they must exhaust their State-provided administrative and judicial remedies in an effort to register and vote before seeking injunctive relief in Federal courts.

Gives Registrar Chance

The Federal District Court dismissed their complaint. The Appeals Court, however, agreed with the District Court that the petitioners must exhaust their State-provided remedies, but remanded the case to the lower court to allow the petitioners and other colored citizens to ask L. M. Cox, the county registrar, to register them.

The controversy arose out of an order of the Forrest County Board of Supervisors requiring the registrar to make a new registration of voters for elections to be held in the county after June 1, 1950.

The petitioners and a large group of other colored persons applied to the registrar for registration along with white citizens. The petititon states that all of the petitioners are able to read any section of the Constitution of Mississippi, several of them being college-trained and professional men.

(Mississippi law requires that, to be eligible to register and vote, a person must be "able to read any section of the Constitution of this State," or be "able to understand the same when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation thereof.")

The registrar examined the petitioners and the other colored applicants on the Mississippi Constitution. He decided that their answers were unsatisfactory and refused to register them.

Colored Vote Is Studied

JACKSON, Miss., — A statewide check of centers of Negro voting revealed no intimidation of, nor violences towards Negro voters anywhere in the state during the second primary voting on August 28, despite the fact that the "Negro Issue" had made the campaign one of the hottest contests in the political history of the state.

As a result of the voting, former Governor Hugh White of Columbia won the state governorship over his youthful opponent, Paul B. Johnson, of Hattiesburg. Mr Johnson is the son of a former Governor of the state.

In an official counting of the votes a sub - committee of the state Democratic Executive Committee fixed the Hugh White majority as slightly more than 9,000 votes.

In Natchez where three Negro voters had been scared away from the voting place at the Adams County Courthouse during the first primary voting on August 7, they returned on August 28 and cast their votes without molestation.

Seasoned observers of Mississippi politics and politicians, as a result of the second primary campaign are now pointing to the small number of Negro voters as having a more evil effect in Mississippi politics than the complete disfranchisement of Negroes which existed in the state as far as the Democrat primary is concerned, from 1890 until 1946, when Negroes voted in the Democrat primary for the first time in the history of the State.

Vote Too Small

These observers point out that with the Negro vote as small as it now is no candidate, no matter how capable, can hope to be successful if his opponent succeeds in tying the Negro vote around his neck as it was done in the second primary.

The only remedy for the situation which developed again during the second primary, despite the absence of the Negro issue in the first primary is a large increase in the Negro vote, so that in hoping for a division of the Negro vote neither candidate will be tempted to charge his opponent with being in love with, or with being loved by

The Jackson Daily News Writes Another Editorial

Our distinguished contemporary, the Jackson Daily News, published on its front page again last Sunday one of its periodic editorials giving some extravagant comment and space to the name of Percy Greene, Editor and publisher of The Jackson Advocate and his efforts, and the efforts of the Jackson Advocate in attempting to lead the Negro citizens of Mississippi to political participation at the local level, which is the only hope of the Negro citizens of the state for the kind of equality that he is entitled to under the law, and under the democratic concept and ideal which Negro soldiers from Mississipp are this very day fighting and dying to defend.

The most we care to say about the Sunday Editoria is that it again emphasized the worst evil in Mississipp Politics, and the worst draw back to progress in Mississippi, effecting alike the welfare of the masses of i white and Negro people. That evil is the Negro Issue which has been used for the past seventy-five years, i Mississippi politics, with the Jackson Daily News as its chief exponent for the past fifty-years, blinding and blighting every move for the betterment and enlightment of the people of the state.

Although the Jackson Daily News editorial states that "these 20,000 Negroes were herded and taken to the polling places on August 7th, just as the ignorant Negroes of Reconstruction days were herded and voted by the scalawags and carpetbaggers for the overthrow of white supremacy in the south", we doubt ourselves that there is even one among the Negro voters in Mississippi who doesn't have sense enough to know that this state will never get anywhere trying to fight the National Democratic party and by calling for what amounts to another secession from the Union; and who don't have sense enough to know that the lack of Army Camps, war contracts, and other benefits from the Military preparedness program in Mississippi is because of the Negro issue in Mississippi politics which found new expression in dixiecratism.

We have long known that chief among the designs of such editorials as that which appeared in the Jackson Daily News Sunday is to create fear of physical violence and intimidation among Negroes, as well as for psycological effects on the white people of the State. It is a sign of progress and greater hope for Mississippi, that more and more, Negroes as well as white people of the state are beginning to see the real purpose behind the designs.

To the Negro Citizens of the state, it should be abundantly plain that there is more than one way to bring to an end such editorial attacks as that which appeared in the Jackson Daily News Sunday. There is however, only one in which we are interested here; and that one is a larger and early increase in the number of Negro votes.

It should be evident to the responsible white people of the State, as a result of the extremes of the Negro issue in the second primary, that the only hope for clean political campaigning in Mississippi, and for public discussion of the real problems which now confront the state, is a larger and rapid increase in the number of Negro voters.

Go to the polls Tuesday without fear and vote your conviction in the polling place, a voter is responsible only to his own conscience.

See 20,000 Ballots As Balance Of Power

JACKSON, Miss.—As Mississippi voters prepared to trek to the polls this week, Negro political leaders were still playing their cards close to their chests since, for the first time in the state's history, it appeared that colored voters would enjoy a balance of power.

The U. S. Supreme court knocked out the lily-white Democratic primary in 1945, and Negro voters in Mississippi have won out over various schemes to keep him from the polls. About 20,000 are now qualified to vote.

There are eight candidates for the all important race for governor and 20,000 votes could strike a decisive blow if channelled in one direction.

The Last Minute

That's just what one Negro leader had in mind when he said last week:

"There are not enough Negro voters in the state at this time for the eight candidates for governor to be openly bidding for our support. Also because of this small number it would be fatal to a candidacy at this time and we will wait until the last minute to urge our choice."

This new power among Negro voters in this Southern state has caused a significant change in the campaigning tactics. The spokesman said:

No 'Whipping Boy'

The thing that is important to the Negro at this stage is the apparenly healthy influence his vote has in connection with the present campaign. Thus far there has been a total absence of the 'Negro issue' in the race for governor."

He said the Negro has not been the "whipping boy" of the campaign. "There have been no acts of intimidation and threats of dire results in connection with Negro voting."

Political prophets give former Gov. Hugh White the best chance in the race. Others expected to poll near the top are Lt. Gov. Sam Lumpkin, Paul B. Johnson, an attorney; Ross Barnett, also a member of the Mississippi bar, and Jesse Byrd, former state senator.

Under Mississippi's one-party system, winners of the primary election are assured of taking office. However, if a single candidate does not receive a majority of all ballots cast, the two top contestants try again in a run-off August 28.

Discrimination Charged In Case Against Registrar

WASHINGTON, D. C. -(NNPA)- The United States Supreme Court is asked to allow fifteen colored petitioners to bypass Mississippi courts and have their right to register and vote determined by the Federal courts.

The petitioners are the Rev. I. C. Peay, B. F. Bourn, the Rev. J. H. Mays, R. C. Jones, Dr. Charles W. Smith, B. L. Neal, C. S. Kelly, the Rev. C. P. Payne, Dr. J. T. Fikes, Joe Knox, Sr., Joe Knox, Jr., Milton Barnes, Alfonso Clark, R. H. Howze, and E. H. Smith. They are all residents of Forrest County (Hattiesburg) Mississippi.

In a petition filed last Tuesday they asked the Supreme Court to review the judgment of the Fifth United States Circuit Court of Appeals that they must exhaust their state-provided administrative and judicial remedies, in an effort to register and vote, before seeking injunctive relief in Federal courts.

The Federal District Court dismissed their complaint. The appeals court, however, agreed with the District Court that the petitioners must exhaust their state-provided remedies but remanded the case to the lower court to allow the petitioners and other colored citizens to ask L. M. Cox, the county registrar, to register them.

The controversy arose out of an order of the Forrest County Board of Supervisors requiring the registrar, to register them.

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The petitioners and a large group of other colored persons applied to the registrar for registration along with white citizens. The petition states that all of the petitioners are able to read any section of the Constitution of Mississippi, several of them being college-trained and professional men and women.

Mississippi law requires that, to be eligible to register and vote, a person must be "able to read any section of the Constitution of this state," or be "able to understand the same when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

The registrar examined the petitioners and the other colored applicants on the Mississippi Constitution. He decided that their answers were unsatisfactory and refused to register them.

The petition asserts that only colored citizens are examined on their ability to read or understand the Mississippi Constitution, and that this practice is designed solely to prevent colored citizens from registering and voting, regardless of their qualifications.

While there are almost as many colored citizens as whites in Forrest County, the petition states, several thousand white citizens have been registered under the new registration and only about fifty colored citizens.

Mississippi statutes provide that a person denied the right to register may appeal to the county election commissioners, and, if there denied the right to register, may appeal to the county circuit court upon posting a $100 bond to guarantee payment of costs, and then to the Mississippi Supreme Court upon posting a $500 cost bond.

The petitioners did not follow this procedure. Instead, they filed suit in the Federal District Court for injunctive relief on the ground that the registrar had flagrantly discriminated against them because of color, and that they and other colored citizens ought not be put to the enormous expense in the aggregate which the prescribed procedure would place upon them.

The petition points out that colored people in the south, as a whole, are "wretchedly poor," and to have a 'crushing burden" cast upon them of having to post two cost bonds-one for $100 and the other for $500-and pay attorneys' fees and court costs, is enough to 'shock the conscience of a court of equity and to galvanize it into activity."

A Great Vindication For Mississippi

Since we started the publication of this newspaper a little more than ten years ago now, we have been writing in this column from time to time that, despite what seems all too apparent in some frightful incidents that takes place from time to time within its borders; and despite the wide publicity given to the thesis which has dominated Mississippi politics for the past seventy-five years, there are still thousands of fine white people in the State of Mississippi.

Not only have we been writing this from time to time in this column since starting this paper, but we have also been saying and repeating it from the public rostrum, both inside and outside the borders of the state, during the same period.

With us it is a conclusion arrived at as a result of a firm conviction, and not, as in some cases among members of our group, is it a kind of instrument, a something to be used to pry open the pockets of certain white people who offer a kind of cash subsidy to Negro Leaders, or Negro leaders so-called who write and speak the right thing.

Incidentally, we said the same thing in the widely reported speech made in Jackson on Monday night before the election, which is now a part of the Newspaper History of the state, although the news men missed, or chose to leave out that part of the speech now a part of Mississippi Newspaper history.

What we have been writing and saying about there being thousands of fine white people in the State of Mississippi got a great vindication, not only in the near equal vote on both sides in the second primary voting on August 28th, when for the first time in the history of Mississippi politics a candidate for the states' highest office had the courage to decry the pitting of race against race, creed against creed, and class against class in seeking public office, but also in the action of a Committee of white citizens of McComb, which lead to the indictment by a U. S. Grand Jury, of the Pike County Sheriff, and several of his deputies for beating a young Negro accused of crime in an attempt to force from him a confession.

In regard to the voting in the second primary our often repeated statement also includes the many among those who wish to abide by the customs and traditions of the State.

We say again here that there are thousands of fine white people in the State of Mississippi, and to quote again words given us by a great and distinguished American Jurist, despite tradition and history, once the intelligent white people and the intelligent Negro people of the South learn to get together and discuss and solve their problems at the local level, the South and Mississippi, can be made the greatest place in the world for white people and Negro people to live together in peace, progress, harmony, and goodwill.

Negro Democrats Here Push Plans To Register Their Votes In Primary

The Mississippi Negro Democratic association Monday announced plans for pushing a campaign for allowing Mississippi Negroes to register and vote in every county in the state.

Percy Greene, association president, said the body would appeal by letter to every sheriff, election commissioner and circuit clerk in the state to allow Negroes to register and vote.

This failing, said Greene, the association would carry the matter to court.

He said the association had appealed both to U. S. Attorney General McGrath and to Senator Guy M. Gillette, chairman of the U. S. Senate committee on privileges and elections, to investigate "refusals to accept poll tax payments from Negro citizens in Madison and other counties in the state."

Both McGrath and Gillette, Greene said, sent "favorable" replies and suggested a "future course of action."

He declined to reveal the "course of action," suggested, but informed sources indicated the plan would be to exhaust all legal remedies under state law, and then carry the matter into court.

Plan for conducting the campaign on voting was mapped here Saturday at a meeting of the Mississippi Negro Democrats association. A Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Campbell college concluded the day's events.

Greene said the association in February sent a telegram to the attorney general (J. P. Coleman), asking action "on the refusal to accept poll tax money from Negro citizens in Madison and other counties in the state, as a violation of existing state law."

He said the attorney general had not replied to the telegram.

Greene said the letters to sheriffs, circuit clerks and election commissioners would appeal to "their patriotism," and to the "need to combat Communism."

Greene pointed out that a right-to-register suit filed in the Hattiesburg division of Federal court, and the Gladys Noel Bates equal (teacher) pay suit both were refused because legal remedies had not been exhausted.

He said the association would therefore exhaust every legal remedy before taking the matter into court.

His telegram to Gillette follows: "In view of the world-wide challenge to American Democracy and the propaganda being spread by its enemies regarding the treatment of its Negro citizens, the Mississippi Negro Democrats Association urges immediate investigation of refusals to accept poll tax payments from Negro citizens in Madison and other counties in the state as a violation of the democratic process and spirit, as a denial of the right to vote and as a violation of existing federal law."

Mississippi

THE POLL TAX DECISION

The decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of the poll tax was not wholly unexpected despite fading faith in that tribunal. The decision could not have been otherwise without violating every rule of reason, common sense, and the organic law of the nation.

Decision of the tribunal of last resort was based on an appeal from a decision in the United States Circuit Court of appeals in Virginia. In that state the law requires citizens to pay a poll tax of $1.50 a year for three consecutive years in order to be eligible to vote. This requirement was attacked in the Federal courts as being mainly designed to prevent Negroes from voting.

A three-judge Federal court in Virginia, which heard the case, held that no evidence was presented to show that the poll tax has this discriminatory effect, since it is a requirement applying alike to all citizens, whether white or black. Without handing down an opinion of its own, the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment reached by the three-judge tribunal.

Except for its variation in some provisions the Virginia poll tax law is the same as in Mississippi. The poll tax in this state is $2, and the eligibility limit is two instead of three years as in Virginia. But payment of the poll tax in Mississippi is a prerequisite to voting and any good lawyer who has studied the subject well knows that it is not a violation of the constitution for it is levied primarily to provide support for the common schools and all revenue collected from that source goes direct to the public school system.

In previous rulings the United States Supreme Court—usually with one or more dissenting votes—has repeatedly upheld that part of the constitution which specifically reserves to the states the right to fix voting qualifications, so long as they do not conflict with the constitutional guarantee of equal rights. By its latest action the court seems once more to have confirmed its belief in this matter of states' rights.

For years there has been agitation in Washington for a Federal law to eliminate the poll tax insofar as it is a prerequisite to voting for Federal officials. To all practical purposes, such a law would abolish the poll tax altogether. The Supreme Courts action now seems to weaken, if not to remove entirely, the possibility of such legislation by making it almost certain that it would be held unconstitutional. This appears to mean that if the poll tax is abolished, it must be by voluntary action on the part of the states which levy it—as we always have held should be the case—or by amendment of the Federal constitution.

At any rate, the senseless agitators for poll tax repeal have been completely ditched. Their only recourse now is to launch a campaign to amend the Federal constitution, which they will probably do.

"Lost Boundaries" principle takes Negor bride

CLEVELAND — Musically inclined Albert C. Johnston, member of the family of Dr. Albert C. Johnston, made famous by the book and movie which told the story of their lives, "Lost Boundaries," married here last week.

Young Johnston, who has lived as white all of his life, chose a Negro, attractive, cafe au lait Clara Pauline Gresco, member of a socially prominent local family.

They have been engaged a year since his family appeared here in a lecture. An Episcopal ceremony was performed. Young Johnston is a graduate of the University of New Hampshire, and is a composer; the bride of Wilcox college. She has been associated with a magazine publishing firm and modeling agency.

Mississippi Negro Vote Case Waits Decision Of U. S. Court

HATTIESBURG, Miss., May 29 —The First Mississippi Negro vote case is now awaiting the decision of the U. S. Court of appeals of New Orleans, La.

The case filed by a number of prominent Negro business and professional men of Hattiesburg against the Forest County Circuit Court went before the Appelate Court last Wednesday on an appeal from the decision by Federal Judge Sidney C. Mize of the Southern District of Mississippi who ruled that the Negro citizens failed to exhaust the administrative remedies before bringing the case in Court.

Observers at the hearing in New Orleans last Wednesday said that the questionery of the Judges directed at the Attorney for the Circuit Clerk appeared to indicate that they were in sharp disagreement with the position taken by Judge Mize.

The Negro citizens are being represented by Attorney T. Price Dole.

A decision is expected in the case early in next month.

NEGRO TEST LOOMS IN MISSISSIPPI VOTE

Increasing Number Qualified for Primary on Aug. 7 May Pose 'Balance-of-Power' Threat

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., July 28—For the first time in the history of this state, Negro voters represent a possible state-wide "balance-of-power" threat in a Democratic party primary election and as a result the often-used "Negro issue" has been conspicuously absent in the campaign oratory to date.

On Aug. 7, the Mississippi electorate will cast ballots in behalf of 5,000 candidates for 1,600 public offices at state, district and county levels, including the all-important Governorship. Where a candidate fails to receive a majority of the total number of ballots, the two top contestants will battle it out in a run-off primary on Aug. 28.

In 1945, a United States Supreme Court decision held that Negroes were entitled to participate in the South's traditionally all-white Democratic party primaries. Because of the one-party political adherence of Southern states, victory in the Democratic party primary is equivalent to actual election to office.

Rise in Negro Registration

In the ensuing six years there has been a vast increase in Negro voting registration throughout the South, and in several recent elections in major Southern cities the Negro vote has been the deciding factor. Mississippi now has an estimated 20,000 Negroes registered as qualified voters.

Negro leaders here are confident that some 15,000 to 18,000 Negroes will go to the polls on Aug. 7, and they point out that in a close race for Governor that number of ballots could easily decide who would be the second man in the first primary, and might be effective in determining the winner in the run-off.

"There are not enough Negro votes in the state at this time for the eight candidates for Governor to be openly bidding for our support," a prominent Negro leader asserted. "Also because of this small number it would be fatal to a candidate, no matter how well we thought of him, to foster his candidacy at this time, and we will wait until the last minute to urge our choice.

"The thing that is important to the Negro at this stage is the apparently healthy influence his vote has had in connection with the present campaign. Thus far there has been a total absence of the 'Negro issue' in the race for Governor.

"In the past we were subjected so often at election time to campaign oratory that hurt painfully. But the Negro, thus far, has not been the 'whipping boy' and there have been no acts of intimidation and threats of dire results in connection with Negro voting.

"We hope it is proof that democracy in action can find a home in Mississippi. We think it sustains the basic American precept that free exercise of a free ballot is the best guarantee of democratic progress."

There has been considerable speculation in Mississippi political circles as to who will be the favored gubernatorial candidate of the Negro voters, but Negro leaders have remained noncommittal.

Veteran political observers here agree generally that the foremost candidate in the gubernatorial field is former Gov. Hugh White, who will be 70 years old on Aug. 19. He held the office from 1936 to 1940, and started the state's balance agriculture-with-industry program.

It is generally believed, however, that a run-off primary will be necessary. Favored candidates for vying with Mr. White in a two-man race are Lieut. Gov. Sam Lumpkin; Paul B. Johnson Jr., attorney and son of a former Governor; Ross Barnett, attorney and ardent supporter of the state's dry laws, and Jesse Byrd, former State Senator, who favors the legalized sale of liquor to produce revenue for old-age assistance and teacher salaries.

Other candidates are Jimmie Walker, attorney and anti-prohibitionist; Kelly Hammond, former state legislator, and Mrs. Mary Cain, 46-year-old publisher of the weekly Summit Sun. She is the first woman candidate in the state's history, and she is against the state's accepting any Federal money for any purpose.

The successful candidate will succeed the incumbent, Fielding L. Wright, who was Vice Presidential candidate of the States Rights Democrats that won the electoral votes of Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana and Alabama in the national elections of 1948. Governor Wright must relinquish the office at the end of the year because under Mississsippi law he cannot serve successive terms.

The local popularity of Governor Wright's stand on national issues has led all of his would-be successors to endorse the States Rights program and to assert opposition to the renomination of President Truman in 1952. In view of the widespread anti-Truman feeling in this state, this action of the candidates came as no surprise.



It is estimated that there are now about 20,000 registered Negro voters in Mississippi. They are eligible to participate in the primary on August 7th if they declare themselves to be Democrats. How many will do so remains to be seen, but it is surely to be much below the total Negro registration. There is a Negro faction in the state led by Percy Greene, Negro editor, affiliated with the Truman organization. Trumancrats are not Democrats, as we see it here in Mississippi. Percy Greene, it will be recalled, attended one of the so-called Jackson-Jefferson dinners in a swanky Washington hotel and sat cheek-to-jowl with the white folks. There are probably 5,000 registered Negro voters in Jackson. Many of them, however, are of the conservative type and have nothing to do with Percy Greene or his organization.

Ballot Denied To 15 In Mississippi

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS

WASHINGTON—Claiming they have been fraudulently deprived of their rights to register and vote because of race, 15 citizens of Forrest county, Miss., this week asked the U. S. Supreme court to review a U. S. Circuit Court of appeals ruling requiring them first to exhaust all means of obtaining their voting rights through state-established channels.

According to Thomas C. Hannah, counsel for the group the amount of money required for individual Negroes to go through state channels in Mississippi to prove they have been cheated of their voting rights is so costly as to make it financially impossible for most of them ever to establish their right by this procedure. He estimated the cost for each individual to be a minimum of approximately $700.

The 15 citizens, many of them college and professionally trained, appeared before L. M. Cox, Forrest county registrar, to qualify for State elcetions to be held after June 1, 1951.

All 15 were refused registration for failure to qualify under the state registration law which requires that a citizen shall "be able to read any section of the constitution of the state; or be able to understand the same when read to him; or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Cox expressed dissatisfaction with the answers given by the 15 and refused to allow them and nearly all other Negroes to register. On the other hand, white registrants were not required to take the literacy test.

Thousands of them were declared eligible for voting as compared with only about 50 Negroes, although the colored population is about half of the total population of the county.

The 15 petitioners turned to the Federal District Court for injunctive relief from the registrar's decision but their case was dismissed on grounds that they had not exhausted State remedies.

The District Court's ruling was upheld by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth District.

Those for whom the petition for review has been brought before the Supreme Court are: Rev. I. C. Peay, B. F. Bourn, Rev. J. H. Mays, R. C. Jones, Dr. Charles W. Smith, B. L. Neal, C. S. Kelly, Rev. C. P. Payne, Dr. J. T. Fikes, Joe Knox, Sr., Joe Knox, Jr., Milton Barnes, Alfonso Clark, R. H. Howze and E. H. Smith.

Pro-Truman Negro Rally Here Roars Approval of Paul

By JOHN HERBERS

The pro-Truman Mississippi Negro Democrats led by Percy Green endorsed Paul B. Johnson for governor in a roaring get-out-and-vote rally here Monday night.

"I'm not telling you who to vote for," Green told his responsive crowd of more than 500 Negroes at Central Methodist church, "but I am going to vote for Paul B. Johnson."

Negro voting in the City of Jackson was reported heavy early today.

At that point the crowd roared approval.

Green's endorsement for Johnson came toward the end of a long speech in which the editor of the Jackson Advocate and president of the Mississippi Negro Democratic Association reviewed his influence with President Truman and his administration.

"If it hurts Mr. Johnson for me to vote for him, I'm sorry," Green said, explaining that he thought it more important for Negroes to take an active part in politics than to work for political expediency.

Green reviewed before his enthusiastic followers his leadership in the state since 1940 and asked for a "vote of confidence" for the future. He got it almost unanimously.

He took credit for "the great progress the Negroes have made in this state since 1940" and insinuated that he has more influence with the Truman administration than any other person in Mississippi.

However, he claimed no allegiance with the defunct pro-Truman committee of Mississippi, most of whom are now under federal indictment, and said it was his influence that kept T. B. Fatheree, state head of the Farm Home Administration, in office when the white pro-Truman group was attempting to have him fired.

Green said after all other efforts failed he telegraphed President Truman and Fatheree kept his job. Green read the telegram in which he said he told the President that Fatheree was being ousted by selfish interests of the white group.

The Negro editor told of his many trips to Washington to confer with administration leaders, including Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black and former Attorney General Tom Clark.

He said he once talked with Black for more than two hours on the Negro problems in Mississippi and Black told him:

"Go back home and tell your people to pay their poll tax and vote. Don't worry about the civil rights program. You get the right to vote and the politicians will give you everything you want."

Green said that in 1940 there were less than 2000 registered voters, "but under my leadership there are now upwards of 15,000." He said before 1946 no Negroes in Mississippi had voted in a Democratic primary, and it was because of him that they now are voting in the primaries.

He denied Communist affiliation, saying, "Damn Communism," and sharply criticized the States' Rights movement and Frederick Sullens, editor of the Daily News.

"A Negro in Mississippi is a fool to belong to the Republican Party," Green said. "I am a Democrat because the Democratic party offers better opportunities to the Negro race and because in Mississippi there's nobody to vote for as a Republican.

Following his speech, a collection was taken up for Green. Speakers preceding Green referred to him as "an international figure."

Green said he took about $350 which was collected from Mississippi Negroes to Washington as a contribution to Truman's presidential campaign in 1948.

Because of that, Green said, he was invited to swanky inagural parties and at one of them a high administration official tapped his arm and said:

"You don't know how much the president appreciated that contribution."

Green constantly reminded his followers that his education was superior to theirs. Referring to eminent domain litigation filed against Negro families in Biloxi in which he sought federal help, Green said:

"You don't know what that is do you? I do."

But he never did explain the term.

At another point he told his audience: "You don't know what communism is, but I do."

Negroes filled the church and swarmed the entrances to hear every word Green had to say.

Negro Vote Issue Comes To Life In Mississippi Again

JACKSON, Miss.—Seldom mentioned in Mississippi politics since the death of the late Senator Theodore Bilbo in 1947, the Negro vote issue has come to life again in a showdown run-off primary for the governorship.

Opposing candidates in the Democratic run-off primary set for August 28, are Hugh White, a former governor, and Paul Johnson, son of Mississippi's 1940-43 governor.

Each of the revival candidates claim, the other has the backing of Negro voters in this white supreacy state.

Johnson warns that if elected, White would "lead you out the back ... into the Republican Party.

...g the large majority vote given Johnson over seven other candidates in the first primary in all-Negro precincts at Mound Bayou and Mt. Carmel in the delta, White said:

"The Negroes and Truman want to see me defeated. They want a man in the governor's office who will be friendly with Truman."

Retaliating, Johnson said: White "is trying to make much of the Negro vote he says was given me," and added:

"Mr. White tries to tell you that I am the favorite of the Negroes. He does not tell you how many Negroes voted for him. As a matter of fact, White has carried the Negro votes for many years."

Refuses To Hear Miss. Vote Plea

WASHINGTON — The Supreme court last week refused to hear 14 Mississippians on their complaint that they were improperly denied the right to vote.

Residents of Forrest county, Miss., appealed to the high court after lower federal courts refused to issue an injunction which would have compelled L. M. Cox, the county registrar, to list them as voters.

The appeal was filed by Rev. I. C. Peay, B. F. Bourn, Rev. J. H. Mays, R. C. Jones, Dr. Charles W Smith, B L. Neal. C. S. Kelly, Rev. C. P. Payne, Dr. J. T. Fikes, Joe Knox Jr, Milton Barnes, Alfonso Clark, R. H. Howze and E. H. Smith.

The complainants said the registrar questioned them as to the meaning of certain sections of the Mississippi constitution and expressed dissatisfaction with their answers. They claim the county has almost as many Negroes as white but only 50 Negroes have been allowed to register.

Negroes Urged To Back Charter

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Philadelphia's Negro voters will be urged to support the newly proposed city charter when that issue is voted upon next month, Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey, one of two Negro members of the Philadelphia Charter Commission, announced. Dr. Duckrey, who is a leading educator, believes that adoption of the proposed charter offers "perhaps the one opportunity in our generation" to secure good government.

In speaking for the new proposal, to which some political circles are thought to be opposed, Dr. Duckrey praised the human relations provisions of the document as being superior in their intent "without particularly favoring any special group."

The Board of Education executive, who emphasized that he did not speak for that unit, said that the portion of the proposed charter which deals with the regulation of human behavior merely "moves to guarantee what America itself says that it guarantees" in the ways of human rights.

TUG OF WAR LOOMS

Within the group itself, there are indications that the charter issue may develop into a tug of war.

Meanwhile, strong church and civic units are being rallied to support the proposal, largely on the grounds that its human relations provisions are superior to any municipal instrument of its kind adopted in the country in recent years.

Except for the New Jersey Constitution, which expressly forbids discriminations based on race or color, the new Philadelphia Charter would be one of less than a dozen such pieces of legislation which provide for racial and religious protections.

The Commission on Human Relations, as provided in the new proposal, would have the delegated responsibility to "prevent discrimination against persons because of race, color, religion or national origin."

DEPENDS ON COUNCIL

In addition to a number of duties, which would include the launching of programs of inter-group education, the Commission on Human Relations would take over the functions of the Philadelphia Fair Employment Practices Commission as now established.

Negro supporters of the charter proposal are expected to base their campaign for its adoption upon considerable experience as regards the passage of FEPC legislation.

The present setup, at the municipal level, has come in for considerable criticism because of its obvious sensitivity to City Council from which its budget is derived and by whose pleasure it exists.

This absence of any security of existence has made it at least plausible, many critics have believed, for FEPC activity to be limited in certain areas. These have included public utilities, which are still adamant against the hiring of Negro meter readers, and sections of the city government itself in which the placement of Negroes has been bypassed as a tradition.

PRESSURES EXERTED

The establishment of the Commission on Human Relations in the basic law of the city, supporters of the proposal believe, would go far toward relieving such a regulatory unit from undue pressures. In addition, its acceptance as a permanent instrument of the municipality would, it is believed, establish its functions as a part of the general practices of municipal approach to racial and religious problems.

Negro political leaders are generally expected to oppose the charter. This is especially true, informed sources believe, at the level of the ward committeemen, most of whom either hold or seek employment in city or county offices. Under these circumstances, seasoned workers fear for the document in Negro communities unless a precedent-setting vote is cast.

Negro Group Backs Charter

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

The Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has indorsed the proposed Philadelphia Charter and will enlist the aid of its members toward adoption of the legislation at next month's special election. The decision to actively support the move marked the first time the group had "taken official cognizance of what may be a politically controversial issue."

In reaching its decision, the NAACP unit overcame the opposition of a small group, many of whom had been identified with the recently ousted regime. The majority of those supporting the charter drive, according to officials, are leaders of the more conservative element which resented the domination of left-wingers.

SPAULDING LED FIGHT

Much of the credit for the decision to "not only indorse but actively work for" an affirmative vote for the charter has been given Theodore Spaulding, a local attorney and former president. A member of the national board of the NAACP and last year's Republican candidate for Congress in the 4th District, Spaulding has identified himself with the progressive wing of the local Republicans and is strongly in favor of the charter.

"The provision for creation of a Commission on Human Relations in the charter is enough in itself to suggest that every Negro in Philadelphia support the move," Spaulding told NAACP followers. The attorney, who is expected to spearhead any independent activity among Negro Republicans in next fall's balloting, added, however, that "the proposal of good government is above the level of either race or creed, it is the duty of every citizen who wishes to call this city his home."

CHURCHES' AID SOUGHT

Supporters of the charter move, which is expected to encounter appreciable political opposition, also have indicated that a major portion of the city's Negro churches might line up behind the proposal. Informed sources active with the Charter Commission say this move may culminate in a "Charter Sunday," when ministers of approximately 14 denominations would ask their followers to vote for the proposal.

The major provision upon which the appeal to Negroes is expected to be made is the proposed creation of the Human Relations unit which would supplant the present Fair Employment Practice group.

OPPOSED BY POLITICIAN

Among the strong supporters of this portion of the proposed charter is the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission which appeared before the Charter Commission to urge its inclusion in the final draft.

Negro communities are admittedly unorganized, however, and a major portion of Negro political leaders are known to oppose the entire charter.

Whether the organization of church groups, which has proved formidable in a number of instances, can be depended upon to equal the political strength of division committeemen in a special election is not known.

Both Parties May Slate Negroes in Bid for Votes

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, a Baptist minister who now serves as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, has been offered slating by the Democratic leadership for a similar post here in the July primary elections. Pastor of the Mt. Olivet congregation, 42d and Wallace sts., Mr. Shepard has been active in the Negro wing of the party for more than 15 years.

The decision of the Democratic leadership to slate him instead of Rev. Luther Cunningham, an associate of Richardson Dilworth, is thought to have been occasioned by a belief that the possible candidacy of Dr. Daniel A. Poling, also a Baptist minister, for Mayor on the Republican ticket might upset the Democratic appeal to Negro voters. Mr. Shepard is regarded as the most seasoned Negro campaigner available to the Democrats.

DRIVE FOR NEGRO VOTES

In both parties, meanwhile, an unprecedented drive for Negro votes is under way. The final Republican decisions on Negro candidates have not been reached, according to party leaders. However, it is reliably reported that Negroes will be slated for City Council.

Following the reported Democratic decision to support Dr. Shepard, Negro Republican leaders sharpened their appeal to their party to slate one of their group for Recorder. Such a move, they believed, would guarantee that post to a Negro and thereby reduce the partisan aspect of campaigning and whatever racial exploitation might be made by clashing factions.

As now constituted, the post of Deputy Recorder of Deeds here has been held by a Negro for 14 years. As a result, the elevation of a Negro to the Recordership itself would not, in the opinion of many leaders, be likely to encounter much opposition.

DR. GRAY URGED ON GOP

The Negro Republican leadership will seek to have Dr. William A. Gray, Jr., former president of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, at Tallahassee, supported for the local post. An ordained Baptist minister, Dr. Gray succeeded his father as pastor of the Bright Hope congregation, 12th and Oxford sts., last year.

The Negro Republican approach, it has been revealed, will be to seek support for Dr. Gray by all factions of their party, guaranteeing him nomination regardless of such contests as may develop at the head of the primary slates. Such a move, it is believed, would leave the Negro segment of the Republican support untouched by intra-party factionalism and intact for the November balloting.

Whether this arrangement can be effected is not known. However, Negro leaders of both parties are certain of support for Negro candidacies for City Council. At least four will be offered, two in each party.

ALEXANDER SEEKS POST

In North Philadelphia, Raymond Pace Alexander is expected to get the Clark-Dilworth support on the Democratic slate. A well-known attorney, Alexander failed to win caucus support in his home 5th District, the indorsement going to J. Thompson Pettigrew, a member of the General Assembly. Pettigrew is leader of the 47th ward, in which Alexander lives.

Republican support for Dr. Walter F. Jerrick, former president of the Pyramid Club and a nationally known fraternal leader, is reported certain. The South Philadelphia physician is said to have solid support of Negro leaders if he stands for election. He lives in the 30th ward.

Robert N. C. Nix, West Philadelphia attorney is being mentioned for Democratic support for Council either in his area or at-large. Nix has been active with that party for more than 10 years but has not sought any major office. He is said to have considerable support, despite the fact that Mr. Shepard also lives in that section.

Meanwhile, a record number of Negro candidates will file for various offices before tomorrow's deadline. At least 30 have circulated nominating petitions, with a majority seeking Democratic endorsement. The office most sought is that of councilman.

Poll Tax Again

For more than a decade foes of the poll tax have been laboring under the delusion that it could be quickly abolished by direct action of Congress. Each year has brought them fresh disappointment, and now the outlook for an anti-poll-tax law is especially gloomy because, in the present emergency, the country would not tolerate a filibuster —an invariable consequence of trying to bring such a bill to a vote in the Senate. In these circumstances we should think there would be a general shift of support to a constitutional amendment for abolition of the few remaining poll taxes not wiped out by direct State action.

Such an amendment is being sponsored once more by Senator Holland of Florida with the backing of 11 Democratic Senators from the South. While the foremost purpose of the proposed amendment may be to counteract any anti-poll-tax bill that the Administration may advance, that does not detract from its intrinsic merits. The Holland resolution would not only wipe out State poll taxes; it would also forbid the States to prescribe any "property holding qualification" as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections. This is important, for the States are now at liberty to limit voting rights to persons owning real estate or other property, as most of them did in the early days of the Republic. Even if an anti-poll-tax bill could meet the test of constitutionality in the Supreme Court, which is doubtful, enactment of the more comprehensive Holland amendment is clearly preferable.

With ample pressure behind it, the Holland resolution could probably be made effective within a year—or at most two years. What is needed is active rather than passive sponsorship. The Southern Senators who have taken the commendable step of offering the resolution could greatly enhance their prestige by putting some steam behind it. If they fail to do so, the Administration itself might well take up the resolution. For the objective to be sought is abolition of the poll tax by appropriate constitutional means—not the enactment of a particular bill to which the President and many legislators happen to be committed.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill n Senate

Would Abolish Levy By Amendment Of U. S. Constitution

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — The first of the southern comprises on civil rights legislation was introduced in the Senate last Thursday when Senator Spessard L. Holland, Democrat, of Florida, on behalf of himself and eleven other southern Senators offered a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution outlawing payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections.

Sponsoring the resolution with Senator Holland are Senators George A. Smathers of Florida, Walter F. George of Georgia, Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, Willis Smith of North Carolina, Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, Herbert A. O'Conor of Maryland, Allen J. Ellender and Russell B. Long of Louisiana, and John L. McClellan and J. William Fulbright of Arkansas.

In offering the resolution, Senator Holland told the Senate that its sponsors desired speedy submission of the proposed amendment by the Congress to the states for ratification. They believe that three - fourths of the states will speedily ratify it, if it is submitted, he said.

* * *

ONLY SIX STATES now require payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. South Carolina repealed its poll-tax law by adoption at the November general election of a constitutional amendment proposed by the 1950 state legislature.

Taylor reports that in absence of high court opinion—

Rep. Henry Beatty contends 67-senator bill unconstitutional; says constitutional convention only valid way to gain change

BY FRED TAYLOR

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 18—Neither the House nor Senate would ask the Alabama Supreme Court for an advisory opinion on the constitutionality of the 67-senator bill. Both pigeon-holed resolutions by opponents of the measure seeking such an opinion

It is no secret that a number of lawmakers, notably some of the Black Belters who supported this distorted form of reapportionment, doubt its validity.



TAYLOR

But neither they nor the upstate legislators who plumped hard for this foot-in-the-door reapportionment proposal, wanted the Supreme Court to hand down an advisory opinion.

The cagy Black Belters had made a deal with the upstate boys to support their 67-senator proposal, if the upstaters would go along with them on their voter qualification bill. And they knew a high court opinion holding the 67-senator measure was no good, would kill their voter bill. They had a hunch it would rule that way.

After all, hadn't the high tribunal already held that a somewhat similar 67-senator proposal (the one pushed by the former administration) was unconstitutional?

As was revealed here early in the legislative session, the upstate lawmakers had formed a bloc to defeat the Black Belters' voter qualification measure, unless the Black Belters knuckled in on the 67-senator bill.

The upstaters, of course, didn't want a high court ruling that their pet measure was not good. And, too, they were pretty well convinced the voter qualification bill, similar to the invalidated Boswell amendment, would be knocked out by the courts.

So, last week saw both the 67-senator and the voter qualification amendments, both of which must be voted on by the people, rammed through to final passage in the House.

And each group, doubting validity of the other's bill, apparently believed it had outsmarted the other. It remains to be seen if either or both did.

But, in the absence of Supreme Court ruling, opponents of the 67-senator proposal did the next best thing. They called on a House member, who has developed into probably the outstanding constitutional lawyer of the Legislature — Jefferson Rep. Henry Beatty—for an informal opinion.



REP. BEATTY

* * *

Clearly unconstitutional'

It will be recalled that Rep. Beatty dug up the law—and the Supreme Court susequently backed him up—on which a similar 67-senator bill was held invalid.

It was Beatty who pointed out that Section 284 of the constitution dealing with the method or reapportioning the House and Senate declares:

"Representation in the Legislature shall be based upon population and such basis of representation shall not be changed by constitutional amendment."

In other words, as Beatty contends in his opinion, the 67-senator provision could be written into the constitution only by a constitutional convention.

Cleburne County's able Rep Pelham Merrill, who drafted the new form of the 67-senator bill, insists that it is valid. It does not actually provide for 67 senators. It would change the present constitutional limitation eventually to provide for a 67-senator ceiling in the upper chamber. Another constitutional amendment would have to be submitted and ratified before there could be 67 senators.

Merrill points out it would do this by removing the constitutional restriction that the number of senators shall not be less than one-fourth nor more than one-third the number of House members, which presently is 106.

But Beatty contends the bill, as passed, is clearly unconstitutional.

Powers a 'must'

"MANY FIND it difficult to understand how it can be contended that a proposal for constitutional amendment should itself be unconstitutional," said the Jefferson lawmaker.

"Even some learned in the law argue that once a proposed constitutional amendment is passed by the Legislature and ratified at a general election, then that amendment would have all the force and validity of the original constitution.

"However logical and reasonable this position may seem upon its first statement, yet it is altogether erroneous and finds no support whatever in legal precedent.

"Constitutional amendments, like other acts of the Legislature, must (1) be within the power of the Legislature to enact (2) and be germane to that section of the constitution it purports to amend."

* * *

Fundamental law

IN QUESTIONING the Legislature's authority to enact the 67-senator amendment, Rep. Beatty's opinion went on to add:

"It is fundamental law, universally recognized, that unless a constitution adopted by a convention specifically provides that it may be amended, then such constitution is not subject to amendment. It can then be changed or rewritten only by another constitutional convention convened for such purpose.

"However, most constitutions provide the ways and means by which and purposes for which they can be amended. When this is done the courts have uniformly held that constitutions can be amended only in the precise manner, and for the exact purposes specifically enumerated in the original constitution. Any other method or character or change can be effected only by calling another constitutional convention."

* * *

Examines amendment

WITH THESE PREMISES in mind, the lawmaker proceeded further to examine the proposal, pointing out:

"It is an amendment to Sec. 284 of the Constitution. This section is found in Art. 18, which relates to the subject of 'Modes of amending the constitution.'

"It is highly important that this fact be noted, namely, that the 67-senator proposal is inserted in a proposed amendment to the article of 1901 Constitution on 'Modes of Amending the Constitution.' In the 1901 Constitution, there is another and distinct article, namely, Art. 9 on the subject of 'Representation in the Legislature.'

"Yet this 67-senator amendment makes no reference whatever to any of the provisions of Art. 9 and does not purport to modify or repeal any of the provisions of Art. 9, which deals with the subject of representation of counties and senatorial districts in the Legislature."

* * *

Cites limitation

IN COMMENTING on the constitutional limitation on the number of senators presently, as contained in Sec. 197 of Art. 10, Beatty pointed out this provision was not new to the 1901 Constitution. He cited the fact that similar provisions had been embodied in the constitutions of 1819, 1865, 1868 and 1875.

"Moreover," he said, "this ratio of senators (not less than one-fourth nor more than one-third of House members) to the number of representatives is in substantial form maintained in all states which have a bi-cameral (two-house) Legislature."

Bolstering his contention, the Jefferson legislator added:

"Nowhere in the proposed amendment is any reference made to Sec. 197, Art. 9. Yet it would attempt to authorize the Legislature to create 67 senatorial districts, while the number of the members of the House of Representatives remains at 106 as provided in Sec. 198 of Art. 10."

As to any argument that adoption and ratification of the 67-senator amendment would be construed as a repeal of the provisions of Sec. 197, adopted a half century ago, Beatty said:

"Yet the courts have been uniform in holding that a specific constitutional provision will not be repealed 'by implication.' Also the courts have consistently held that where provisions of a constitution are in conflict, then that 'which has the lesser right shall yield.'

"In this present 67-senato amendment, there is no expressed repeal of Secs. 197, 198 and 200 of Art. 9 of the Constitution of 1901, which treats of the subject of representation in the Legislature.

"These sections remain as they are—untouched, unmodified and unrepealed.

"Certainly a court would not hold that the provision of this Art. 9, which has been incorporated within every constitution adopted since 1819 (when Alabama became a state), were 'impliedly repealed' by this lately proposed amendment to Art. 18, which deals with an entirely different subject—not that of representation in the Legislature, but one upon the 'mode of amending the constitution.'"

* * *

'Conflicts with itself'

BEATTY CONTENDED that without question the courts would hold that provisions of Art. 9, brought forward in the constitution for almost a century and a half and through five constitutional conventions, would have a "superior right" to an "abortive" amendment proposed at this late date.

He said that especially would they so hold because "the proposed amendment would overthrow the fundamental element of all representative government, namely, representation according to population." Actually, he argued, the 67-senator amendment "is in conflict with itself."

The lawmaker's opinion also contended the proposed amendment is not germane to Sec. 284, Art. 18 of the Constitution. This, he said, would invalidate it.

"In my humble opinion, therefore, this latest proposal has no more validity than similar 67-senator proposals that our Legislature has spent so many hours of its regular sessions to debate, and five special sessions in 1950 called to pass such an amendment—all at great expense to the state.

"It is my personal belief that many ardent advocates of the 67-senator proposal are not concerned so much with greater representation of the people, but with creating more political offices and more political power they might aspire to."

* * *

Tax-hikers rebuffed

SCHOOL FORCES — That is, the so-called school oligarchy—got a stiff rebuff last week when they tried to push through a jolting ad valorem tax-hiking program.

Already having been given $20,000,000 more yearly through the sales tax increase, they sought to raise the constitutional limit on ad valorem taxes by 5½ mills, or $1.25 more on each $100 tax-

ted to the state s
press also picked
ding member of
ure.

Both are lawyers, veteran lawmakers and learned the legisla-
tive score long before they were
elected to their present highly
important posts. Both are World
War II veterans.

Tops with gavel

OLDTIMERS AROUND the Legislature — those who have watched the legislative mill grind through many sessions—consider the presiding officers of the House and Senate among the ablest and fairest they've seen perform on Goat Hill.

They are referring, of course, to Lt. Gov. James Allen, who wields the gavel in the Senate, and Speaker Robert Brown, who presides over the House.

Dapper Speaker Brown, Opelika attorney and a pilot in the fore he was elected to
No. 2 office. The press
him as outstanding
the last Legislature.

Presiding officers of
and Senate have to
more than how to ra
They've got to know
order and parliamen
dure. And, to perfor
like Brown and Allen
got to keep abreast o
ing bills.

Lt. Gov. Allen, Gadsden lawyer and Navy veteran, served twice in the House and once in the Senate from Etowah County be-

able property.

Madsion Sen. Joe Foster's committee on constitution and amendments killed a proposal to raise the tax-limit ceiling. Lamar Sen. Ross Hollis made the motion to postpone the bill indefinitely and five other committee members voted with him. Three voted for it.



SEN. HOLLIS

State Education Supt. W. J. Terry and several county superintendents appeare dbefore the committee to support the measure. They argued this proposal was needed by counties to help them shape a long-range financing program for schools.

But opponents, including Sid Smyer, former legislator; John Dearborn, representing the Birmingham Committee of 100, and Murray Cahill, speaking for the Birmingham Home Builders Association, presented strong arguments agains the tax boost.

They pointed out it would deal a severe blow to a movement which already has gained a lot of momentum in Alabama. This is the campaign, strongly supported by Gov. Persons, business, agricultural and industrial leaders, to attract new industry and business fo the state.

Smyer pointed out the school leaders already have plenty of taxing machinery in the various counties. He said all they've got to do is to get Tax Equalization Boards to raise assessments, as already has been done in several counties.

"The Committee of 100 is trying to build up this state—not just Birmingham and Jefferson County—but the entire state. The best way to do this is to bring in new wealth and create more revenues. To pass a ball like this would put a damper on effective efforts being made to do this."

*For a long life, says Jimmy Beard, of Perth, Australia, aged 103, try hard work, bacon and eggs for breakfast, black tea without sugar and two tots of rum daily.



NEGROES LINE UP FOR REGISTRATION AT COURTHOUSE — The Non-Partisan Committee, sparked by the co-chairmanship of Lt. G. W. Lee and Dr. J. E. Walker, saw fruitiion of a portion of its efforts when more than one thousand citizens appeared at the Courthouse to be registered for voting.

The Committee, recently organized for qualifying Negroes for voting, has turned its efforts to churches door to door methods of getting citizens interested in first class citizenship.

Pictured above is a portion of the crowd which lined the front walk of the Courthouse. At extreme right is Lt. G. W. Lee, district manager of Atlanta Life Insurance Co.; and to extreme left; Rev. Dwight D. Moore, Exalted Ruler of the Elks; and T. Spencer, district manager of Union Protective Assuranse Co.

Women Back Drive For Registration; Looby Will Speak

As the cry for registration went out to leaders in the community, qualifying Negroes for voting, the spotlight fell on active participation of women in the organization

Under the chairmanship of Lt George Lee and Dr J E Walk[illegible] group has [illegible] ed And since the fire has been started, with the second meeting, women were given prominence.

In order to put over the program of registering Memphis citizens for voting, many women volunteers will be needed An active door to door campaign will have to be launched.

With the women present for the second meeting of the organization, Friday, May 25, a committee was formed for the prime purpose of getting more women interested in the program Mrs Lillian Scott, well known civic leader, and originator of Cleaborn Day, was selected chairman; Miss Willa A McWilliams, secretary of the North Memphis Civic Club, was selected co-chairman; Mrs Mary E Payne North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co , secretary; and Mrs Steele, representative of City Beautiful Commission, Ward 12

The group recognized the importance of reaching the everyday laborer, and plans are now in progress to get representatives from large industry's for the purpose of registering men in this area

Churches are to be contacted, and a special Sunday be set aside as Citizenship Sunday. The pastor will be expected to organize a citizenship committee to get highest number of registrants from the particular church. On this day, a member of the mother organization will speak o nthe functions of the program.

The Committee on Organization of which Atty. B. L. Hooks is chairman, is sponsoring a luncheon Thursday evening, May 31, at the Elks' Club, for workers who will take active participation in procuring registration cards and signatures from the Negro citizenry of Memphis.

One of the Greek organizations, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, of which Dr. H H. Johnson is Basileus, in connection with its Achievement Program, will gear this year's program with the objective of fostering the mammoth registration drive. The theme will be, "Citizenship in Memphis for Negroes." A giant mass meeting has been arranged for June 3, when Atty. Z. A. Looby, recently elected councilman of Nashville, Tenn , will be the principal speaker

Under the skillful financier hand of Dr J. E. Walker, $400 was paid on pledges for the organization

The next meeting of the organization will be Friday, June 1, 4 p. m , at the assembly room of Universal Life Insurance Co.

Tenn. Acts To Outlaw Poll Taxes

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Feb. 13—(AP)—The Tennessee House Tuesday passed by an 85 to 0 vote a bill which would in effect eliminate the poll tax as a bar to voting in the state.

The bill, which now goes to the Senate, would provide that in order to vote a male between 21 and 50 would have only to pay the poll tax assessed against him for the year 1871, the year after the Constitution was adopted.

Present law requires payment of the poll tax for the "year preceding an election."

Under existing law, veterans, women, blind persons and persons over 50 are exempt from the poll tax.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Feb. 13—(AP). South Carolina Tuesday dropped officially off the list of states requiring some voters to pay poll taxes.

Men aged 21 through 60 formerly had to prove they had paid their current $1 a year poll taxes before they could vote in general elections.

The General Assembly knocked out this requirement by ratifying a constitutional amendment approved in 1950.

indirectly kills the poll tax.

Under the existing poll tax bill payment is required for year preceding an election. Veterans, blind persons, women and men over 50 are exempt.

On the same day the Tennessee House passed the anti-poll tax bill, the South Carolina General Assembly dropped the poll tax altogether by ratifying a constitutional amendment approved last year.

Poll Tax Ban Gets Through Tenn. House

NASHVILLE — The Tennessee House of Representatives last week passed a bill to eliminate the poll tax as a requirement for voting in the state. The vote was 85 to 0. The bill now goes to the Senate.

The bill provides that male voters between 21 and 50 would have to pay only the tax assessed for the year 1871, the year after the state constitution was adopted.

Rep. H. Sanders Anglea of Nashville said no man living falls in the group assessed in 1871. The bill

Goal: 45,000 Negroes

Memphis Registration Drive On

MEMPHIS—A nonpartisan citizens' committee is going into its third week in getting Negroes to register. In the second week of the campaign a supper was held at the Elks Rest. On the second day registration swung into action at the City Hall with hundreds registering. Nearly every ward organization in the city is working. Last Sunday was "Citizenship Day." A minister and an outstanding citizen spoke on the "Power of the Ballot." Over fifty churches participated. The committee is hoping to register 45,000 Negroes.

Prominent among the committee are: Lt. George W. Lee, Republican; Dr. J. E. Walker, Democrat; Atty. Benjamin Hooks, Raymond Lymon, Frank Scott, Theodore Spencer, James T. Walker, and the Revs. Roy Love, R. V. Johnson, A. L. Johnson and "Gatemouth" Moore.

A 30-minute forum was heard over station WDIA on last Sunday. Prof. A. A. Branch of LeMoyne College served on the program. Prof. Nat D. Williams was moderator.

Good News For East Texas

Court Rules Negroes Can Vote In White Primary

(Staff Correspondent)

MARSHALL, Texas — Negroes of this sprawling (Harrison) East Texas county learned Wednesday that no longer can they be barred from participating in the lily white Citizens Party's elections as the result of a historic decision handed down by the US Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans the previous day.

The decision sustains the contention of James E. Perry and all in a suit filed against J. W. Cypbers and all that the Citizen Party's sole motive was to prevent qualified Negro voters from participating in its primary elections.

Mr. Perry, a veteran and graduate of Bishop College, is a former Informer employee, both in Houston and Marshall.

Since the demise of the Jaybird and White Man's primaries in Fort Bend and Matagorda counties respectively, the Citizens Party of Harrison County has been perhaps the sole county in Texas where the Democratic Party is not the major cog in local elections.

Harrison County has long been a prominent factor in Democratic Party acivities in Texas. The late Myron Blalock of Marshall served as state's committeman for years and was one of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt's strongest arms in the "Solid South." However, not in the last 50 years has the majority Negro vote been able to exercise its majority in the election of local officials.

Prior to the Supreme Court edict that ended the ban to Negro participation in the Democratic primaries, Harrison County's huge Negro populace were mere bystanders at election time. On one hand they were not eligible to drop a ballot in the Democratic box for the nomination of state officials; on the other, they were barred from the box established for the election of local officials, and in finality, the general elections were ignored by all.

Bulwarks in the Citizens Party's activities have contended Negroes should take advantage of their majority and organize their own party. But the Circuit Court of Appeals saw it differently and instructed the US District Court of East Texas to restrain the Citizens Party from barring Negroes from voting in its future primaries.

Recognizing that the sole motive of the aged lily white party was to prevent Negroes from voting because of their race and color, the Circuit Court of Appeals said it was in violation of the Constituion of the United States of America.

Plaintiffs in the case were represented by W. J. Durham of Dallas.

Tennessee to Drop Poll Tax

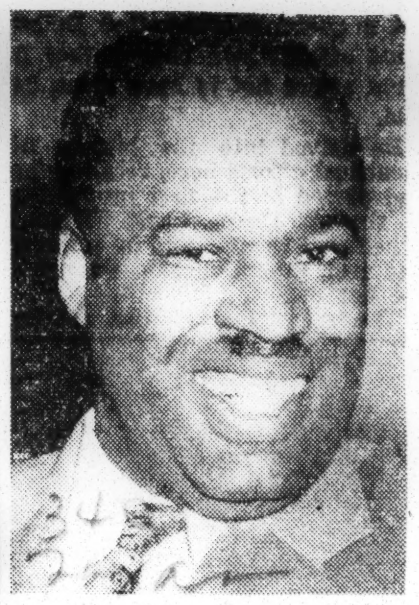
NASHVILLE, Tenn., Feb. 27 (AP) —The Tennessee Senate passed today and sent to Gov. Gordon Browning a bill that in effect wipes out payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in this state. The Senate approved by a vote of 29 to 1 a House-approved measure that requires voters only to pay the poll tax assessed against them for the year 1871. The present law requires voters to pay the tax assessed against them for the previous year. The governor said he would sign the bill. "I'll sign anything that relieves the poll tax," he said.

Another Wall Comes Crumbling

The United States Court of Appeals at New Orleans has ruled that Negroes may no longer be barred from voting in the primary elections conducted by the Citizens Party of Harrison County, Texas, and Negro citizens in the County Seat of Marshall, where the historic and venerable Wiley and Bishop Colleges are located, have thus taken a new forward step toward freedom and equality. The suit that brought this about was brought by Negroes. Among them James E. Percy, a graduate of Bishop College. Thus another wall comes crumbling down in the fight for full and equal citizenship in this beloved Southland of America. It would be so much better if, instead of having to bow to these lawsuits, the South would bow to the teachings and practices of Jesus Christ, which the South preaches every Sunday in its churches, but which the South does not practice in its relations to its Negro neighbors.



A. AZEL ADAMS



STACY ADAMS

Speaker Claims Negro Placed On Ballot to Confuse Voters

Bernard B. Hemphill Jr. charged Friday that entrance of the Rev. Stacy Adams, Negro minister, in the City Council election race was a "political trick" designed to confuse voters wanting to vote for Citizens Charter Association Candidate A. Azel Adams.

Hemphill is the CCA candidate for Place 3, the South Dallas district. Stacy Adams will be one of his four opponents for the South Dallas place in the April 3 election. Hemphill's charge was in a speech over Radio Station KSKY.

Hemphill said that "certain persons who have sought to destroy the charter association" placed the name of Stacy Adams, who was prominent in the campaign of Henry Wallace and his Progressive party, on the ballot.

"Their evident hope is that many good Dallas citizens will vote for Stacy Adams, thinking they are voting for A. Azel Adams," Hemphill said.

A. Azel Adams is the charter candidate for Place 7, at large.

Cross-Section Of Negro Leaders Join Hands For Qualifying Race Voters

REGISTRATION— This has become the battlecry for more than one hundred race leaders bent on qualifying Negroes by the thousands as registered voters in Memphis and Shelby County. During the first call last Friday afternoon key people were present at Universal Life Insurance Company to spearhead plans for the mammoth registration drive. They included Lt. G W. Lee, manager of Atlanta Life Insurance Company; Dr. J E. Walker, president of Universal Life; President Hollis F. Price, of LeMoyne College; Rev. Roy Love, pastor of Mt. Nebo Baptist Church Atty. A. A. Latting, and Dr. A. N Kittrelle

An intensive campaign was mapped out. The drive consists of recruiting of field workers in each ward to make a door-to-door campaign. There will be educational features and aspects of the campaign. Prizes will be offered to businesses, to civic organizations and fraternities which register the largest percent of their membership. And to ministers of churches who register the largest percentage of their membership.

CITIZENSHIP DAY— will be launched in all the churches which register in the campaign and on the second Sunday in June with a citizen speaker assigned to each church.

Committees were named for each phase of the program. The committee of the program. The Committee on Finance, headed by Dr. A. N. Kittrelle, and A. Maceo Walker.

On fraternities, Profs. A. A. Branch and Charles H. Tarpley; fraternal organizations, Rev. J. A. McDaniels; Business organization. L. H. Twigg and Robert Davidson; Program, Atty. A. A. Latting; and Hollis F. Price; Committee on Inter-Racial Action Frank T. Scott, Jr, and Dr. W. W. Gibson; Citizenship Day, Rev. Roy Love, Rev. E. M. Johnson, and Rev. R. V. Johnson; Organization, Raymond Lynom, and Atty. B. L Hooks, Publicity, L. O. Swingler, and Rev. P. C. Polk; Radio, Nat D. Williams, and Rev, A. D. Moore; Insurance Personnel H. A. Gilliam

Lt. G. W. Lee chairman, Republican; and Dr. J. E. Walker, Co-Chairman Democrat, are moving spirit behind the great registration drive.

Finances were pledged by the following persons:— Lt. Lee, $500; Dr. A. N. Kittrelle, Dr. J. E. Walker, $250; Rev. J. A. McDaniel, $100; A. Maceo Walker, $100; C. C. Sawyer, $100; Hudson Barbee, $100; Prof J. A. Hayes, James Clark, Rev. E. K. Johnson, H. A. Gilliam, Raymond Lynom, Rev. Roy Love, Rev. W. E. Ragsdale, Atty. A. A. Latting, Charles Tarpley, each a pledge of $50. Dr. W. W. Gibson, Prof. A. A. Branch, H. A. Foster, Rev. James B. Patton, Rev. Dewitt Alcorn, Rev. H. H. Harper, Rev. R. V. Johnson, W. W. Walker, Rev. J. W. Williams Dr. A. W. Jefferson each $25; Rev. P. C. Polk, Rev. W. L. Varnado, and Rev. W. H. Mosby, $10.00.

Voters League To Meet At Fort Worth

FORT WORTH — According to an announcement from the office of Supreme Chancellor R. A. Hester secretary of the Democratic Progressive Voters League, there will be meeting here Tuesday, at the YMCA, November 20, of statewide leaders to organize a drive for payment of poll taxes. H. M. Morgan, president, is scheduled to call the meeting to order; J. W. Rice, executive secretary of the Texas Chamber of Commerce is scheduled to give the purpose of the meeting and R. A. Hester is to offer plays for promoting the poll tax campaign. Rev. L. A. Thigpen, Sr., vice president, is supposed to give a resume, and then there is to be discussion and action by the body.

Among the things to be suggested at the meeting by Supreme-Chancellor Hester are securing deputy tax collectors; organization of precincts or school districts; block organizations; telephone committees, poll tax trailers, motion picture advertising; booths to be set up in theatres, and a statewide observance Sunday for Good Citizenship Day on January 13. Watch this paper for a report of the meeting Tuesday in Fort Worth.

Poll Tax Antidote

In upholding the legality of the Virginia poll tax, the Supreme Court has indirectly pointed the proper way to get rid of this undesirable restriction. The tax had been attacked by an Arlington woman on the ground that it was designed to deprive Negroes of their voting right and had been administered in a discriminatory manner. The high court affirmed the ruling of a three-judge tribunal which asserted that there was "not one shred or scintilla of evidence" that the tax is administered unfairly. As respects Arlington, and probably Virginia as a whole, we dare say this is true.

Whatever the past abuses in the poll tax, the real argument against it in Virginia is not racial discrimination. Where it is discriminatory, to both white and Negro citizens alike, is in the financial barrier it imposes to voting. The complicated requirement that a resident pay poll taxes of $1.50 a year for three consecutive years before being permitted to register undoubtedly discourages some persons and restricts the size of the electorate.

The best way to meet this problem, however, is not to lean on the courts or the Federal Government, but to approach it at its source in the Virginia constitution. The poll tax repeal referendum in 1949 was turned down by the electorate—wisely, in our opinion, because of gimmicks in the amendments. Before a new repeal measure can be submitted to referendum, two sessions of the Legislature must approve it. A move in the 1950 session to remove the objections to the 1949 amendments died in committee, and thus it will be 1954 before another repeal measure can be submitted to the electorate. This gives ample time for civic groups and interested citizens to make known their wishes and insist that the Legislature propose a genuine repeal t will mean what it says.

Va. Poll Tax Upheld by Supreme Court

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The United States Supreme Court last Monday, in effect upheld the validity of Virginia's poll-tax requirements.

In a per curiam (by the court as a whole) order, the court affirmed the judgment of a special three-judge Federal District Court, which was convened at Alexandria, Va. The three-judge court dismissed the suit of Mrs. Jesse Butler, of Arlington County, Va., to declare the poll-tax provisions of Virginia's Constitution and laws void.

Justice William O. Douglass dissented, but wrote no separate opinion, stating his views.

Dismissal of the appeal had been urged by J. Lindsay Almond Jr., Attorney General of Virginia, on the ground that the questions raised were so unsubstantial as not to need further argument and that the appeal presented no questions not previously decided by the Supreme Court adversely to Mrs. Butler.

The case arose out of the refusal of Miss Mary A. Thompson, central registrar of Arlington County, to register Mrs. Butler as a qualified voter of Virginia. When Mrs. Butler applied for registration, she had not paid the poll tax assessable against her for the preceding three years as required by the Virginia Constitution and laws.

Attacks Validity of Tax

Miss Thompson informed Mrs. Butler that she could not be registered, but that if she paid the poll tax, as required, she would be registered. Mrs. Butler refused to do so and brought suit attacking the validity of Virginia's poll tax requirements.

Mrs. Thompson based her case on three contentions:

1. That the poll-tax requirements were invalid because the State was prohibited by the Act of Congress of January 26, 1870, readmitting her to the Union, from imposing such requirements.

2. that these requirements were invalid because of the evil motives of the draftsmen of the Virginia Constitution of 1902 and subsequent poll-tax statutes. She asserted that the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1902 adopted the poll-tax provisions for the avowed purpose of prohibiting colored people from voting.

Discriminates

3. That the poll-tax provisions were invalid because, even if fair on their face and non-discriminatory against colored people, they were administered by taxing and voting officials of Virginia in such against colored people.

Mrs. Thompson asked the court to compell the election officials to permit her to vote in the 1950 general election and to declare the poll-tax provisions void as repugnant to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. She also asked for damages of 5,000.

The three-judge court held that provisions of the Constitution and laws of Virginia requiring payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite to the right to register and vote are valid. From that decision Mrs. Thompson appealed to the Supreme Court.

76,000 Pay Poll Tax in Va.

RICHMOND, Va.—More than 76,000 Virginia Negroes have paid the poll tax and are therefore eligible to vote in this year's elections, according to the Virginia Voters League.

James P. Spencer, league president, said the total is 76,448, an increase of 10,039 over last year. Payment of the tax by Negroes reflected increases in fifty-five of the state's one hundred counties.

Negro Voters Denied Right To Register For Primary

SUSSEX, Va. — Denial of registration and voting privileges to Negro citizens of this Virginia county was under bitter legal attack this week, as attorneys for the Virginia State Conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed three suits in the county's Circuit Court, on behalf of thirty-four complainants charging discrimination.

Two of the suits-one filed on behalf of nine petitioners in the Yale Precinct and the other on behalf of fourteen petitioners in the Waverly Precinct-are simple appeals to the court and to Judge J. J. Temple to hear and determine the right of the petitioners to register.

The third suit, filed on behalf of eleven complainants of Stony Creek, names the registrar, Mrs. Elizabeth Frye, as defendant and charges that in the county "there exists and for many years there has prevailed a custom and usage . . to limit the number of colored persons who may vote." The defendant, the NAACP charges, in accordance with this custom, willfully denied the complainants the privilege of registering to vote in the regular primary election, to be held August 7, solely because of their race and color.

The court is asked to enter a declaratory judgment ordering the registrar to register qualified voters, and to refrain permanently from delaying, hindering, or retarding such registration. The suit also asks damages of five hundred dollars for each of the complainants for deprivation of their voting privileges.

The court action is the aftermath of the Special Suffrage Campaign, conducted by the state NAACP group under the directorship of Miss Brownie Lee Jones. The project resulted in the registration of large numbers of Negro citizens in Sussex County for the first time in nearly fifty years.

NAACP attorneys handling the case are S. W. Tucker of Emporia, Va., and R. H. Cooley, Jr., of Petersburg.

24 DENIED REGISTRATION:

Ask $5,500 in Law Suits Versus Sussex Registrars

SUSSEX COUNTY, Va.—Some 24 law suits were filed against three white registrars, Monday, following the complaint of residents of the county that they had been denied the right to become registered voters.

They were entered in the Circuit Court of Sussex County by Robert H. Cooley of Petersburg and Samuel W. Tucker of Emporia, NAACP attorneys who took the complaints at an open-air meeting outside Melton's Inn, near Stony Creek, last Saturday.

Two Defendants

Defendants in the action are, George Harrup of Yale, J. D. Faison of Waverly and Miss Elizabeth Frye of the Stony Creek District.

Against the Yale and Waverly registrars, 23 persons filed separate appeals on grounds that they had been denied registration, and they asked the court to determine their right to register.

The 24th is a bill of complaint and a damage suit lodged against Miss Frye, by 11 Waverly residents who asked $500 each for damage sustained when they failed to become registered voters because the registrar asked "improper questions."

Questions Asked

The questions asked, the bill states, ran along these lines:

"Who are the members of the Electoral Board and what are their names? Who is the commissioner of revenue? Who are the supervisors of the county? Who is the game warden?

"Who is the governor of Virginia? Who is the Senator from this county? Who is the clerk of the court? Who is the judge of the Circuit Court? Who is the trial justice? When are taxes required to be paid? What percentage is added to taxes when not paid in time? Who is the chairman of the Electora Board? Who are the United States Senators from Virginia? Who are the people who make the laws for the town?"

Code Violations

This, the bill says, is in violation of the code of Virginia which stipulates that persons desiring to register, make written application and give written answers to the foling:

"Name of the applicant, age, date and place of birth, prior and present residence, and occupation."

The action requests that the court enter a declaratory judgment binding the registrars and their successors to follow the line of questioning as prescribed by law.

Bias Charged

Racial prejudice is also charged, on grounds that for many years in Virginia and "particularly in the Stony Creek District," only a limited number of colored persons have been allowed to become eligible to vote.

Complainants from Waverly appealing are:

Peter Ruffin, Daisy Pearson, Alvin Fitzgerald, Jesse Turner, John N. Freeman, Estelle D. Stith, Lucille Cypress, Joseph Smith, Cora Pegram, Proctor Curtis, Willie Mitchell, Vell R. Wyatt, Tillma H. Fitzgerald and Naomi G. Johnson.

Appealing from Yale are:

James R. Walton, Solomon Taylor, Mollie Taylor, Horace Carey, Percy Taylor, Willie Sills, Percy Dillard, Rena B. Taylor and Joseph Peeples.

Stony Creek Plaintiffs

The bill of complaint and damage suit is filed in behalf of these persons from Stony Creek:

Carrie L. Hill, Mary E. Winfield, Mae C. Flowers, Walter D. Hill, Pauline Clanton, Sallie Pulliam, Willie M. Moss, Green R. Parham, Gladys Parham, McKinley Cole and Daisy Cole.

The court action follows efforts by the late Dr. Luther P. Jackson, suffrage crusader, and the more recent NAACP Suffrage project under the direction of Miss Brownie L. Jones, to gain the voting rights for Sussex countians.

Climax of Drive

The drive reached its climax on July 7, when nine persons were registered in Yale, marking the first mass registration of colored citizens in nearly 50 years.

Immediately following this, those persons who had been denied registration, met with the lawyers at the inn and the suits were planned.

Charge Registration Denial

Vote Bias in Va. Brings 3 Suits

SUSSEX, Va.—Denial of registration and voting privileges to Negro citizens of this Virginia County was under bitter legal attack last week, as attorneys for the Virginia State Conference of branches of the NAACP filed three suits in the county's Circuit Court, on behalf of thirty-four complainants charging discrimination.

Two of the suits—one filed on behalf of nine petitioners in the Yale Precinct and the other on behalf of fourteen petitioners in the Waverly Precinct—are simple appeals to the court and to Judge J. J. Temple to hear and determine the right of the petitioners to register.

BECAUSE OF COLOR

The third suit, filed on behalf of eleven complainants of Stony Creek, names the registrar, Mrs. Elizabeth Frye, as defendant, and charges that in the county "there exists and for many years there has prevailed a custom and usage . . . to limit the number of colored persons who may vote." The defendant, the NAACP charges, in accordance with this custom, willfully denied the complainants the privilege of registering to vote in the regular primary election to be held Aug. 7, solely because of their race and color.

The court is asked to enter a declaratory judgment ordering the registrar to register qualified voters, and to refrain premanently from delaying, hindering, or retarding such registration. The suit also asks damages of $500 for each of the complainants for deprivation of their voting privileges.

NAACP attorneys handling the case are S. W. Tucker of Emporia, Va., and R. H. Cooley Jr. of Petersburg.

Sussex Negroes Sue For Vote Registration

By the Associated Press

RICHMOND, July 19.—Thirty-four Sussex County Negroes have taken court action in an effort to be registered to vote in Virginia elections.

On Monday, 11 filed a suit in Sussex Circuit Court against Elizabeth Frye, registrar of Stony Creek precinct, seeking $500 damages each and an injunction requiring her to register persons who meet the requirements of the Virginia constitution.

Twenty-three from two other precincts also on Monday appealed to Circuit Judge J. J. Temple to reverse the action of two other registrars in refusing to place their names on the voting lists.

All 34 are represented by two attorneys of the Virginia Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The court moves are the outgrowth of a special suffrage drive conducted in the county by the NAACP.

Miss Brownie Lee Jones, who headed the drive, said here yesterday that on July 5 the Stony Creek registrar had asked would-be Negro registrants to answer questions about Virginia government—contrary to the stipulations of the State constitution.

Those who sought to register Miss Jones added, were not given an opportunity to submit the information prescribed by the constitution.

200,000 To Organize For Virginia Polls

ROANOKE. — (ANP) — Plans were disclosed here last week for the establishment of a state-wide organization of a least 200,000 Negro voters under the sponsorship of Dr. Harry T. Penn, local dentist and civic, fraternal and political leader.

Long an ardent supporter of movements seeking to strengthen the Negro's voting position in Virginia, Dr. Penn is now seeking through a new committee which he heads to increase Negro voters, so that the race will be the balance of power in important and close elections.

First steps at attracting supporters to the new movement were made here at a mass meeting Sunday, Nov. 4. Speakers scheduled for the meeting were Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) chairman of the House committee on expenditures and Willard L. Brown, a member of the Charleston, W. Va. City council.

The leaders at Sunday's meeting made preliminary plans for other meetings in the state of a similar nature. Dr. Penn had already announced that a mass meeting is scheduled for Richmond later in November. The Richmond meeting is planned for group action in setting up a state organization.

In speaking of the state organization, Dr. Penn, a former member of the school board here and a member of the Roanoke Democratic executive committee, said the new proposed body will not be allied with any political group—economic liberal or labor.

The dentist explained that the program of the organization will be concerned with educating the people through radio, forums, meetings and literature and appeals to take advantage of the franchise as one means of improving their lot and securing and maintaining good government.

VIRGINIANS ORGANIZE TO VOTE 200,000 NEGROES IN 1952 ELECTION

Roanoke Dentist Heads New Organization Pledged to Revolutionize Conditions in Old Dominion State

WILL SEEK POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY

34 e Va

By Carter Jewel

ROANOKE, Va. — (ANP) — Dr. Harry T. Penn, Roanoke dentist and prominent state civic leader, last week was elected president of the newly created Allied Civic and political Organizations. The group will sponsor a state-wide drive to secure 200,000 qualified Negro voters.

A large crowd that attended the organizational mass meeting at High Street Baptist Church, learned that the aim of the organization is to increase the Negro's voting strength so that he will have a bigger voice in politics in all parts of Virginia, particularly in the Roanoke area.

Dr. Penn informed the leaders and supporters of the new movement that the Roanoke plan would be carried to every part of Virginia in a "concerted battle" for the "complete emancipation of Negro citizens."

The theme of the meeting was "political and economic equality" for the "complete emancipation of Negro citizens."

The theme of the meeting was "political and economic equality" for Negroes. This will be the theme for meetings to be held shortly in other parts of the state. Dr. Penn said a similar meeting would be planned for Richmond labor this month.

William L. Brown, member of the City Council of Charleston, W. Va., in the keynote address, said the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States "freed us from political slavery, but we are still in social and economic slavery."

Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.), who was scheduled to address the meeting, wired Dr. Penn he could not attend.

Councilman Brown explained a Negro group in Charleston a federation of all Negro organizations which, was organized to get Negroes a larger share in a $9,950,000 school bond issue.

Dr. Penn, a former member of the Roanoke Democratic Executive Committee and a former member of the city school board, has long been active in civic and political organizations. He is thought to be the first Negro in the South to be appointed a member of a school board since Reconstruction Days.

NEGRO WOMEN IN POLITICS

Two Negro women are serving in State legislature this year. In West Virginia, a Negro school teacher won a seat in the State house of delegates, after almost 30 years of active participation in local and state politics.
In Michigan, an Atlanta-born 29 year old woman with no previous political experience was elected to the legislature.

From: Facts on Women Workers. U.S. Dept. of Labor
Washington 25, D.C.
March 31, 1951

FRENCH WOMAN SENATOR
TELLS HER BIG STORY

by -Dale Wright

Mme. Jane Vialle, one of but two Negro women in the French Senate, is back in New York explaining the plight of French Equatorial Africans to the UN. She is a member of the UN's special Committee on Slavery. ....

Amsterdam News
Sat. 4-21-51
New York, N.Y.

See- Code- 18d-1951

Charleston Teacher First in W. Va. House of Delegates

Opp-American Sept-2-3-51

By TOM CUMMINGS

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — At an age when most people are beginning to rest on their careers, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Drewry of Northfork, McDowell county, has embarked on another.

An elementary school teacher in her home county for 28 years — and a member of her community's town council for 14 of them — she was elected last fall the only woman of her race in the Mountain State's 94-member house of delegates.

Of slight stature, the years have rested lightly on Mrs. Drewry, a delightful and charming person. Only a touch of silver running through her hair of deep copper color, gives indication of the many years she has worked.

Kindergarten Teacher

Since her graduation from Bluefield State Teachers College, she has been a teacher of first and second grade students. Mrs. Drewry likes to recall that during her campaign last year, many of those early students became her strongest supporters.

And, remembering the names of hundreds of those tots of long ago, she jokingly remarks

"I just told those boys and girls —many with families of their own —to vote for me."

When the August primary results had been tabulated, Mrs. Drewry stood fifth in a list of 13 Democratic candidates seeking membership on the county's five-man delegation to the legislature.

Again in November, her backers swung to her support—giving her 17,700 votes, only 300 below the top man on the successful election ticket.

30 Years in Politics

Mrs. Drewry first entered politics about 30 years ago in her home county. The fast moving, quick talking school teacher rapidly gained respect of party leaders; they supported her election to seven terms on the Northfork town council.

"History and government cannot remain dormant," is Mrs. Drewry's political philosophy. Her record as a council woman was marked by successful promotion of many improvements to better the welfare and health of her people.

McDowell, one of West Virginia's richest counties lies deep in the Pochahontas coal field that produces millions of tons of "black diamonds" yearly. In the fast, competitive race for profits, community betterment many times became only a subject of conversation — not an actual accomplishment.

But with the help of her late husband, William H. Drewry, attorney, who died three months ago, the "schoolmarm" persisted until victory was hers.

Old Days Recalled

She remembers the inadequacy of sewers to serve the growing community, absence of paved streets and lack of other improvements. Today, as she looks back over the years, Mrs. Drewry says

"Many changes have occurred in the last quarter century."

When it comes to education, Mrs. Drewry has even stronger convictions. "Soundness of learning is lacking in schools today," she declares.

"Methods of teaching have become much more glamorous than when I first began as a teacher," she explains, "but unfortunately, basic understanding has been pushed to the background."

When the school doors first opened for her, Mrs. Drewry's first and second grade teaching load exceeded 50 boys and girls. At the consolidated school from which she is on leave to attend the 60-day biennial legislative session, her instructional load is only 34.

She continues to drill well her students in the "three R's" despite the changes that have come in educational standards.

Mrs. Drewry laments that boys and girls learn too much by "playing" at classwork. "Children nowadays make learning a game instead of learning fundamentals," she adds.

Unless basic understanding is reached in the classroom, people are at a serious disadvantage when they meet up with the complexities of adult life.

"Frustrations built by lack of a real education bring trouble not only to the individual, but reacts adversely on society as a whole.

But teaching methods may change, but Mrs. Drewry continues to drill her pupils. "It's paid off in many ways," she modestly admits. There are many of her former pupils who hold her teaching in deep respect.



MRS. ELIZABETH S. DREWRY

Backs Education

Her first bill in the 50th session of the legislature this week was a measure to pay expenses of educators attending profession conferences. "Teachers, like pupils, must never forget that learning is a living, eternal thing," she says.

Because of her varied interests, Mrs. Drewry has been named on the house committees of education humane institutions, mining, redistricting, health and the joint committee of the house and senate.

A state constitutional section provides that representation in the lower house be reviewed after every decennial census. A bill now has been introduced to increase house membership from 94 to 100.

It was first feared that her home county's delegation might be adversely affected by the change, but she fought alongside other McDowell representatives until the opposition backed down. The county house total will remain unchanged.

As for the state's aged, Mrs. Drewry is concerned about their welfare. "Those of us who have enjoyed good fortune cannot understand fully the plight of those who have suffered at the hands of time," se says.

Seeks Aid for Blind

And, the woman member from McDowell was ready to introduce a bill seeking higher allotments for the state's aged, blind and dependent children. She is content now to await the future of an administration-backed bill to bring this about.

As for the differences between the days of long ago and today, Mrs. Drewry has this to say:

"Many material improvements now enjoyed by families were almost unknown 25 years ago. Although the years have brought comforts of living to my people, I like to remember the good old days, as an era that carried more of a homey touch."

Her only objection of today is that "we live too fast and rest too little." Mrs. Drewry's own activity belies this feeling, because if anyone is "on the go" it is she.